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Dennis J Carroll



CLONMEL.

History of Clonmel

BY

REV. WILLIAM P. BURKE.

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PREFACE

IN presenting to the Subscribers the HISTORY OF CLONMEL, *the Editor feels that an apology is due for the long delay—nearly five years, since the prospectus was issued. During three of these, unforeseen events interrupted the work, and indeed, separated him from reading altogether. But the delay was not without some advantage. Extended inquiries were made for original material, in particular for the "Annals of Clonmel," which existed in the time of Sir James Ware.* The old corporation books were also sought for. Though little was discovered, one is thereby enabled to go to press with the assurance that the "History of Clonmel" is as complete as it is now possible to make it.*

Those who are acquainted with the works of Gilbert, Hardiman, Caulfield and others, will miss in the earlier chapters that minute detail, those old-world pictures of burgher life which give local histories most of their value and all their charm. But in extenuation, it is to be observed that the present work was gathered exclusively from outside and public sources. The early municipal records which form the basis of the history of Dublin, Galway or Waterford, are here altogether wanting. There is not a charter preserved, and scarcely a deed as old as the seventeenth century. The oldest minute book does not go beyond 1744, and even then it is, for a century, a mere catalogue of names. There are no parish records. Family papers which elsewhere afford such valuable material, are inaccessible or not existing. So that the past of the town could be reconstructed only by painful gleaning in the Dublin Record Office, the Royal Irish Academy and the Bodleian Library.

Among those who co-operated, special acknowledgment is due to Mr. J. F. Morrissey, of H.M. Public Record Office, himself a native of Clonmel, who furnished no fewer than one hundred and fifty folios of transcripts from the Pipe Rolls, Quit Rent records, Wills and Commonwealth Books. From Mr. Frederick J. Quinn, besides advice on many points, was obtained the Vaughan-Ryall Ledger (1680-1707). Mr. John F. O'Brien gave much information upon the corporate estate, tolls and the like. Among the other members of the Library Committee it will not be invidious to name Mr. James White. To him indeed, to his public spirit and generous labours, it is mainly due that the book has been undertaken at all.

WILLIAM P. BURKE.

St. Marysville, Cahir,
25th May, 1907.

* "An intention there was not long since by Sir James Ley Knight to have published some of our country writers, for which end he caused to be transcribed and made fit for the Presse, the Annales of John Clynne, the Annales of the Priory of St. John the Evangelist of Kilkenny, and the Annales of Multifernan, Rosse and Clonmell. But his weighty occasions did afterwards divert his purpose."—Preface to Campion's History by Sir James Ware, Dublin, 1633.

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CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

THE district of Clonmel in the beginning of documentary history was inhabited by a Celtic tribe who bore the name of the Deisi. Traces of an older people, probably non-Aryan, exist in some place names, those especially of prominent natural features, such as rivers and mountains *(a)*. But whence this older race or races were, and what influences economic, customary or religious, they exercised on the Celtic Deisi cannot be determined at the present stage of ethnological inquiry *(b)*. The story which the Deisi told of themselves was this: they originally occupied a territory in Meath, now the barony of Deece, and were descended from a common ancestor, Fiacha Suidhe, brother of Con of the Hundred Battles who in the second century of the Christian era was monarch of Ireland. About the year 278 having attempted to place their chief, Aongus on the throne, they were defeated and driven into Munster, where Olioll Olum, king of that province settled them in the present County of Waterford. Increasing in power and numbers they passed the Suir towards the end of the fifth century, and drove the Ossorians out of the district north of the river which henceforward was known as Deise Tuaisceart or North Deise. Such, cleared of preternatural accretions, was the traditional account *(c)*. Whatever truth it may contain, it is to be noted that the aboriginal name of the locality Magh Femin ran with the Celtic Deise Tuaisceart far into the historic period and the inference is that neither Ossorians nor Deisi supplanted the older race but simply conquered and coalesced with them.

(a) For example: Lingan, Clodagh, Mahon, Suir. But Rev. Dr. Henebry informs me that in the canton of Luzern, Switzerland, there is a small river called the Sur which empties into the Sursee.

(b) Professor Rhys, of Oxford, is of opinion that Druidism bespeaks a non-Aryan origin.

(c) Keating, O'Flaherty, O'Heerin *passim*. The earliest narrative of these events is in the Bodleian (Laud 610, fol. 99) the language is middle Irish.

From the introduction of Christianity onward the evidence becomes more reliable. It is probable that the Gospel was preached in the district by St. Patrick himself. The localities Ballypatrick and Glasspatrick preserve his name; three ancient churches, Kiltagan, Killerk, and Kilmaloge, preserve those of his immediate disciples, while Donoughmore has from the earliest times been regarded as a Patrician foundation *(d)*. In the tenth and eleventh centuries many traditions of the saint's visit to the Deisi were current, some of them fortunately finding their way into recognized biography. The Tripartite life has a very circumstantial account.

Patrick then went into the southern Desi and set about building a church in Ard Patrick; and Lec-Patrick is there and the marks of his church. Derball son of Aedh opposed him, Derball said to Patrick, "If you would remove that mountain there so that I could see Loch Lunga across it to the south, in Fera Maigh Feine [Fermoy barony] I would believe." Cenn Abhrat is the name of the mountain and Belach Legtha the name of the pass which was melted there. When the mountain began to dissolve Derball said that whatever he (Patrick) did would be of no use. Patrick said to Derball, "There shall be no king nor bishop of your family and it will be permitted to the men of Munster to plunder you all every seventh year for ever as bare as a leek."

As Patrick was in the district of the Desi awaiting the King of the country—Fergair the son of Rossa, Patrick said to him after his arrival, "How slowly you come"! "The country is rough" (said he), "Quite true," said Patrick. "There shall be no King from you for ever." "What delayed you to-day"? asked Patrick, "The rain delayed us," said the King. "Your meetings shall be showery for ever," said Patrick. Patrick's well is there and also the church of MacClairidh one of Patrick's people. And assemblies are not held by the Desi except at night because Patrick left that sentence upon them for it was towards night they went to him. Patrick then cursed the streams of that place because his books were drowned in them and the fishermen gave his people a refusal. Patrick said that they would not be fruitful notwithstanding their great profusion up to that time and that there would never be any mills upon them except the mills of strangers. He blessed the Suir moreover and the country around and it is fruitful in fish except the places where those streams *(glaise)* flow into it *(e)*

Another tradition of the eleventh century, to which the scholarship of Ussher has given undue prominence, was that St. Declan preached to the Deisi before the coming of St. Patrick. That there were isolated Christians in the South of Ireland is almost certain, considering the close proximity of the Christian communities of Wales and Cornwall, but that St. Patrick

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(d) Glasspatrick now Glen Patrick was a distinct parish as late as the Down Survey, 1654. A rude stone chalice, long an object of popular veneration in Ballypatrick, is now in possession of Rev. P. Power, of Waterford.

(e) Hennessy and others have identified this Deisi with "Deisbeag," a district lying around Bruff; the truth seems to be that the Tripartite is a redaction of older lives—such as the one in the Book of Armagh—made by some one imperfectly acquainted with Munster topography. Not to speak of "Patrick's Well" with its extremely ancient Celtic cross, the names Lec-Patrick, Belach-Legtha, Cille MacClairidh, are all discoverable in South Tipperary. The monk Jocelyn, who wrote in the 12th century, makes Lec-Patrick the coronation stone of the Munster Kings on the Rock of Cashel (Ed. Messingham p. 35, Paris, 1624). Belach-Legtha seems to be the very remarkable pass in the Knockmeldown mountains now known as Bay Lough : a Bealanlogh in Co. Tipperary is found in a Fiant of Elizabeth dated 1587. Cille Mac Clairidh is possibly Kilmoclear, north of Carrick. These localities may have been confused with Ardpatrick and Singland, in Co. Limerick, by the compiler of the Tripartite.

found a Christian tribe and a regularly constituted diocese under the rule of St. Declan as the old legend of that saint relates, cannot now be maintained. At whatever time converted, it is clear that by the middle of the seventh century the whole population of the Deisi had embraced the Christian religion; not only so, but with a fervour and an enthusiasm that led them to imitate the extreme asceticism of the East. Some such as St. Aidan of Bollendesert and St. Declan of Ardmore, retired into desert places after the manner of St. Anthony and St. Pachomius. Others as St. Cuan at Mothel, and St. Carthage of Lismore, set up religious communities, living together in stone cells or houses of wattle and cultivating the learning of the time. Others again fired with an indomitable missionary spirit carried their faith to the continent, and we hear of two great Deisi saints as wide asunder as Liege and Otranto. St. Farannan of Donoughmore is venerated as the founder of the abbey and town of Waser on the Meuse; while St. Cathaldus of Lismore is held in honour in the old Greek city of Tarentum at the extreme heel of Italy. In their pedigrees like the modern Spaniards, the Deisi were proud to emblazon the names of their saints, and we read in MacFirbisigh of St. Colman of Kilcash, St. Ronan of Kilronan, St. Ultan of Maghnidh, and others. The death of a notable ecclesiastic was recorded by the chroniclers with equal care to that of the chief himself. More curious still it is to read amid the annals of savage warfare how men retired to Lismore-Mochuda and in the quaint language of the annalist put themselves under the direction of a "soul-friend" and died there "after the victory of penance." But only in asceticism did the Deisi copy the Eastern church; an incident related by St. Bernard affords evidence of extraordinary religious tolerance. A cleric of Lismore denied the Real Presence. Being prosecuted by the laity before a meeting of the clergy he had permission granted him to defend his views. He stoutly maintained against St. Malachy who was present, that he had reason and truth on his side while on the other was the mere *ipse dixit* of the primate. Furthermore he accused the saint of dishonestly speaking against his real convictions. Yet we learn that the assembly merely declared him anathema and left him to the judgment of God. *(f)*

Civilization went hand in hand with religion. It is often taken for granted that the Irish previous to the Anglo-Norman invasion, were little better than savages, and the murderous tribal warfare recorded in the annals is put in evidence. The truth is that in the fine arts as probably also in the useful ones they were far in advance of the English of the same period. The Lismore crozier apart from its artistic value bespeaks long experience

(f) Life of St. Malachy by St. Bernard. Messingham, Paris, 1624, p. 368-9.

and great skill in the working of metals. The old church of Donoughmore may be instructively compared with contemporary ones in England such as Bradford-on-Avon. The clean cut ashlar of the windows together with the exquisite Hiberno-classic detail is removed from the barbaric English Romanesque by a whole cycle. *(g)*

The most important epoch in the history of the Deisi from their conversion to the twelfth century was the invasion of the Danes. Their first appearance in the locality was in 864 when their fleet on the Blackwater was defeated and the fortified camp at Youghal, destroyed. The next year the Deisi were again victorious, Grimhbeolu, "chief of the foreigners of Cork," being slain. During the following century and a half, despite many reverses, the Danes continued steadily to arrive. From the harbours they penetrated inland in their flat bottomed boats and having raided the monasteries and chieftains' strongholds swiftly disappeared again. Yet in the wake of the freebooters many came to trade and settle. Tradition credits them with being the builders of forts, bridges and even round towers. This much is certain that they were the founders of the great maritime cities and probably of some of the towns on navigable rivers also. There they carried on considerable trade, importing large quantities of wine from Poitou and exporting ox hides and other skins *(h)*. Not having brought wives they intermarried with the Irish, and so came in the next generation to profess the Christian religion. Politically too they were soon identified with the Irish; they took a part in the tribal wars, and at Clontarf some of them fought on the Irish side, while on the other hand some Irish fought with them. When the Danish community of Waterford petitioned for a bishop, the petition went naturally in the name of the Irish king *(i)*. By the time that the Anglo-Normans arrived the Northmen and the native Deisi were almost completely fused. We meet with such names as 'Heverbric' (Ivar O'Brick), 'Ragnal O'Rigbardain' (Reginald O'Riordan), 'Imari O'Cathal' (Ivar O'Cahill) and others *(j)*. The most notable occupant of the See of Lismore from St. Carthage down, was the Dano-Irish Gillechriost O'Connary, better known as Christianus, while in the defence of Waterford against Strongbow the leading part was taken by Malachy O'Phelan, chief of the Deisi.

It is to the Danes that we are to look for the first beginnings of Clonmel. Making their way up the Suir to its navigable limit, the islands in the river

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(g) Appendix.

(h) "Foreign commerce supplies it with wine in such plenty that the want of the growth of vines is scarcely felt. Poitou out of its superabundance exports vast quantities of wine to Ireland which willingly gives in return its ox hides and the skins of cattle and wild beasts."—Giraldus Cambrensis, p. 21. Bohn's Translation.

(i) Ussher, Sylloge, Dublin, 1632. *(j)* Annals of Innisfallen 1170, and State Papers.

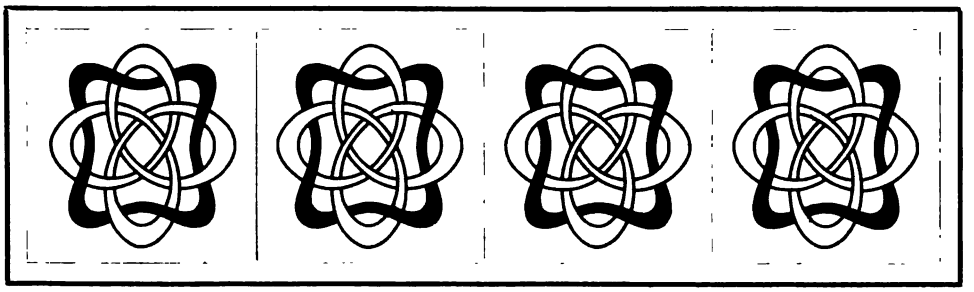
afforded a position to hold their stocks and carry on their barter with absolute security. The home of the O'Phelans, Greenane, was close by, and with them as chiefs of the district the principal exchange of wine, iron, arms, and personal ornament would naturally be made. Tradition indeed has constantly traced the origin of Clonmel to the Danes. The compiler of the Tripartite Life in the eleventh century speaks of the mills of the "foreigners" there. Without entering the region of mere speculation a few vestiges of the Danish settlement may be traced. The highest elevation of the old town, about one hundred yards west of the Main Guard, has always been pointed to as the site of the Castle of Clonmel *(k)*. Lower down, the level land along the river now occupied by the eastern section of the town was known as late as a century ago as the "Green." From what we know of Scandinavian settlements elsewhere, we can have no difficulty in recognising the fort-crowned hill as the ancient "Thingmote," while along the foot of it was the unmistakably Danish "Green" or place of assembly. As illustrating the abiding character of legal institutions amid political disturbance, it may be observed that down to the beginning of the seventeenth century inquisitions were held and cases adjudicated on the Green. But the settlement of the Danes seems to have been of small importance. Girald Barry who visited Ireland in 1184 describes the Suir as flowing through Ardfinnan and Tibarach (a hamlet below Kilsheelan now forgotten) to the sea; there is no mention of Clonmel *(l)*.

(k) See note *infra*.

(l) The name of Clonmel so obviously intelligible to the Irish speaker does not prove so easy on closer investigation. If it were discoverable in the ancient annals the question would be at once set at rest, but it occurs at the earliest only in 17th century documents,—Keating and the Four Masters. Shaw Mason's "Statistical Survey" of Clonmel in the P.R.O., gives the popular tradition.

"Clonmel derived from Irish Cluain a retreat and Meala honey which Burke (De Burgo, Hibernia Dominicana) translates "Secessus Mellis." When it got this name not clearly known, many suppose from fertility of soil and richness of country in which it is situate. The inhabitants have among them the following tradition. Long before the inhabitants of this country were converted to Christianity the site of this town being all an uncultivated tract of land on both sides of the Suir some of the aborigines intended to build a large castle, and like the antient Greeks and Romans they undertook nothing of importance without some kind of omen. Taking a large swarm of bees for their guides which they accidentally met, they determined to build wherever the wandering insects first settled. Accordingly they erected a castle and called it Cluain Meala which name it always retained till it was lately [circa 1810] thrown down by Mr. John Harvey to the rear of whose house in the Main Street and directly opposite Flag Lane it stood."

Though the 17th century authorities give Cluain Meala there are very strong reasons for doubting the etymology. The careful inquirer will hear the older townsfolk who are uninfluenced by literary tradition pronounce "Clomell" (accent on second syllable). Kickham who reproduced dialect peculiarities with absolute fidelity makes Phil Lahy in "Knocknagow" state "'Twas the corn med a town of Clomell." Now this is supported by the earliest forms of the name in state papers and other public records. We find 'Clumell' (1215), 'Clomele' (1243), 'Clomele' (1268), 'Clomeil' (1291), 'Clomel' (1302), 'Clomell' (1381), 'Clomel' (1429). This would point to the old Irish Cluu mel. The word Cluu means a portion or division and is often used in connection with land in the early MSS. The other word may be a proper name, and it is to be noted that the Deisi pedigree contains the name Mell, daughter of Erebran, who became wife of Crimthan, King of Ui Cinnselagh. So that the true interpretation of Clonmel may be "Mell's Lot" rather than "Honeyvale." The later form of the name took shape as the significance of the former was forgotten. Just as in H.M. navy the ship *Bellerophon* is known by the more intelligible "Billy Ruffian."



CHAPTER II.

FEUDAL CLONMEL.

IT is one of the commonplaces of Irish history that at the time of the English invasion, the whole country was parcelled out among the Anglo-Norman adventurers and that, so far as the power and law of England could effect it, the Irish dominion of the land ceased. "All Ireland," writes Sir John Davis, "was cantonized among ten persons of the English nation"; and he gives the interesting detail that "Otto de Grandison obtained a grant of all Tipperary" *(m)*. Yet this statement sanctioned as it is even by original inquirers such as Prendergast and Richey is altogether wide of the facts *(n)*. To take a few local instances. In 1204 Donal O'Phelan son of the defender of Waterford against Strongbow, still held the "province" of Dungarvan with two other cantreds in Waterford. Forty years later his son Ros O'Phelan, together with Murrough O'Brien of Aherlow, and Richard MacCormacan of the Deisi, as independent chiefs were invited by Henry III. to help in the war against the Scots *(o)*. And so far from Otto de Grandison being granted all Tipperary, the truth is that personage did not arrive in Ireland for a full century subsequent to the invasion and then received only a portion of the Burgh estates in that county. Though the records of Henry II. and John are in great part lost, the Pipe rolls of Edward I. enable us to form a tolerable notion of the Anglo-Norman settlement of Tipperary. For the sheriffs of the county, John de Coventry

(m) A Discovery of the True Causes Why Ireland was never Subdued—London 1613.
(n) Cromwellian Settlement 2 Ed. p. 17. Lectures on Irish History, First Series, 136 *seq.*
(o) State Papers, Sweetman, pp. 34, 405.

and Maurice Le Bret, in the years 1275-6 returned in their accounts the rents paid to the King by the tenants *in capite*. Now these rents were paid in the names not of the tenants then living, but in those of the original grantees or their immediate descendants.

From the rolls therefore it appears that in the beginning of the thirteenth century the southern boundary of the county was formed by the Suir as far as Cahir, and thence by the Galtees. East and north the boundaries were substantially as at present, but westwards the county included some three of the present baronies of Limerick and extended to within a few miles of that city. Upon this territory were set down twenty-two feudarii or tenants holding immediately of the King, and about six times that number of sub-feudarii. The Irish for the most part were left undisturbed. We hear only of the O'Mearas driven into North Tipperary from the rich lands of Iffa and Offa *(p)*. The O'Neills of Ballyneale, the O'Lonergans of Cahir, the Quirkes of Clanwilliam, the Ryans of Owney, the Fogartys of Ely, the Meaghers of Ikerrin and several smaller septs, still lived on the lands as they had probably done since the time of Christ. The Anglo-Norman baron or tenant *in capite* built his mound, erected a stockade, surrounded himself with his free tenants and demanded tribute which the Irish paid when he was strong enough to enforce it *(q)*. The twenty-two baronial feuds were created at different times and were of very unequal extent. A list of them drawn up about 1240 with the services payable to the King in time of war, is found in the Pipe rolls. Though not invariably, the services were generally proportioned to the value and extent of the lands conveyed,

"From Richard de Burgh, XVII Knights' services, a half and a third.
From Theobald Butler, XXII services.
From the Lady Moyalwy [Moyaliff], II services.
From William of Worcester, IX services, a half.
From the heirs of Hugh de Lega of Ustnachteg, I service.
From John Butler, I service.
From William de Canvyl, II services.
From Walter de Burgh, I service.
From Richard FitzWilliam, a half service.

(p) "O'Meara who is a goodly prince
The chief of Hy Faha"—O'Heerin Topographical Poem.

(q) An inquisition on the lands, etc., of Richard de Burgh son of William, in 1243 found that of his manor of Kilsheelan only 2½ plowlands were held in demesne, while the Irish, O'Neills and the rest, held 23 plowlands for which they paid a tribute of £28 a year. The original Norman "castles" were of wood raised on an artificial mound of earth. About 1214 when Murrough O'Brien invaded Ormond and Ely O'Carroll "the King's Council commenced fortifying a castle in the vill of Roscrea by erecting a mote and a wooden tower."—State Papers, Sweetman I., p. 412. The mote at Kilsheelan is very perfect, those at Tibroughney and Knockgraffon still more so.

From Robert Comyn, a half service.
From Gilbert English, I service.
From Walter Bret, I service.
From John Kent, a quarter of a service.
From Gilbert Canute, an eight of a service.
From Richard Cosyn, a quarter of a service.
From Thomas Cosin, one third of a quarter of a service.
From Robert Hacket, one service.
From William Bret, one service.
From Matilda de Ledene, a half service.
From Thomas White, a half service.
From John de Cranill, a quarter of a service.
From Alexander Stokes, a quarter of a service" *(r)*.

It will be observed that out of the sixty two and a half knight services, forty-eight were rendered by three barons, De Burgh, Le Butler and De Worcester. De Burgh was son of William FitzAdelm, lord lieutenant under Henry II., a man according to Cambrensis, conspicuous among his fellow adventurers for covetousness and ambition. FitzAdelm as the earliest grantee obtained the choice lands of that county, the 'Golden Vale' from Cashel to Limerick, and the alluvial district from Clonmel to Carrick. The ruins of Athassel, the largest of Irish abbeys, where he and his sons down to the Red Earl of Ulster lie buried, still witness to his magnificence. The junior branches of his family became more Irish than the Irish themselves, and as the "Clan William" held sway in the baronies which bear their name in Tipperary and Limerick, down to the time of Elizabeth. More extensive though not so fertile was the district granted to Theobald Butler in 1200. It included the five baronies of Ely O'Carrol, Eliogarthy, Owney and Arra, Owney O'Callaghan, Owney O'Heffernan and the half barony of Killaloe *(s)*. The third of the great feuds was created in favour of Philip of Worcester, uncle of William, whose name appears on the roll. It embraced the baronies of Slievardagh, Comsey, Owney Cashel (now Middlethird), Ardfinnan and Muskerry Quirke, the head or baronial castles being Knockgraffon, Ardmayle and Kiltinan *(t)*. These three great feudarii created numerous sub-infeudations. Under the Butlers were the Purcells, Graces (Le Gros), Morrises (De Monte Marisco), Boytons, Fannings, and others. The

(r) Pipe roll 3 & 4 Ed. I. The Tipperary portion occupies 40 pages foolscap in the transcript made by Mr. T. F. Morrissy, Pub. Rec. Office. Except for names and administrative detail it is only valuable as showing that the feudal settlement of Tipperary by the Anglo-Normans was very thorough.

(s) Carte's Ormond, xviii.

(t) Grant, 6 July, 1215. State Papers, Sweetman.

Worcesters, and their inheritors the De Berminghams, had as under tenants the De Ketings, St. Johns, Mocklers (Mauclerc), Tobins (St. Aubyn), Mandevilles, Heneberys (De Inteberge) and Prendergasts.

Having settled on their allotments the Anglo-Normans proceeded to open communications through the county. The two approaches into Tipperary were the "tougher" in the bog of Ely east of Thurles, and the passage from South Ossory by Mullinahone. The former was guarded by the castle of Adlongport (Longford Pass) held by Elias FitzNorman. In 1242 Maurice FitzGerald, justiciary, was ordered to cut down the wood of Thomas St. Aubyn in the pass of Comsy, between Fethard and the marches of Ossory, "that a safe way might be opened for merchants and wayfarers, the King having heard that many persons peaceably passing there had been killed and others robbed" *(u)*. Southwards the great road between Cashel and Lismore was protected at the ford of Ardfinnan by the Knights Hospitallers settled there. The communication with Limerick by the wooden bridge at Ballindrehid was maintained by the neighbouring castle of Knockgraffon. Many of these Anglo-Norman roads are still traceable with the aid of the ordnance maps, and it will be found that in nearly all cases they follow the line of the old castles. Communications being established, the new settlers obtained charters for holding fairs in certain districts, and in some instances founded municipal communities. If we had not the evidence of the public records it would be difficult to believe that such places as Athassel, Ardfinnan and Lisronagh were once corporate towns. Yet in 1293 the commonalty of Athassel with their provost Roger Thuberville were fined for trespass. Edward II. in 1311 at the instance of the Bishop of Lismore granted bridge toll to the "bailiffs and good men of Ardfynan," while Henry IV. granted to the provost and commons of Lisronagh exemption from taxes "for the building and rehabilitation of their town burnt by the FitzGeralds" *(v)*.

Throughout the thirteenth century the feudal system was maintained unbroken. The King's officers, sheriffs, escheators and coroners were regularly appointed and the baronial and manor courts were in full operation. The accounts in the Pipe rolls exhibit the profits of the King's courts, fines, reliefs, marriage compositions, scutage payments, escheats, down to the smallest detail. The dull routine of the figures is occasionally relieved by such items as [1254] "£3 14s. 0d. fine to be levied on the town of Cashel for the escape of a thief from the parish church [where he had been kept] for want of a prison." *(w)*. In the same year a thief took

(u) State Papers, Sweetman, p. 385. *(v)* Pipe Rolls Ed. I. Patent Rolls Ed. II. & Hen. IV.
(w) Account of William de Waylande, Sheriff of Tipperary, 39 Hen. III.

sanctuary in the church of Ardfinnan; several persons who should have kept watch on, and arrested him when leaving, were fined for his escape. In 1275 David, Archbishop of Cashel, accounted for 125 marks out of the goods of Reginald Maccot a usurer *(x)*. Henry of Kilsheelan was fined for selling wine contrary to the assize (legal price), while several were fined for false weights and measures. So exhaustive indeed are the particulars, that the few fragments of the rolls of Henry III. and Edward I. surviving, are enough to show that the Anglo-Norman settlement of Tipperary was thorough and complete. But the feudal system in Ireland laboured under some fatal defects. At the head stood the justiciary representing the King. Often selected from one of the eight or so ruling families, that functionary instead of being the controlling power and the bond of peace, became a mere centre of intrigue and conflict. Occasionally but worse still, some adventurer climbed into the position, only to use it for traffic in the King's justice and King's patronage. Such a man was Stephen de Fulburne, Bishop of Waterford, who was appointed justiciary in 1282. "Hardly any one" it was said "can hold office, or be sheriff, or constable of a castle unless he gives or sells land to the justiciary or bestows on him half the fees. Take the case of Walter Uncle [sheriff] and the proceeds of the Co. Tipperary. He every year gives more in horses to the justiciary than the whole proceeds for which he is accountable to the King." *(y)* How the sheriff recouped himself we learn from a petition of the Tipperary freeholders to King Edward I. in 1290. Following the example of the neighbouring Irish chiefs the sheriffs in their half-yearly tourns regularly "coshered" on the people to their great damage. Moreover they now levied a half mark each tourn on every knight's fee instead of on the barony as formerly *(z)*. They invented a new offence and so by the fines reaped considerable profit. This was to summon the freeholder to cut down the woods in the bad passes of the county, whoever defaulted was fined heavily *(aa)*. The Anglo-Norman yeomen caught between the upper and nether millstones of their lords on the one hand, and the Irish on the other gradually disappeared. The names which figure so largely in the Pipe rolls and Plea rolls of Tipperary in the thirteenth century are sought in vain in later records. Neither in the Fiants of Elizabeth, nor the census of our own day can one discover such patronymics as Arsyc, Burel, Codynor, Dunheved, l'Enfaut, fflamvill, Godmund, Haleton, Joye, Krik, Lovell, Mallbronch, Namenach, Osnel, Passelewe, Roleg, Stobboc, Trussenylan, Wyard, Yvor.

(x) Account of John de Coventry, Sheriff, 3 Ed. I.
(y) State Papers 1285, Sweetman p. 4.
(z) Ibid p. 316. *(aa)* Ibid 447 seq.

The Irish, as has been observed, still remained on their tribe lands. Except that some fertile districts here and there were occupied by the Norman lord, partly in demesne partly by his tenants, the old order continued. The chief was regularly elected; the land distribution under the ancient law took place periodically; the brehon sat in judgment; the shanaghee constructed the tribal pedigree; the bard played the old music; the traditional literature still flourished. There were in short two nations on the same soil, not side by side but intermixed, one claiming it *de jure* by the legal fiction of conquest, the other holding it *de facto* by every moral right. Such a state of things could last only as long as the balance of power was even, and the balance was disturbed in the early years of the fourteenth century by the advent of Edward Bruce.

In 1318 after three years warfare and eighteen successive victories Bruce fell at Faughard, near Dundalk. But he brought down with him in his fall the feudal government of Ireland. The Anglo-Norman forces were shattered, their tenantry dispersed, their castles even in ruins. The Irish now seized the opportunity and what Bruce had left, they destroyed. North Tipperary for example had been a successful colony under the Butlers. Along the line of the Shannon and among the head waters of the Suir many a castle had been planted in dependence on Nenagh as the "caput baroniae." Lord Edmund Butler being justiciary in 1316, Bruce invaded the district and making Nenagh his headquarters "burnt and destroyed all Butler's lands" *(bb)*. Next year O'Carrol of Ely completed the ruin by defeating the remnant of Butler's forces, killing two hundred of them. Shortly after Bryan O'Brien laid claim to the whole district as part of the ancient kingdom of Thomond, and forthwith proceeded to make good his claim *(cc)*. In 1322 he gained his first great victory over the English. The parliament at Kilkenny on the petition of the commonalty of Tipperary agreed to raise a subsidy, and the sheriffs of the county, Geoffry Prendergast and John Landers, were ordered to organize an army to be commanded by John de Bermingham, the conqueror of Bruce *(dd)*. But O'Brien maintained his ground and three years later, moving south, he destroyed the De Burgh baronies of Clanwilliam and reduced the towns of Tipperary and Athassel to ashes. The Normans, now thoroughly aroused, formed a confederacy under the Earl of Ulster, with O'Connor King of Connaught and Murtough O'Brien of Thomond as allies. O'Brien at first suffered a reverse at Thurles but soon inflicted an overwhelming defeat on

(bb) Book of Howth *ad an.*

(cc) In a State Paper of Henry VII. 'Twomont' included O'Kynedy of Ormonde, O'Kerowyll of Elye, O'Meagher of Keryn, O'Brene of Arragh, O'Molryane of Wehen (O'Ryan of Owney), O'Dwyre of Kylnemanagh, and McBrene of Ighonaght (Coonagh).—Book of Howth p. 255.

(dd) Pat. Rol. 20 Ed. II.

the allies, the King of Connaught being left dead on the field. The success of the Irish may be measured by the fact that two years later, in 1332, they cut into the heart of the De Bermingham country and burnt the town of Cahir *(ee)*. The sequel is related in the Four Masters, under the date 1337, when an agreement was come to that O'Brien should hold the land and a certain rent was to be paid to De Burgh—a covenant probably which neither party took seriously.

If, as has been observed, there are some indications in embryonic Clonmel of a Danish origin, yet the town as it emerges into history is unmistakably Anglo-Norman. The four streets radiating from the centre forming a cross, the parish church occupying the north-west quadrant, the dedications "Our Lady of Clonmel," St. Nicholas, patron of sailors, St. Stephen with its leper house, all these are characteristic of the older English towns and of their Norman prototypes. The earliest documentary reference to the town occurs in 1215. That year King John sent a mandate to the Archbishop of Dublin, justiciary, to distrain William d'Aencurt for £100 purchase money of Clonmel. The purchase had been effected some years before but payment had not been made *(ff)*. The explanation is probably furnished by an entry in the Close rolls, 21st October, 1221, when the manor and ville of Clonmel were in litigation between D'Aencurt and Richard de Burgh. It would appear therefore that the grant to D'Aencurt had been made in ignorance that Clonmel was included in the lands previously granted to William fitz Adelm de Burgh, father of Richard.

To Richard de Burgh, justiciary, the most prominent man in Ireland of his generation, Clonmel as a municipal and commercial entity owes its existence. As early as 1225 he obtained from Henry III. a grant for a yearly fair in the town beginning on the feast of All Saints and lasting for the seven following days. In 1242 this fair was changed to the feast of St. Magdalen (21st July) and made permanent. The charter of incorporation which he as lord of the manor granted to the burgesses is not now extant, but its tenor may be learned from similar ones by contemporary lords. Evidence however is not wanting as to the state of the town. On the death of De Burgh in 1243 an inquisition in accordance with feudal law was held into his property. From this it appears that a rent of £19 6s. was payable by the burgesses. Now as contemporary charters show a uniform burgage rent of twelve pence, the sheriff's return would represent 386 burgesses and a town population therefore of 2,000. Surprising though these figures appear they can be tested from other sources. In the charter of incorporation besides the

(ee) Annals of Four Masters, Clyn, Ross, &c. *(ff)* State Papers, Sweetman.

common of wood and moor on the south side of the river, there were granted in small allotments the burgagery lands north of the town. These extended to about 850 Irish acres, and taking the average allotment, the burgesses would approximate to the above figure *(gg)*. Again, the mills of Clonmel as part of the dower of Egidia widow of De Burgh were valued at £8 13s. 4d. yearly. As only the corn of the manor tenants was ground, the profits show the existence of a large community. De Burgh's children being minors his estates passed into the hands of the King. Richard de Burgh, junior, dying in 1250 was succeeded by his brother Walter, who does not seem to have had livery of Clonmel and Kilsheelan previous to his exchanging these manors for the land of Ulster. An entry in the Pipe roll for 1276 runs "Richard fitz Ely accounts to the Exchequer for the rent of Clonmel and Kilsylan and for all the other proceeds of these manors,—which have been in the hands of the King from Christmas in the twenty-ninth year (Henry III., 1244),—up to the next Feast of St. Michael." A notable personage now appears on the scene. Otto de Grandison was sheriff of County Tipperary in 1267 and the two following years. During this period casting his eyes on the rich lands occupied despite feudal law by the junior De Burgh families, De Grandison soon obtained a grant of them for life. Subsequently returning to England, he was attached to the King's council until 1289 when he went on an embassy to Rome. Ten years later he set out for the Crusade. He was present at the siege of Acre whence escaping in company with the King of Cyprus he was reported to have perished in a shipwreck. But in 1302 he arrived home safely, bringing with him a Roman order for payment of 3,000 marks, losses incurred at the siege of Acre. Previous to his foreign peregrinations he succeeded in converting his freehold in Clonmel into fee simple absolute.

Edward, the King has granted to Otto de Grandisson for his homage and his service to the King during youth, and for his expenditure the castle, cantred, and entire territory of Hokmath [Coonagh barony, Co. Limerick], the entire ville of Tipperary and its appurtenances, the castle and ville of Kilfecle, the entire district of Muskerry and the ville of Clonmel, to hold to him and his heirs for ever, with knight services, advowsons of churches, &c., &c. Copeford, 26th July, 1281 *(hh)*.

The interest which he and his representatives took in the newly acquired possessions is evident from several entries in the State Papers. It is probable that during the minority of the De Burghs the manorial jurisdiction fell into abeyance, De Grandison determined to protect his

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(gg) The burgage holdings in Innistiogue were 3 acres, in Rathcoole 4 acres, in Rathmore some ½, some 7 acres.– Gale.

(hh) Pat. Rolls, Calendar Hen. II. Hen. VII. p. 1.

tenants as doubtless also to secure the perquisites of his court. In 1299 John de la Rokele and Walter fitz Mathew Power by a writ *Praecipe* began proceedings against certain burgesses of Clonmel in the King's courts. As it was a grievance to the citizens to compel them to appear outside their bailiwick and a violation of their rights as freemen under Magna Charta, Otto petitioned the King and quashed the proceedings. Besides legal protection the citizens obtained a further instalment of freedom, the right to levy taxes. The King at the instance of Otto de Grandison in 1298 granted to "the bailiffs and good men of Clonmel" for the benefit of the town and the greater security of the adjacent parts, customs on all articles domestic or foreign brought for sale there, the grant to last for ten years *(ii)*. Before this had run out, the need for fortifying the town became increasingly evident: the water ditch and the wooden stockade afforded the citizens scant protection against the marauding baron and the omnipresent Irish *(jj)*. In 1319 a "murage" grant, or grant to build stone walls was made to the provost and bailiffs, to be levied on all merchandise sold in the town for seven years. This seems to have been effective for no other is discoverable in the records for a generation. Meanwhile the De Grandisons finding the occupation of their Irish territory uncongenial and the defence of it anything but easy, became absentees. The withdrawal of the superior lord unbridled the turbulent sub-feudarii who by this time, through the logic of circumstances, were grown half Irish. The country was soon consumed by smouldering civil war. A drastic remedy had to be adopted.

[1316]. Edward the King to John Wesda of Clonmel, greeting. Whereas all rents, profits, etc., of the holdings of foreigners and strangers who do not spend such in defence of the said lands whereby all their own lands and those of other faithful subjects are destroyed and wasted by malefactors and other disturbers of the peace and whereas Otho de Grandison is beyond the seas, etc., he John Wesda is authorized to receive such rents of the said Otho and transmit them to Dublin to our Treasury *(kk)*.

The De Grandisons returned and seem to have satisfactorily fulfilled their responsibilities. Under date 1326 the Anglo-Irish chronicler records "In the morning of the vigil of Michaelmas died at Clonmel the noble squire Theobald de Grandison" *(ll)*. The town folk followed their vocations in peace, their only vexation being the trade jealousy of Carrick. A curious instance of this is set forth in some law pleadings of 1331. Henry Tykenham sued Richard Ocrethan (O'Crehan) and others. The plaintiff stated that the late

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(ii) Appendix.

(jj) A memorial of this ditch long existed outside the north gate of the town; the "Barior" is frequently mentioned in early 17th century patents of land there.

(kk) Order by Edmund Butler, Justiciary and Council, Exchequer Mem. 10, Ed. II. P.R.O. Dublin.

(ll) Annals of Ros, p. 43.

King (Edward II.) by letters patent in aid of enclosing the town of Carrick with a stone wall, granted certain customs of things coming for sale to said town. Now the plaintiff his men and servants in boats with merchandizes passing through the middle of the water which leads from Clonmel to Waterford and from Waterford to Clonmel, just as if the merchandizes had passed through the middle of the town of Carrick to be sold there which they were not, were greviously destroyed and manifoldly aggrieved by the said Richard O'Crehan and others being the men of Carrick, to the great damage of said Henry and against the prohibition of the Lord the King, etc. *(mm)*. But disturbed times came again and the De Grandisons, who to judge from the Papal Registers were intensely religious, preferred their quiet home in Hereford. In 1338 their sixty years connexion with Clonmel came to an end. "At the beginning of autumn Maurice fitz Thomas then Earl of Desmond bought Clonmel and Kilsheelan from William (*recte* Peter) de Grandison for one thousand one hundred marks *(nn)*.

Hitherto Kilmanahan Castle had been the northern outpost of the Desmond territory and the Suir the natural boundary. By the new purchase the Desmonds encroached upon the Ormond palatinate which had just been created, so that between them and their kinsman the White Knight, the districts of the De Keatings of Nicholastown, De Prendergasts of Newcastle, and De Berminghams of Cahir were almost isolated. To this disturbance of the scientific frontier much of the subsequent local history is traceable. The ruins of fifteenth and sixteenth century castles which stud the country still tell of the historic feud between the Butlers and the Desmonds, and in part explain it, Clonmel accordingly soon began to share the varying fortunes of its new lords.

In 1345 Ralph de Ufford, justiciary, after a successful campaign against Desmond occupied his principal castles and confiscated the estates. The following year John Morris, seneschal, was granted the custody of Clonmel, etc. with power to remove constables, bailiffs, and minor officers and appoint others in their stead. The terrible plague known in history as the "Black Death" visited the town in 1349. This with other calamities, is touchingly related in a murage grant of 1355.

Whereas it has been fully testified to the Council of the King in Ireland that the town of Clonmel is in divers ways reduced to pauperism by the plague which was lately in those parts as also by the numerous losses of different kinds which its merchants have met by sea and in foreign countries, the King considering their losses and poverty,

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(mm) Plea Rolls, 5 Ed. III., P.R.O. Grammar and sense slightly mixed in original as in translation.

(nn) Clyn's Annals, p. 29.

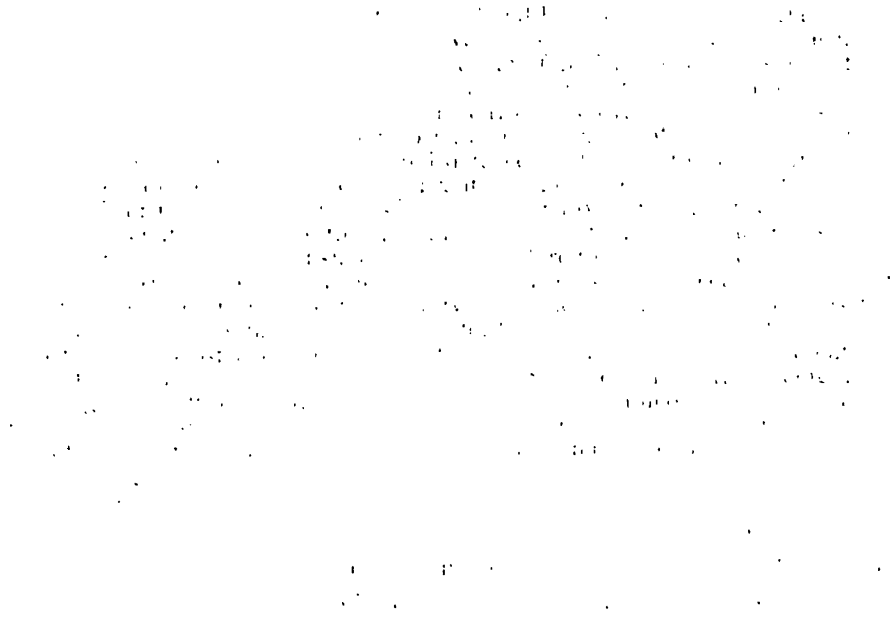
for a fine of two marks paid by the burgesses and commonalty through John Stephens, junior, has conceded and granted to the said burgesses and commonalty for the relief of the said town murage and pontage of everything coming for sale there for eight years from date hereof. Provided that at the end of that term they render account before two liege men of the said town to be chosen for that purpose by the commonalty, as is fitting, and no other account to be rendered to the lord the king, if only the murage and pontage receipts are honestly expended on the repair of the walls and bridge of the said town. 12 day of January, 1355.

Edward III. released the Earl from custody and having pronounced D'Ufford's proceedings illegal, restored the estates and finally in 1355 made Desmond viceroy. On the death of Desmond, his countess Eveleen had livery of Clonmel as part of her dowry, and the following year 1359 is remarkable as the first in which Clonmel returned members to Parliament. On 18th March a writ was directed to the provost and bailiffs of Clonmel to send "two of their more discreet citizens" to the parliament which was to meet at Waterford on the Monday next after the Feast of St. Ambrose.

Though the Desmonds as lords of the manor held courts leet in the town, yet the Ormonds in right of their palatinate, took cognisance of the graver pleas excepting the four reserved to the King. But the provost of the town would be subject to the Desmonds as his jurisdiction was manorial, hence the Ormonds to counteract this, appointed a higher authority known as the Superior or Sovereign. The preamble therefore of the following writ is probably as truthful as such things usually are.

Edward by the grace of God, King of England and France and Lord of Ireland to all whom these presents shall reach, greeting. Whereas we considering how much the town of Clonmel within the liberty of our beloved and faithful cousin James le Bottiler, Earl of Ormond, stands in need of ampler and more powerful government than it has had hitherto, especially in these days when the citizens as loyal men are seriously and openly threatened by malefactors and robbers, as is reported. We, therefore wishing to make liberal provision for the safety and defence of the said town by our special grace and at the request of our said cousin grant and give license for us and our heirs to the extent of our power, to the provost and commonalty of the said town that they in future whenever it shall please them, shall elect out of their fellow burgesses every year, a Superior who when elected shall make oath before the provost and commonalty to do each and everything necessary and opportune for the safe and secure government of the said town and the peace and tranquillity of our loyal men therein, just as the superiors of the towns of Kilkenny, Ross, Wexford and Youghal reasonably do. We grant also to the provost and commonalty for the time being by these presents in writing that they be intendant and respondent to the Superior for the time being in all things relating to his office as often as and just as is enjoined him on our part, the right of the royal liberty granted to our cousin and his heirs, being saved in every wise. In testimony of which, etc. William de Wyndsor, lord lieutenant, Kilkenny, 20 January, 1371.

A few years later the citizens obtained a grant of a more valuable character, namely, freedom from pre-emption and purveyance. The royal privilege of commandeering food and conveyance at a price fixed by the





REMAINS OF TOWN WALL.

From Drawing by Miss Collins.

purveyor himself, had it appears, been usurped by the feudal lords generally. This scarcely disguised form of robbery was ended in the case of Clonmel by a mandatum dated 12 July, 1376.

Edward by the grace of God, etc. Whereas in a Statute of Westminster lately promulgated, it is enacted *inter alia* that no corn, victuals or other goods belonging to any prelate, religious person, cleric or layman, be taken under colour of "emption" against the will of the owner or keeper, within any trading town, and that no horses, bullocks, cars, ships or boats be taken for conveyance against the will of the owner, and if taken with his consent he must be satisfied according to agreement, and whosoever offends in the premises and is convicted shall be imprisoned during our pleasure and that of our Court according to the amount of the offence. And Whereas on the part of our beloved the Superior and commonalty of Clonmel within our said land, it is shown that certain evil doers calling themselves purveyors and servants of great folk (magnatum) and others, have up to now taken corn and other victuals from several burgesses against their will and did not satisfy them according to the statute, the superior and commonalty have humbly petitioned us for redress, we therefore wishing to keep the statute inviolate, command under the penalties expressed therein that the superior and burgesses or any of them be not molested contrary to its tenor.

The Ormonds as lords palatine, in 1385 gave the citizens a further extension of liberty. James le Botiller granted to the sovereign provost and commonalty that their taxes should be rateably assessed by themselves, that they should not be compelled to serve on juries, etc., out of the borough, and that they should have the "office of the market," that is the market tolls and the court of Pie Poudre which adjudicated on all disputes arising therein.

These several grants mark the growth of popular freedom from the stage when the burghers were mere serfs under the feudal lord down to the period when some of the "more discreet" of their number sat in parliament as the equals of the barons themselves. But it must be remembered throughout, that these franchises were only for burghers of Norman or English blood. The Celtic Irish as belonging to a different nation had no legal status; the law took no cognizance of them and afforded no protection either to their lives or their property. Those of them who attached themselves to the English as dependents or servants could not be domiciled within the walls but dwelt in a suburb outside which to this day preserves the name of "the Irish town." And should any Irish even be murdered the only question that could arise would be one of compensation to their master—just as for the loss of so many horses or cattle. For instance in the Pipe roll of 1276 the sheriff returns "David Toerny of Clonmele, lxxviii. s., on account of the wrongful death of an Irishman belonging to the Lord Edward," to be paid to the said lord. Sometimes, but at rare intervals, an Irish family obtained letters of naturalization by which they were enabled to inhabit and trade. Such a family were the Moroneys who for three hundred years played a prominent part in the town and only disappeared in the first quarter of the eighteenth century.

The King grants to O'Molrony O'Griffy chief of his race, to Molrony his son, to Neill and Desmond brothers of the said O'Molrony, that they and all their descendants be of free state and free from all Irish slavery, that they use English law and freely acquire lands, goods and cattle, because they have become faithful subjects and reformed themselves and their people to the King's peace and loyalty. Clonmel, 6 December, 1375 *(oo)*.

Again,

The King grants to Terence son of Charles O'Connor who is of Irish nationality, that he and his descendants be of free state. Clonmel, 17 June, 1408 *(pp)*.

The charter of Henry V. to Clonmel sets forth the exclusively English character of the inhabitants as the reason for granting them a Hundred Court and exempting them from the jurisdiction of the seneschal of the liberty.

Clonmel is inhabited by English merchants and burgesses who have lately constructed great walls, towers and fortifications around the said town, and who observing English law are a great succour to the government and to those who resort to that place, but whereas they, the said inhabitants, are greatly oppressed by assessments as well of the Irish as of the English of the County Tipperary around the said town, etc.

An entry on the Patent roll of 1408, illustrates still more vividly the relations of the burghers to the native Irish.

The King grants to John Folyot, a merchant of Clonmel, that he and his servants for the next three years carry on trading intercourse with the Irish enemy of Ormond and Ely in Munster, as well in time of war as in time of peace *(qq)*.

It is not therefore a matter of surprise if occasionally the Irish enemy dealt with these merchants in a prompt, business like way of their own.

The King commands all sheriffs, etc., to arrest Walter Ormon, Richard Rery, Griffin mac Walter mac Edmund, Henry McEon, outlaws in county Waterford at the prosecution of Arnold de Hanse for the death of Martin de Hanse, merchant. Clonmel, 8 March, 1303.

From all this it may be gathered that life in medieval Clonmel was neither empty nor colourless. The burghers' ordinary portion was that of the apostle—perils from the deep and perils from robbers. Outside the walls they and all they had were at the mercy of every enemy whom they were not strong enough to resist or fortunate enough to escape. Within, they had to take turn in watch and ward at the gates and walls, and on holidays instead of rest every man between sixty and sixteen practiced

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(oo) Pat. Rot. 79, Ed. III. 121-2.
(pp) Pat. Rot. 10, Hen. IV. 77.
(qq) Ibid.

at the butts how to shoot straight *(rr)*. The return too of the merchant was a notable event for he told of episodes of chivalry, of the people he had met, of the churches he had seen and the pilgrimages he had made. The friar brought from the chapter of his order not only the news of ecclesiastical appointments and changes of discipline but a full budget of gossip got from his fellow capitulars. An old inhabitant at the end of the fourteenth century could relate many a stirring scene in the town itself. He would tell how in 1331 the lord of Cahir, William De Bermingham was pounced on in Clonmel by the judiciary De Lucy, and the year after someone recognized the ghastly head of the unfortunate nobleman spiked over the gate of Dublin Castle. He would tell also how in 1338 William De Wall, sheriff of Tipperary, with thirteen of his kinsmen were murdered just outside the walls of the town by the Powers with whom they were holding parley. And in 1346 that Ralph Kelly Archbishop of Cashel, Maurice Rochfort Bishop of Limerick, Richard Walsh Bishop of Emly, and John Lynch Bishop of Lismore, one day in the middle of the High Street vested in full pontificals solemnly excommunicated all who, contrary to the liberties of the Church, paid the subsidy to the Crown. Our inhabitant in extreme old age would have seen the Anglo-Irish parliament assemble in the ancient church of Our Lady on the Monday after the feast of St. Peter 1381. Alexander Bishop of Ossory, and Sir Thomas de Mortimer were there with the King's commission, and there also were the ecclesiastical peers the bishops of the Pale, the abbots of Mellifont and Dunbrody, the priors of Athassel and Kells, and many another. The lay barons too mustered, Butlers and Fitzgeralds, Freynes and Cusacks, Poers and Barrys. The cities of the Pale sent their representatives in aldermanic array, rivalling Solomon in his glory. Indeed the barbaric splendour of this feudal parliament afforded such a spectacle as Clonmel has never since beheld *(ss)*. Life therefore was full of incident; the character of the burghers strenuous and healthy, and if chronic warfare quenched the more humane instincts, it brought the ennobling compensations, personal loyalty, mutual trust and the equality of comradeship.

But there were great drawbacks. Sanitation and hygiene were absolutely unknown. Not perhaps a dozen houses were built of stone, the rest were frame work and shingle. Open sewers drained the streets, and when the universal mud and offal became impassable, an additional layer of

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(rr) 5 Ed. IV., c. 4, "An Act for having a Constable in every town and a pair of Butts for shooting; and that every man between sixty and sixteen shall shoot every Holiday at the same Butts." In some towns, e.g., Kilkenny "the Butts" still survive in the local nomenclature.

(ss) Clynn's Annals *passim*, Harris' Ware, Patent Rolls 5 Ric. II.

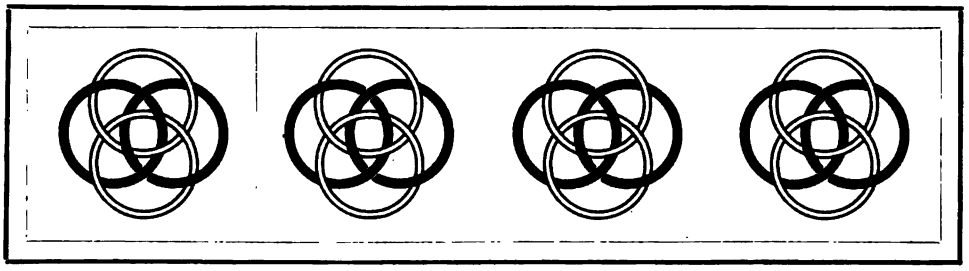
rushes or straw was spread over the whole. Food also was of the coarsest kind, only in summer was it to be obtained fresh. After Michaelmas all cattle and swine that could not be foddered through the winter were slaughtered and barrelled and there were no winter vegetables *(tt)*. The consequences are obvious. Fever was endemic and when such visitations of Providence as the plagues of 1349 and 1376 came, priest and congregation were swept away together *(uu)*. Few realize the history that lies behind the Irish name of St. Nicholas' Teampull na Plaige "The Church of the Plague." The general use also of salted food produced aggravated scorbutic affections and it is probable that most of the 'leprosy' of the middle ages was a virulent form of scurvy. The hospital for the lepers adjoined the chapel of St. Stephen, well removed from the town; its last memorial is the local name "'Spittle lands." *(vv)*

Such was Clonmel for the first three centuries of its existence. Aggressively hostile to the Celtic population, neither influencing nor being influenced by them, a "garrison town" in the most literal sense, it kept its English identity unimpaired amid the active solvents of language and marriage which destroyed the feudal system everywhere about it.

(tt) The Annalists, v.g., Penbridge and the Book of Howth carefully record the price of salt for different years.

(uu) Friar Clynn, of Carrick-on-Suir, writes in 1349 "Scarcely one alone ever died in a house. Commonly husband, wife, children and servants went the same way of death, and the penitent and the confessor were carried together to the grave."

(vv) The 'Spittle lands are still the property of the Corporation.



CHAPTER III.

CLONMEL IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

THE Anglo-Norman supremacy of Tipperary which had been complete in the thirteenth century was disputed in the fourteenth. In the fifteenth century it gave way absolutely to the Celtic. The Irish language was used universally, even Geraldines and Butlers were proud of their skill in the vernacular literature *(ww)*. The Brehon code regulated all disputes; the lord became a chief, tanistry was substituted for primogeniture, and instead of feudal homage there was the equality of clanship. The Anglo-Irish then indeed and long after, considered themselves English, but it was only after the fashion of the modern Australians. They appealed to the executive when they were oppressed; they made a parade of their English lineage, and their former services against the King's Irish enemy, but the truth was that in essentials they were themselves become "as Irish as O'Hanlon's breeches" *(xx)*. Amongst the Irish Kern brought to the siege of Boulogne in 1544 by lords Ormond and Cahir were Purcells, Fannings, Fitzwilliams, Cantwells, Archers, Keatings, Dobbyns, Whites, Rothes, Walls, and a host of others.

Yet not in all respects Irish. For the younger sons of the great families who had found it convenient to reject the primogeniture, the female heirs,

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(ww) A D. 1398. "Gerald Earl of Desmond, the most distinguished of the English of Ireland and also of many of the Irish for his attainments and knowledge of the Irish language, poetry, history and general literature died after the victory of penance." "Theobald the son of Pierce, the son of Edmund Butler lord of Cahir and the cantred of Clonmel, a man of great benevolence and bounty, had the greatest collection of poems of any of the Normans of Ireland"—Four Masters.

(xx) "Other great houses there bee of the English in Ireland which have degendred from their auncient dignities and are now growne as Irish as Ohanlan's breeche as the proverbe there is"—Spenser's View of the State of Ireland, p. 110.

the wardship and marriage of feudalism, exacted with unchanging tenacity the feudal services *(yy)*. The unhappy freeholders and tenants in consequence were crushed beneath a load of oppressions, feudal and Irish. They gave aids, reliefs and the rest to lord Cahir or lord Dunboyne as their liege lord, and then he came in his role of Irish chief with his dependents "coshering" on them and ate up everything they had left. In 1542 a body of them petitioned King Henry VIII. and told a story piteous in its quaint details.

The petitioners were Thomas Prendergast of Newcastle, James Keating of Moortown, James Walsh, Rathronan, James Oge Wall of Finglas, Richard son of William Butler of Kilcash, Geoffry Mockler of Mocklerstown, St. John of St. Johnstown, William Power, Rathcoole, John Comyn of Kilconnell, Richard fitz Theobald of Ballylynch, Richard son of William and grandson of John Butler of Cabbragh, James Oge Butler of Lismalin, Geoffry Fanning, Ballingarry, James Laffan Graystown, Pierce fitz Richard Butler of Moykelly and John O'Neill of Maynestown.

They and their ancestors, they said, provided a retinue by which the Earls of Ormond as lords of the liberty of Tipperary right well governed and defended the said county. On the departure of the White Earl to England in 1430 he divided the county into certain districts among his kinsfolk assigning to each of them a proportion of the agreed retinue. These kinsfolk "entered into such a wrongfull inordynate pride and malicious division between them selfs that they fell suddenly out of their good obedience to be murderers and mansleers of either other." Though the Earl on his return restored the county to its "prestynate estate," his sons as Earls of Wiltshire resided wholly in England. During this period again the Ormond kinsfolk partly by joining in the Irish wars, partly by internecine strife "brought the countrie not oonely into disobedience but also in effect, into utter desolation and waste saving a few castells and so contynued till about 1524." The late Earl of Ormond "to the great daunger of his person at sundry tymes began to styrr soo with Syr Edmunde Butler [of Cahir] and Syr James Butler [of Kiltinane] being then men of good power and strongely allied with the Brenes [O'Briens] as with the Desmonds that he readoptid vnto him agayn moche of the power of the same retynue that were so commytted by his auncestors vnto the auncestors of the said Syr Edmonde and Syr James." The Kiltinane Butlers were soon brought into subjection

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(yy) Thorold Rogers demonstrated, for the first time I think, the part played in English history by "the younger sons." Along this line probably we shall find the explanation how, e.g., the Burkes of Clanwilliam only three generations removed from FitzAdelm and claiming kinship with Edward III., ranked themselves as Irish chiefs.

but not so with the lords of Cahir. Edmund Butler cousin german of the eleventh and twelfth earls of Desmond and married to a daughter of lord Power, despised the orders of the lords deputy though sworn for performance thereof. His son Sir Thomas Butler "slakith not to sesse [cess] and exacte many kinds of inordynate exactions and taxes daily."

First the said Sir Thomas takith of every freholder coddies [night suppers] at Xrimas and Ester or certan sommes of money in liewe thereof at his pleasyr.

He sessith them dailly with the kepers of his hounds and stoodes and withe hount and hounds of dyvers kyndes.

He sessith dailly your said complaynaunts with all manner kynde of coyne and lyueray [food for man and horse] for horsemen horsses and horskepers at his will and pleasyr.

He sessith them with such persones as he commandeth nedeles to kepe garisons and castells within the said countie that is to say with the chardge of eight in the Reghill [Rehill castle] eight in graciscastell [Castlegrace] twelve in the Cahir and four in Ardcollum [Dovehill] the like whereof neither therle of Ormounde ne noon other of your graces obedient subiects vse.

He sessith them dailly with the chardges of all manner kynde of labourers for the buylding and repayring of his castells houses mylls making of hedges and ditches about his gardeyns and orcheyards and other inclosures at his will and pleasyr.

He leviethe and takithe of them at every Xrimas £8 13 4 for the payment of suche wynes as he providethe for his house against the said feast.

He sessith them with the cariage as well of all stones, tymbre and other necessaries to any worke he hath as also of all suche corne wyne pailles of butter and all other things that he woll have caried for the necessitie or provision of his house or houses.

He takith towards the mariage of every of his daughters a shepe of every flocke and a cowe of every sixty kyne, he levieth in every carrue of land [about 160 acres] comenly callid collup within the Cantrede of Clomell [Iffa and Offa East] a bushell of otes callid sommer otes.

He sessith them with a certaine retynue called Kernetye to the numbre of twenty five contynually upon that porcion called the Cantrede of Clomell which retynue were graunted oonly to therles of Ormounde for the ministration of justice and executing of suche processe as shulde be by the seneschall and other officers of the libertie.

He sessith them also with twelve serjaunts for the levying of gages [pledges] for these extortions to every of the whiche serjaunts they are chardged to give offrings twys a yere where of old therle of Ormounde used to have but two serjaunts oonly for the executing of Justice.

Whereby and by dyvers other unlawfull chardges used by the said Sir Thomas your pore complaynaunts are so utterly empouerisshed that they be not hable to bere your Majestys subsidy and oonles your moaste gracious remedye bee unto them provided right briefly your said complaynaunts may not contynue after the sorte but fayne to leve all their freholds waste *(zz)*.

(zz) Original, Kilkenny Castle,—Gilbert, National MSS. These charges are set forth with additional detail in a "Verdyt of the Gentlyllmen and Comyners of Typary" in 1537. "Itm, they present that the coshyr wherwith they ar moste greveid and desolateid [is] by the multytude of people whiche the said Thomas bryngyth to them and every of them of habylytie by the whiche they ar wasteid and ther substaunce whiche many dayes and nights finde them [i.e., which they take many days and nights to procure] is in two days and nights spent and this is useid four tymes in the yere of men haveing any substaunce."

"Itm they present that the saide Thomas useid dyverse Juges and Sergeants in his countrey oppressing the people of ther owne wille, and thes are the names of the Juges Rery McClaneshe Oyne McClaneshe Thomas McClaneshe and these ar the names of the sergeaunts Edmd Mke Donogho Darby Mke Edmund, John Duff haveing after hym six Sergeaunts and dyvers other sergeaunts."

Such was Tipperary during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, a theatre of anarchy and disorder that—to use the words of a contemporary—would have wrecked the kingdom of Beelzebub himself. How far the burghers of Clonmel were able to maintain their civic independence and trade, we are fortunately able to judge from a State Paper preserved in the London Record Office. In 1537 a Royal Commission was issued to inquire into the state of Ireland. The Commissioners, Antony St. Leger, George Poulet, T. Mayne, and William Berners opened an "inquest" in Clonmel, the October of that year, when the following report was made.

THE VERDYT OF THE HEDDES AND COMYNERS OF THE TOWNE OF CLONMELL [October 18, 1537]—

Bennet White, Jur [at]

Richard fytz Thomas White William Fagan Richard fytz John White	Jur.	Walter Poer John Molreny Tybalde Whyte	Jur.
John Stryche Jamys White Waltyr Walle	Jur.	William Laynach Cornell Brathe John Corre	Jur.

Nicholas Merthye
Moryce Quyrke } Jur.
Jamys Quyrke

This Inquyre is for thes two yeres past above the date above wrytin and so we gyve our verdyct.

We fynde and present that when tyme as pleasith the Erle of Ossorye the lorde Jamys Butler and Syr Thomas Butler Knight to be at any buyldeing of any castell or works they do assesse ther tennts under ther governaunce to have workemen and horseis to labor without gyveyng of meate or paying any money and they set ther masons and carpinters to coyne upon the tenants every holly dayes *(a)*.

Itm they fynde when it pleasith the said lords and gentillmen to have any tayllors for to have worke or garments to be made they used to sett them at coyne upon ther tennants in holly dayes.

Itm they fynde that idell men and vacabounds goyth in the countrye and takeith meate and dryncke paying no money therfor. Itm they fynde that all lords and others haveing domynion within this Quarter useith to have Iryshe judges [Brehons] for ther advantage.

The citizens therefore of those days said little about the patronage of the nobility and gentry, but on the other hand made grave charges of interference with their trade.

Itm, they fynde that Shane FitzTybbalde [Burke] of Mowskry [Clanwilliam] makyth his proclamations that no market may be solde nor shalle not be solde out of his shyre but to Jamys White and Edmund Quirke and then paying every of them a fyne ten shillings yerely.

(a) "Every whole day" is still used in Clonmel dialect, and is a translation of the Irish gaċ uile lá = every day.

Itm they fynde that Donyll McKraghe of the Mountayn [Mountain Castle] hathe ordyned and establysheid that none of his tennants shalle selle nor bye any hyds but to himselfe at a certaine pryce for his owne avantage.

Itm they fynde that Sir Thomas Butler Knight, Nycholas Keteing of Nycholas Town, Jamys Keteing of the Mortown, Jamys Englyshe of Whytechurche, the Pryor of the Kagher [Cahir] the Pryor of our Lady Abbey [Ardfinnan] John Mawclerke of Dounes Towne, Thomas Prendergaste of the New Castell, Robert McShane Prendergaste, Robert Keteyng of Ardfinan and all others within this shire in the cantrede of Clonmell that have any towne or villadge under his governaunce with one assent and assembleing, before Sir Thomas Butler as governer of them hath affyrmed and establyshed and enacteid that none under their governaunce nor jurysdycon shalle sell or bring any wolle fleshe or other merchandyse oute or fro any towne or vyllege to market towne of the Kings wythoute speciall lycence. And so this acte made by commandyment and penaltye to be leved of the seller wythoute grace.

But besides this boycotting of the markets of the town, there was also the grievance of forestalling. Certain persons styled "gray merchants" went through the country buying "hides, felles [skins] checkers, fleges, yarne, linnen cloth, woole and flockes" secretly and not in open market, with the evil intent to sell them again *(b)*.

Itm they fynde that Jamys White merchaunte useith and hathe graye merchaunts regrateing the market, Thomas White and John Merthye useyth the same.

Itm they fynde that dyverse of Waterforde and others goen from vyllage to vyllage so that the markets be hynderid and lost in this Quarter, that no vytaylle nor merchandyse may be gotyn for any money praying your dyscrete wysedoms of a remydy breffely.

From the next item it would appear that the navigation of the Suir extended to Cahir.

Itm of the werys [weirs] made from Clonmell to the Carryk they fynde the greate daunger and enormyties of them that both men and goods byn dayly in daunger of loseing, and by west toun into the cahyrd *(c)*.

In spite of all law Carrick folk continued to levy toll on the Clonmel trade.

Itm, they fynd that Carryk takeith unlawfull customes dayly contrarye to all goode order and right of all suche bootys [boats] with merchandyseis not chargeid nor dyschargeid within the fruncheis of that towne, whiche the Kings deputye awardeid agayne them, whiche one Fitz William as custymer to the lorde of Ossery polleyth and takeyth dayly the said wrongfull customes.

(b) This practice was prohibited under severe penalties by the Acts 33 Hen. VIII. and 2 Elizabeth.

(c) An Act was passed, 33 Henry VIII., reciting that whereas certain persons "of their own wilfulness and benefite" had erected weirs, engines and other obstacles whereby cottes boats and vessels laden with merchandize were impeded, said weirs etc. might be levelled by any one of the King's subjects in the presence of the sheriff, "that sufficient gaps be made in all milldams and seven feet at each side of said river where they must needs draw the said boates with strength of horses or men by land." Notwithstanding this a jury of Clonmel in 1576 again presented:

That all the weares on the ryver of the Suir by Clonemell do stopp the concorse of boats and fyshes to come alonge the ryver and specially the weare that is called Crowek weir.

That all the weyres uppon the shoure frome Korke Heny to the Carige be hurtfull to the common welth.

The "heads and commoners" of the town had, however, still more serious causes of complaint.

Itm, the saide jurye fynde that this present year the eight daye of Julye Waltyr Butler of Polkyre [Poulakerry] and Shane Bretnaghe [Walsh] Waltyr Bretnaghe of Rochystown is sonne with a Rowte of kerne and thevys [a body of armed Irish and thieves] by nyght forceibly toke oute of a bote laden with merchandyseis in the ryver besyde the Key of Clonmell a fardell of clothe and merchaundyse valued at sixteen pounds costs and all.

And no wonder if merchandize was plundered on the very quay itself for

The sayde jurye fynde that thofficers of the lybertie hath not executed the Kings lawes agaynste Waltyr Butler whiche was endytied in the assyse, whereof growith muche inconvenyensye and injurye don by the said Waltyr Butler of Polkyr which ewas wyth them, and mought be taken yf the senyshall and shryfe wolde have don ther office and duetye.

Perhaps the reason why the seneschal did not arrest Butler was that there were others as bad.

Itm they present that one Richard Rothe Butler of pollekere is a common extorcyenor and hath taken and ymprisoned ofte and divers tymes the Kings subiects and comitted infynite heynous offences against the Kinge and his lawes and his brother Water Butler as great an extorcyoner.

A few special cases will illustrate the state of Clonmel at this period better than any number of general presentments.

To the right honorable the Kings high commissioners of this lande of Ireland.

Greveusly complayning sheweth unto yor honorable wisdomes the Kings trewe subiect your trewe oratrix Mawde Goldyng borne woman of the citie of Waterford. That whereas your said oratrix laboring to comme by her lyving in trewthe hath gonne and rowed bote towards the towne of Clonmell in the Kings river. And one of the servants of Edmond Butler decessed called Derby Fitz Edmond which was then the said Edmond Butlers sergeaunt and nowe servant to Sir Thomas Butler Knight the said Edmonds sonne have riotously taken your said complaynaunt forsebly oute of the bote and took her prisoner and tooke with hir a marke sterling in money and a crosse worthe six shillings eight pence and kepte hir prisoner half a yere and more. And afterwaid he paied for her raunsom to the said Edmond Butler a pipe of wyne worthe eleven marks Irishe and two shillings in sterling to the said Sir Thomas Butler besids your saide complaynaunts costs and losyng of her profits during the said ymprisonment. And also the said complaynaunts mother decessed was taken in the Kings highwaye riding towards Clonmell forsaid by the said Derbyes father called Edmond Fitz Donagh being then also sergeaunt to Edmond Butler and nowe servant to Thomas Butler forsaid and took them of your said complaynaunts mother apprice horse [a high priced horse]. And all this done to your said complaynaunt and to her mother [stood] fer five yeres gayne. The premisses consydered therefore that it may please your honorable wisdomes to cause and lawfully compell the forsaid Sir Thomas Butler sonne and heire to the said Edmond Butler which Sir Thomas hathe the saide malefactors and extorcynors in his service and domynion to satysfye your said complaynaunt and her mother of the forsaid damages susteyned els to showe sufficient warraunt to barre your said complaynaunt of the said exclamacons [claims] as shall stande with right lawe and conscience and this in the way of Justice and charitie.

[*At foot*] Wee (the gentyllmen and comyners of the contye of Tipar) knowe and testefy that the said Mawde Goldyng of the citie of Waterford was taken by the said Derby Fitz Edmond officer of Edmond Butler in the Kings hyway as to fore written and this without any lawfull cause.

The following case is a similar one of highway robbery, but of a more aggravated sort.

To the right worshipfull the Kings highneś Commissioners.

In most humble wise sheweth unto your worshipfull masterships your daily orator and poor bedeman Richard Graunte of Fetherd burgess, that where as he was in the service of Sir John Arundell of the countie of Cornewall and was willing to see his frends and the countrey where he was borne. Where upon he took shipping and arived at Dungarvan and there about two yeres nowe passed met withe Edmond Mawrice gent who for a certayn some of money agreed upon sauffly to conducte the said Richard and certayn goods which the said Richard had then in his possession to Clonmel. After which conduccyon and hire the same Richard upon the truste he had in the same Edmond went hymselfe with his goods toward Clonmell wyth the said Edmond Mawrice which said goods amounte to the value of forty pounds. And the said Edmond notwithstanding the confydance and truste which the said Richard had in hym in the way bitwene Dongarvan aforsaid and Clonmell dyd with force and armes assaute the said Richard and hym dyd beate and grevously wounde and the same goods then being in the possession of the said Richard dyd felonously steale and bere awaye and after the same robery dyd convey the same goods to the towne of Rekyll [Rehill]. And the said Edmond with other company to your orator unknowen dyd bringe your said orator with force to the said towne of Rekyll where Sir Thomas Butler Master to the said Edmond then inhabited and the said Sir Thomas Butler imprisoned your orator by the space of half a yere and compelled him to give him eight pounds and ten shillings Irishe for a raunsome or fyne for the payment of which raunsome your said orator was enforsed to mortgage his lands to his utter undoing. In consyderacon of all the premises may it please etc.

In addition to highway robbery, there was systematic plunder under the forms of law.

To the right honorable the Kyngs hyhnes commissioners of this land of Ireland.

Grevously complayning sheweth unto your honorable wisdomes the Kings trewe subjects your trewe orators James Braye and Ric, Wedlok merchaunts and borne in the towne of Clonmel where as they went by the Kings highwaye accompanyed with other yonge men half a myle oute of the towne of Clonmell one John Duff sergeaunt to Edmond Butler deceased and nowe to Sir Thomas Butler .Knight [met them. They were] fellow with Water Flemyng merchaunt of the towne of Cosshill as he went by the said highe waie with a pipe of wyne in a carte and [Duff] wold have arested the forsaid wyne and horses. The forsaid merchaunt of Cassell owing no dewty unto the foresaid sergeaunt nor to his lord or master defended hym [self] and his goods and took it to his towne. Then the forsaid sergeaunt retorned into the towne of Clonmell and complayned to the suffrayn that the said complaynaunts had forfeit the forsaide merchaundises and goods. The soveraign belevyng this open false sergeaunt compelled your forsaid complaynaunts to abide the judgment of four men chosen by the forsaid Edmund Butler and by the suffrayn to whome Edmond Butler said openly that his Judges [Brehons] should here [hear] and agre with them of the towne. The forsaid Judges without deliberacon awarded that your fornamed complaynaunts shuld paie unto the forsaid Edmond Butler ten pounds and to themselfs three pounds and to the forsaid sergeaunt for his fee twenty shillings and then sent your complaynaunts to Edmond Butlers place where they were kept in prisone twelve weeks and then paied fifteen shillings four pence for jaylors fee and other besids the forsaid somes one of your forsaid complaynaunts hath attached the forsaid Judges to the lawe which been named William Fagan burgeys, John Haryhan clerke and the matter was brought tofore a quest whose names followen vz. Th. White, Ric White fitz John, Ric. White fitz Thomas burgesses, Robert Butler, Edmond Braye, James White fitz Henry merchaunt men who were sworne after the use of the towne dyd heare and receave your complaynaunts

true evydences and then dyd not agree, your forsaid complaynaunts supposyng that the forsaid three burgesses were not eqall [impartial] for they went abrod and brought no verdite. And thus your complaynaunts and true orators can have no right syn the twenty fourth yere of the Kynge our soveraign lorde the Kings reign unto this tyme. It maye therefore please your honorable wisedomes to see a lawfull ordre in this matter and thus in the waie of Justice and charitie.

[*At foot*] We knowe that the said James Braye and Richard Wodloke of the Towne of Clonmell and Water Fleimyng of Casseyll were interupted by the said John Dufs servants when they passed in the Kings highwaie and this unlawfully doon not accordyng to the Kings will.

Among the robbers in high station not the least conspicuous was Edmund Butler, Archbishop of Cashel. An illegitimate son of Pierce, Earl of Ormond, he was educated at Oxford, and subsequently through family influence probably, was appointed prior of Athassel. From this was but a short step to the archbishopric of Cashel. But the mitre no more made the archbishop than the habit makes the monk, and Butler only differed from the rest of the family in his deeper shade of rapacity. Living with his notorious sister, the lady Catherine Power in Kilmeaden Castle, he levied blackmail on the traders of the Suir. The Clonmel jurors presented him and "his folowers" for committing riot. In Waterford

We finde that tharchebysshop of Casshell with a companye and specially Phylip Hennebre toke a bootye of Clonmell men and goods wythin this ryver.

Again

Itm they present that Edmond Archbishop of Cashell riotously and with a company of malyfactors being in a bote on the river of Waterford anno twenty fourth King Henry VIII qui nunc est hath spoyled and robbed a bote of Clonmell charged with clothe sylke and safron and other merchaundises to the value by estymacyon aboot one hundreth pounds sterling and took and ymprisoned the owners of parcell of the said goods and kepte them in prisone tyll they made fyne and raunsome and is an open mayntayner and bearer of causes [lawsuits] and manassed to trouble them that wold tell trothe and useth coyne and lyvery in all thies parts that he paieth no money for horsmete nor mannesmeate [food for man or horse].

A particular case of oppression is set forth in the following petition.

To the Kings highnes commissioners within this lande of Irelande.

Grevously complaynyng shewith unto your discute wisdomes and high auctorities your poore humble and daily orator Robert Donyll freman and dweller within the Kings towne of Clonmell within the said lande. That when as he laboring trewly for his living in England cam home with his living and at his goying towards his dwelling place of Clonmell aforsaid in the river of Waterford agaynst [opposite] Kylmydan within foure myles of the saide citie cam the Archiebishop of Casshell with force and tooke riotously your poore suppliaunt (with many others) with his goods to the value of eight pounds and more and ymprisoned hym the space of nine weks to the utter undoing of your saide poore suppliaunt his wif and children. And this contrary to lawe and right as ye shal be credybly hereafter enformed by suffiaint recorde.

It may therfore please you of your charytable goodnes to see your poore suppliaunt restored to his trewly begotten goods and the damages that he hath susteyned by reason

of the saide ryot and this in the waie of charitie seeing that your said suppliaunt is not able otherwise (as by lawe) to obtaigne his goods. And your said suppliaunt shall praye to God for your prosperous estate longe to endure.

The some of the goods taken by the said Archiebishop from your suppliaunt the seventeenth daie of August in the twenty fourth yere of the Kings reign that nowe is eight pounds six shillings eight pence.

This Byll is founde to be trewe by the verdyt of the hedde and commyns of the towne of Clonmell aforesaide.

The honest burghers of Clonmel having detailed to the King's Commissioners the robberies and outrages of which they were the victims, might have requested his Majesty to shorten by the head a few of the neighbouring gentry. They contented themselves with abstract advice; perhaps even then the unreality of royal commissions was felt.

The advyce for the redresse of the enormyties aforesaid divysed by the saide Jurye.

Our best advise after our symple dyscrecyons and most diligent and faithfull maner please it your right discrete wisdomeis accepted, of the good ordering of the lande of Ireland, if by your wisdomes maye fynde the meanes.

That first coyne and livery be put bake and the Inglish lords and trewe subjects of Ireland be brought at one peace and that none may be at no severall peases with eny of the Irishe naycons but with such Irishe nacions as is trewe and faithfull to the Kynge and to his subjects and that then all Irishe naycons under the Kyngs lawes be obedyent to the Statutes and lawes proclaymed, affyrmed by the Kings deputie and his counsell and that the bigge Irishe sherts be dampned [be condemned] and put bake and brought to lesse making and facyon *(d)*. And when tyme is and may be by leasure after your discrecyons that all Inglish nacyons of Inglishe and Irishe be brought to one apparell as nigh to the Inglishe maner and facyon as may be, and that every man be so charged to socor ne favor no thieves nor Irishe rebelles, and that every lord within his dominacon be charged to have weapon after the best manner according as he maye occupie best, and every man after his degree answere the crye [hue and cry] and defende his neighbour the Kings subjects and that every gentylman answere for his servant in the countrey that useth Irishe manners.

God save our soveraign lorde Kynge Henry the eight.

The advice of the burghers and the recommendations of the royal commissioners, notwithstanding, the "enormities" continued, and two generations later the state of Tipperary was worse than ever. On 11th October, 1563, Pierce Lord Cahir wrote that the brothers of lord Ormond invaded his district and plundered his tenants of cattle, household goods and clothing to the value of a thousand pounds sterling. In January, 1566, Theobald Hackett of Meldrum, with divers others malefactors, burnt thirty houses in Sheepstown, one hundred pounds worth of household goods, "besydes the burninge of a womane and a mane child." The same year,

(d) "Linnen shirts the rich doe weare for wantones and bravery with wide hanging sleeves playted, thirtie yards are little enough for one of them. They have now left their saffron and learne to wash their shirts foure or five times in a yeare." Campion. Historie, 1571, Dublin Edition, 1810, p. 24.

Philip Comyn fitz George burnt eight ricks of corn belonging to Edmond Comyn, of Kilconnell. Connor Fox of Monroe, burnt nine houses, one hundred sheep and swine, and twenty pounds value of house stuff belonging to Teige O'Fogarty of Duagh. In 1568 Edmond, son of the White Knight, with others "vilonusly burned and spoyled the barrony of Cahir to the number of sixteen townlands." Coyne and livery was universal. Sir Edmond Butler's and the lord of Ormond's men cessed the country with cuddies, horsemen, galloglass, "goners and doggs." So did the sheriff of the liberty, and the Clonmel jury of 1576 reported the same of the president of Munster himself.

At intervals war broke out between the Geraldines and the Butlers, and then indeed the combatants in the elegant phraseology of Cox "played the devils" in the district. In 1516 the Earl of Kildare, lord deputy, having defeated the O'Carrolls marched on Clonmel, then controlled by Sir James Butler, natural son to the Earl of Ormond. He "attempted the town with so much celerity that the townsmen (being surprized) immediately surrendered upon conditions. The deputy returned loaden with hostages, prey and glory." *(e)*. An end seemed to be put to the feud by the marriage of Joan, daughter of the eleventh Earl of Desmond, with James, heir to the earldom of Ormond, the manors of Clonmel, Kilsheelan and Kilfeacle being settled on Butler as her dowry. But as Ormond refused to acknowledge James Fitz John as next Earl of Desmond, the latter felt justified in repudiating the marriage settlement made by his kinsman the eleventh earl. In his attempt to recover these manors he was supported by the lord deputy Bellingham, whose policy was to keep the Irish divided. Ormond complained bitterly of Bellingham's action. "I am credably informed," he wrote, "the Lord Deputie hath counsailid James of Desmond to make werr upon mee for suche landes as my sonn James hath in his wife's right and have procurid Sir Thomas Butler [of Cahir] to be of the same mynde and to take his parte" *(f)*. On the death of James, Earl of Ormond, his countess Joan married Gerald, Earl of Desmond, so that the rivals then stood towards one another in the relation of step-son and step-father. Yet peace was as far off as ever. For when the ownership of the manors was settled, the controversy about the regalities sprang up. In 1558 the question at issue was "the boundyng of the countie of Tipperary, how farre the liberties doo extend and whether the manors of Clomell, Kilfeakill and Kilsheelan being within the said countie ought to answer to the said lybertie. The erle of Ormonde clayming by his patente of graunte

(e) Cox. Hibernia Anglicana, p. 206.
(f) Ormond to Cowley, Jnly 20, 1538, Journal A.S., 1873, p. 511.

that the same extende in all places within the same countie withoute anye exception, and the erle of Desmonde supposing that the boundes of the said countie extende not so farr as the said earle of Ormonde pretendith to have lybertie and the said manors ought not to answer the sayde liberty." *(g)*. Though the earls were bound to the peace in the sum of £2,000 each, yet two years later they were as busy as ever in murderous cattle lifting. By orders made by the lieutenant and council at Waterford, 1st August, 1560, John Butler, Piers Butler and Edmund Commins, of Tolomane, were delivered as hostages for the good conduct of Ormond, John fitz James of Desmond, the White Knight and John Browne, for Desmond, the manors of Blackcastle and Kilmanahan being put in pledge by the respective earls *(h)*. The legal victory was gained by Ormond, 6th July, 1562, when an order of the queen confirmed to him "the right, title and inheritance of the royalties, knights' fees and other liberties and things as well in the manors of Clonmel, Kilfekille and Kilsheelan, as elsewhere in Tipperary." *(i)*. But Desmond was by no means prepared to acquiesce in this arrangement of Elizabeth with Ormond "her black husband" as she fondly styled him. In November, 1563, hostilities began again by a cattle raid on Kilfeacle. Ormond retaliated and three months later a pitched battle was fought at Affane where Desmond was routed and brought a wounded prisoner to Clonmel. The September following Piers Butler scoured the barony of Glenaheira carrying off six hundred cattle belonging to Shane McGrath, of Kilmanahan Castle. While Desmond and his brother Sir John Fitz Gerald were prisoners in London, they found a redoubtable champion in Rory McGrath, the son of Shane. He maintained his position in Kilmanahan against all comers, and for some years kept Clonmel almost in a state of siege. Though Sir John Fitz Gerald wrote from London in 1569 to have him expelled from Kilmanahan and Philip Crah appointed, no notice was taken of the letter for the reason probably, it was shrewdly suspected not to convey Fitz Gerald's real wishes. Ormond offered a garrison to defend the town, but the expense of maintenance made the citizens decline the offer. They subsequently paid dearly for their parsimony for one day Rory came as usual cattle lifting from the meadows about the town. The citizens were reluctant to leave the shelter of the walls, but the hot-headed sovereign threatened to denounce them as traitors to the Queen. A pursuit party was therefore formed. Rory drew them into the hills where falling upon them one of the first slain was the sovereign himself. Two years later, in 1574, Rory captured the Butler castle of Derrinlaur by means

(g) Hist. MSS. 15 Rep. III., 57.
(h) Ibid. pp. 98-99.
(i) State Papers, Hamilton, p. 198.

of which he was enabled to intercept the traffic of the town. *(j)* The war between Geraldines and Butlers however was nearing the end. In August, 1574, the deputy Fitzwilliam in accordance with Elizabeth's instructions proceeded against Desmond. Derrinlaur was besieged and after the walls had been mined the garrison sallying forth were massacred in detail. A week later, August 26th, Kilmanahan surrendered and Desmond came to Clonmel where he made a humble submission which he followed up by a letter to Elizabeth "praying for one drop of grace to assuage the flame of his tormented mind" *(k)*.

By this time mere faction quarrels were giving place to larger and more fundamental issues. The policy of conciliating the chiefs and nobles, at best an experiment, had been abandoned at the death of King Henry, its author. The alternative one of reconquest was now gradually taking shape. Celts and Anglo-Irish felt their independence threatened and their estates, as a consequence, at the mercy of English adventurers. Writers of the imperialist school such as Cox and Bagwell *(l)* are wont to describe the wars of the Desmonds and O'Neills as "rebellions" organized by Roman ecclesiastics against a constituted government. And O'Sullivan Beare elevates them to the plane of crusades in behalf of the Catholic faith *(m)*. The truth is that the chieftainries and lordships could be brought under English rule only by armed force. Reformation therefore, civil and religious, made a serviceable pretext for reconquest; while on the other hand Catholicism afforded a common base of action for Celts and Anglo-Irish. Moreover it gained for them the sympathy and support of the Catholic powers abroad then in the vortex of the counter Reformation. But so far from those wars being in their spring and motive religious, the fact is the masses of the people never came in contact with Protestantism at all, and furthermore their leaders, the

(j) The Magraths were one of the powerful Irish families whose support the Desmonds enlisted by marriage and gossipred. Curiously enough they survived the wreck of the Desmonds, and went down only in the Cromwellian cataclysm. In the "Book of Distribution" of the Co. Waterford of that period they appear as owners in fee of a considerable part of Kilronan parish. The townlands of Ballymacarbery, Curtiswood, Cullenagh, Sillyheene and Baunfown belonged to Patrick, Rory, James and John Magrath, all "Irish Papists," and forfeiting proprietors accordingly. Their kinsman, Pierce Magrath, also an "Irish Papist," forfeited Sledy, or Curraghnesledy as it was called, with other lands and a considerable part of Dungarvan town. Among the grantees however of Sledy were Richard and Thomas Osborne. The former touched by the beauty and misfortunes of Mary, daughter of the old owner, married her and thus Magrath ended his days in the quaint Tudor house his father erected. Osborne's brother Nicholas settled in Tickencorr, the former home of Alexander Power, which at the Cromwellian distribution had passed to Sir Thomas Stanley. The fourth in descent from Nicholas was Sir William Osborne, the friend of Grattan and his consistent supporter in the cause of Irish independence. The present Duchess of St. Albans is great granddaughter of Sir William.

(k) Carew Papers and State Papers Elizabeth, *passim*.

(l) Hibernia Anglicana, London, 1689. Ireland under the Tudors, London, 1885-1890.

(m) Historiae Cath. Iberniae Compendium, Lisbon, 1621.

chiefs and several of the bishops, during the conciliatory period of Henry VIII. renounced "the usurped authority of the bishop of Rome," and shared in the plunder of the monasteries.

The history of Clonmel during this period is characteristic of that of the country generally. The harbinger of the Reformation in Ireland was Piers, Earl of Ossory. In 1534 before leaving London, knowing as Carte states "that Henry VIII. was not a prince to be disobeyed with safety," he entered into an indenture that as governor of Kilkenny, Tipperary and Waterford, he would join with the king's deputy in reducing Desmond and would resist the Pope. Ossory was followed the next year by George Browne, appointed by the king to the archbishopric of Dublin in order to carry out his majesty's pleasure "that his subjects in Ireland should obey his commands in spiritual matters and renounce their allegiance to the see of Rome." Browne fulfilled the instructions "almost to the danger and hazard of his temporal life," and appealed for a Parliament to pass an Act of Supremacy *(n)*. Parliament was called but the representatives of the clergy refusing to accede to the royal wishes, were excluded by an order under the great seal. Accordingly in 1536 Brabazon the vice-treasurer was able to write to his master Cromwell: "The Common House is marvellous good for the King's causes and all the learned men within the same be very good; so that I think all causes concerning the King's grace will take good effect." The learned men passed a series of acts declaring the King, his heirs and successors, supreme head of the church of Ireland, forbidding payment of Peter's Pence, or other acknowledgment of Roman jurisdiction, and dissolving the religious houses. Legislation apart, the Reformation made halting progress; for the king wrote to Browne, 7th July, 1537, to employ himself diligently in good furtherance of the royal affairs, slyly reminding him not to forget that he might be removed and another man of more virtue and honesty put in his place. Browne replied that the king's monitions "made him tremble in body for fear of incurring his majesty's displeasure," and pleaded his labours in expounding the true gospel "utterly despising the usurped power of the Bishop of Rome, being a thing not a little rooted among the inhabitants here." Yet a year later the whole body of Reformers continued to sit around the Dublin Council table. On 5th April, 1538, Agard wrote to Cromwell: "Excepte it be the Archebyschope of Dublyn which dothe here in preching sett forthe Godes Worde with dew obedyence to ther Prynce, and my good Lorde Butler [Ossory], the Master of the Rolles [Sir John Alen] Mr Thezaurer [William Brabazon] and on or two mow which are of a smalle repytachosn

(n) State Papers, Henry VIII., vol. ii., *passim*.

here, is ellys noon from the hyeste maye abyde the hering of hitt." But another cause was now at work which soon compelled the highest to abide the hearing of the word. The dissolution of the monasteries was in the air, and the greed for their broad lands put into the Reformation a driving force it hitherto lacked. The highest, as well ecclesiastics as laymen, kept a hungry look out. To take a local instance, Nicholas Comyn, Bishop of Waterford, wrote to Cromwell in November for a share in the temporalities of Innislounaght when that abbey should be dissolved. But another had already marked the place for his own—no less a person than the Deputy himself, Lord Leonard Grey.

A few days before Christmas, the Privy Council (Browne, Alen, Brabazon and Aylmer) set out on a visitation half episcopal, half gaol delivery. They visited Carlow, Kilkenny, Wexford and Ross. The "Kinge's Supremycia, togeder with the plucking downe of ydolles and the extinguishing of the Bishop of Romes auctoritie," were duly preached and several malefactors put to death in each place. In Waterford after "publishing the Kinge's injunctions and the residue of his plesur likewise," there were "put to execution fower felones accompanyed with another thefe, a frier whom we commaunded to be hanged in his habite and so to remayne upon the gallowes for a mirror to all other his bredern to live trulie." The Council then proceeded to Clonmel.

At the writing hereof we werne at Clonmell [18 January 1539] where we kepe cessions this daie and on Soneday tharchebishop of Dublin will preche here likewise as he ded in other places befor mentioned in the presence of all the Bishops of Munster; who upon our commandment been repaired hither for the most parte alredie and or [before] they departe they shall be sworne to the Supremacie of the King, and against the Bishop of Rome.

It is to be regretted that as the list of bishops present in Clonmel is not now forthcoming, we are left altogether to inferential evidence. One thing is certain that all the Munster bishops did not obey the summons, while on the other hand some from outside the province attended. The archbishops of Tuam and Cashel, Bodkin and Butler, were unquestionably among the number present. The former had already the previous July taken the oath of supremacy in Galway: the latter, like his father Ossory, was probably ready to profess Mahometanism if it were the King's religion. James Quinn, bishop of Limerick, had six months before sworn to maintain the King's supremacy. Dominick Tirrey, bishop of Cork and Cloyne, had been installed by Henry in opposition to the papal nominee, Lewis McNamara, a Franciscan: who the others were is a matter of mere conjecture. But the event is the most important in the history of Protestantism in Ireland during the sixteenth century. On 8th February, 1539, the Council wrote to Cromwell.

At Clomell was with us twoo Archebusshops and eight Busshops in whose presence my Lord of Dublin preached in advauncying the Kinges Supremacy and the extinguishment of the Busshop of Rome. And his sermon fynyshed all the said Bisshops in all thoppen audience took the othe mencioned in thActes of Parliament bothe touching the Kinges Succession and Supremacy befor me, the Kinges Chaunceller; and divers others ther present ded the lieke. . . . . .

Your Lordships most bounden Orators

JOHN ALLEN Ke, Chaunceler
GEORGIUS, DUBLIN
WILLM BRABAZON
GERALD AYLMER, Justice *(o)*.

The Bishop of Rome extinguished, the Reformation proceeded apace. Six weeks later Lord Chancellor Alen came to Clonmel to receive the surrender of the religious houses from their respective heads. The patent of his commission stated that "the houses of regulars in Ireland are at present in such a state that in them the praise of God and the welfare of man are next to nothing regarded; the regulars and nuns dwelling there being so addicted partly to their own superstitious ceremonies, partly to the pernicious worship of idols and to the pestiferous doctrines of the Roman pontiff, that unless an effectual remedy be promptly provided not only the weak lower order but the whole Irish people may be speedily infected to their total destruction by the example of these persons" *(p)*. It will be seen that unlike in England, no wholesale charges of immorality are made, and it is certain the Privy Council would be only too glad if such were available for the preamble *(q)*. The first house surrendered to Alen was the Franciscan. On the "twenty eight day of March in the thirty first year of the King [1539] Robert Travers, guardian or custos, with his brethren in virtue of the Royal Commission, etc., left the said monastery so that it is totally dissolved." Within the next fortnight the Cistercian abbey of Innislounaght, the Augustinian priory of Cahir, the Carmelite house of Lady Abbey near Ardfinnan, and the Brigitine convent of Mollough at Newcastle were all surrendered. The people of Clonmel viewed with no little satisfaction the dissolution of some of these houses; for of late they had been a reproach not only to religion, but to decency itself. Inquiries into the monastic property were forthwith held, and the following year pensions chargeable on the

(o) State Papers Henry VIII., vol. iii., p. 117. Some, as in the case of Gardiner and Bonner in England, did not consider the rejection of papal supremacy inconsistent with the Catholic creed. Nicholas Comyn, bishop of Waterford, who was almost certainly present, is extravagantly eulogized by Lynch the historian of the Irish Catholic bishops. Others, such as Brown himself, would (if we can trust the correspondence of the period) go down the slippery slope to rationalism.

(p) Morrin Chancery Rolls, I. 55.

(q) How little the Irish Reformers were concerned with morals is clear from the case of James Butler, last abbot of Innislounaght. Here was a scion of the Butler family thrust into the abbacy, who with his brethren stank in the nostrils of Munster. Yet the commissioners assigned them substantial pensions, and subsequently conferred on the ex-abbot the vicarage of St. Patrick's Well.

property were settled on the former members of the communities. But there was one important exception. The Franciscans had actively opposed the royal supremacy; their piety and their zeal had won them the affections of the people. For them therefore there were no pensions.

During the next thirty years nothing more was heard of the Reformation in Clonmel, and it does not appear that any question of religion was raised by the Lords Deputy or other functionaries who visited the town. The municipal council, in whom at the dissolution of Athassel priory, the advowson of St. Mary's was vested, regularly appointed a Catholic priest to the living. Foundations for the celebration of Masses were made as if Edward VI. and Elizabeth never existed. The whole population, from Ormond the lord of the liberty down, remained Catholic. Meanwhile the religious struggle was stirring the world to its depths. The bull of Pius V. in 1569 excommunicating Elizabeth and releasing her subjects from their allegiance was the gage of battle in Ireland as in England. Henceforward the Desmonds and O'Briens, the O'Moores and O'Neills, had the sanction of religion in their effort to maintain their independence and estates. Their fight was now *Pro Aris et Focis.* The mixed motives, temporal and eternal, which actuated both parties in the struggle are well expressed in a speech of "the great rebel," Gerald, sixteenth Earl of Desmond. "Our rulers," said he, "ever since they renounced the Catholic religion scorned to regard the nobles of this land who have remained true to their faith; they have no part in the councils of the realm. As for the people, are they not harassed and ground down by imposts such as our ancestors never knew? Spies and informers are sent among them, and on the misrepresentations of these hirelings Queen Elizabeth has formed her estimate of the Irish people. We are trampled on by a gang of mailed marauders who despise us. Look at the sacred order of the priesthood, is it not despised by those innovators who have come among us to banish the rightful owners from their ancestral estates," etc. *(r).*

The position of the priests was especially difficult. Educated abroad owing to the destruction of the monastic schools, they were regarded by principle and training "traitors" and "rebels" in the pay of Spain. They were watched for at every port, and the commander of the Queen's forces or the president of the province "upon vehement suspicion" might put them to torture or hang them by martial law. Still they came. Cormac O'Fergus reached Cork from Lisbon Easter Sunday, 1571. After several adventures we find him in Clonmel where he celebrated Mass in secret and preached twice. A few days later he was captured *(s).* Sir William Drury had

(r) O'Daly's Geraldines, p. 118.

(s) The writer hopes to be soon in a position to publish the original authorities from the State Paper Office and the Bodleian.

scarcely assumed the presidency of Munster when he complained to Walsingham "the students of Ireland that come from Louvain are the merest traitors and breeders of treachery that liveth. Whereof they are in these parts about Waterford and Clonmel four principal prelates. John White is worshipped like a God between Kilkenny and Waterford and Clonmel. He suborneth all the dwellers of those parts to detest the true religion stablished by her Majesty." A principal prelate of a still more dangerous character was Edmund Tanner, Bishop of Cork and Cloyne. Soon after his landing in 1575 Drury had him arrested together with his chaplain, and both were lodged in Clonmel gaol. A strange incident now happened. While in prison Tanner was visited by a schismatic bishop—probably Patrick Walsh, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore. "Discussions and conferences" took place between them with the result that Tanner reconciled the other to the Catholic church. Drury possibly thought such a man as dangerous in prison as out of it, and through the influence of Lord Barrymore released him *(t)*. The government correspondence of the period is full of reports of spies set to watch the priests. "There is one Sir Teage O'Swyllyvan an earnest Precher of popery still preching from howse to howse in Waterford Clomell and Fidreth" *(u)*. "There is one Sir William Ocherohy a semynary [priest] lately come from Roome and now dwelling att Clomell Cassell and ffidder. . . . . Sir Garrett Reken preist at Clomell . . . . . Sir Walter preist dwelling att Clomell." The following year 1593 several of these were still at large and others had come. "Sir Teage O Suilevan a preacher soiourning betweene Waterford and Clonmell in his sermons curseinge all peopele that exercise authoritie in her maiesties name. Sir William Trehie (come from Spaine and borne in Cashell most commonly soiourning at Clonmell) . . . . Sir piers Kely orderd [ordained] by Dr. Crahe and still soiourning betweene Waterford Clonmell and Cashell . . . Sir Garrett Rollea a man in very greate compte in Clonmell . . . Sir Walter a priest of Tomond now resideing at Clonmell" *(v)*. But none attracted more attention from the spies than the parish priest of Clonmel, Father Richard Morris, who seems to have reached the town about 1580. In

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(t) "Barrymore," said Ormond, "is an arrant papist who a long time kept in his house Dr. Tanner made bishop here by the Pope, who died in my Lord of Upper Ossory's house being secretly kept there. Believe me Mr. Secretary you shall find my Lord of Upper Ossory as bad a man as may be."—Ormond to Walsingham, July 21st, 1580. Fr. Holling who in 1596 wrote a short sketch of Tanner gives the particulars, but discreetly withheld the names lest he should compromise the Catholic lords and their friends.

(u) "Sir" before the name of a priest indicated he had not graduated in a University. Fuller, Church History, p. 352.

(v) O'Sullivan after many escapes died near Kilcrea, 17th December, 1597. Contemporary accounts of him survive from the pens of Mooney, the Franciscan provincial, and O'Sullivan Beare.

1590 he was reported as "a prieste that useth Clonmel." He next appears in a more odious form as "a prieste reconcyled to Papestry." We find him subsequently in a list sent by Miler McGrath, the Protestant Archbishop of Cashel, "Sir Richard Moris who confessed before the now Lord Justice Chefe of England Sir John poppam that he was within this two yeares in conference with doctor Crah" [Catholic bishop of Cork and Cloyne]. Morris had earned the unsparing hatred of McGrath; like others he had probably girded too indiscreetly at Amy O'Meara, the Archbishop's partner *(w)*. Sir John Perrot, the brusque soldier who filled the office of deputy, however, had little faith in Miler, and was adverse to religious persecution. When in 1591 Perrot was charged with high treason, one of the counts was "That one Richard Morrice, a Priest, a notorious Traitor being a passer from Ireland to Vicount Baltinglass in Spain and from thence to Rome to confer of Rebellions and Invasion for England and Ireland. Sir John Perrot knowing the said Morrice to be a most dangerous person to the State would not give order for the taking of the said Morrice as he should have done but the Bishop of Cashell caused him to be apprehended of his own authority and sent him to Mr. Poor the sheriff to be sent to the Castle of Dublin whereupon the friends of the said Morrice told them that Morrice had better friends than they all had and shortly after Morrice was discharged and never more called in question. And all this was confirmed by the oath of the Archbishop of Cashell and the said Poore *viva voce*." If Perrot, a strong, just man would not soil his hands with "the Queen's business" of this sort, others had less scruples. Among the "younger sons" who were then pushing their fortunes in Ireland, one of the most notable was John Norris, son of Lord Norris of Rycot. He had taken part in a filibustering expedition to Flanders some years before, and was able to boast that he had stabled his horses in St. Godule, Brussells. But though ambitious of fame, Ireland offered in the Desmond forfeitures more solid rewards, and in 1584 he obtained the presidency of Munster. Secretary Fenton was instructed to provide the president with an estate, and that official selected Askeaton, one of Desmond's principal houses. Captain Barkley, however, had taken possession, so that Norris in disgust again volunteered for the Low Countries "not to be drowned in this forgetful corner." At this juncture an opportunity occurred of giving signal proof of his Protestantism, and he availed himself of it. Some eighteen months before while the hapless Earl of Desmond was being run to earth, Lord Roche wrote to Ormond that he had captured the Earl's chaplain, Desmond himself

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(w) The *argumentum ad feminam* was a favourite one at the period. Father Eugene O'Duffy's lampoon on the Archbishop was published many years ago by J. D. White, of Cashel.

escaping narrowly *(x)*. Ormond at once announced the good tidings to Burghley. Captain Robarts was despatched to bring in the priest "and my servant Pat Graunte with him to be chained in hand lock with the priest that no man may see him or speak unto him. I would this chaplain and I were for one hour with you in your chamber, that you might know the secrets of his heart which by fair means or foul he must open unto me" *(y)*. It does not appear that the chaplain had any secrets to disclose, and henceforward he disappears from the correspondence of Ormond and Burleigh. His awful fate, however, we learn from other sources.

I am sending you something of the greatest value—the glorious martyrdom of my intimate friend Maurice Kenrechtin. He was a very holy priest- you knew him, and was chaplain to the Earl of Desmond for which reason he was arrested and brought to your native town of Clonmel, and there imprisoned for more than a year. On the eve of Easter Sunday in the year 1585 Victor White one of the principal men of the town a pious Catholic obtained from the governor of the gaol the favour of having the priest spend the night at his house. But the governor secretly advised the President of Munster an English heretic who was then in town, that if he wanted to catch the principal men of the place hearing mass he could easily do so at the house of Victor White early next morning, bargaining at the same time for the price of his shameful treachery. At the hour appointed the soldiers rushed on the house. They seized Victor, the rest hearing the noise got away through the back doors and windows. A married lady however fell and broke her arm. The soldiers found the chalice and other things belonging to the Holy Sacrifice. They searched everywhere for the priest—he had not begun mass—and came to a heap of straw under which the poor man lay. Prodding the straw they struck him in the thigh but he bore it in silence through fear. Shortly after he escaped out of the town. But Victor who could never be brought to the heretic conventicles though he had suffered much, would not betray the priest and was therefore imprisoned. And he would no doubt have suffered the extreme penalty of the law if Maurice hearing of his peril had not freely surrendered to the President. Truly Christian friendship! The President after much invective passed sentence of death. But if he renounced our Catholic faith and acknowledged the Queen as head of the church his life would be spared. The 'Minister of the Word' also tried in vain with much argument to seduce the martyr. Neither would he on any account give the name of any person who had heard mass or received sacraments. At length he was dragged at the horse's tail to the scaffold where he learnedly and devoutly exhorted the people to constancy in the faith. He was cut down when half alive and beheaded, the 'Minister' fixed an inscription on the head. The Catholics by entreaty and money saved the body from being treated with indignity and rendered the highest burial honours they could.

Farewell in the Lord and may you be followers of the heroic Maurice Kinrechtan. At least prepare your souls for it.

Yours most affectionately
Robert Rochfort.

From the College of St. Anthony,
20 March 1586 *(z)*.

(x) Roche to Ormond, Castletown, 19th September, 1583. His men overtook the Earl's chaplain and took all their bags bottles four beeves and other stuff. Desmond and his followers narrowly escaped.

(y) Ormond to Burleigh, Carrick, 23rd September, 1583.

(z) Analecta Sacra, etc. Bishop Rothe, Cologne, 1617. Rothe gives a lengthy biography but an earlier one by Fr. John Holing (ob. 1599) from which Rothe's account is partly derived is preferable. From this the following particulars are taken. "Maurice Kimracha, a native of Kilmallock, a priest and Batchelor of Theology, underwent many trials in the war against the

This terrible episode created no mere passing sensation; it sank into the minds of the people. They regarded Kinrechtan as a martyr, and his grave in the Franciscan Church would have become a place of pilgrimage did not the friars, to escape persecution, strive to conceal it. The court off Lough Street in which Victor White's house was situate was known down to the Cromwellian period as "Martyr Lane." When at length the Catholics rose to power the body was exhumed, and in 1647 it was conveyed amid great religious honours to its final resting place in Askeaton Abbey.

Though the attempts to impose Protestantism on the inhabitants put their loyalty to a severe strain, yet throughout the sixteenth century they remained staunch supporters of Elizabeth. In 1583 Sir Henry Sydney reported to Walsingham "Marching through the County of Tipperary I encamped by Chlomnell a walled town standing upon the river of Sure, the people good and loyal." Again in 1600 while Hugh O'Neill, *de facto* master of Ireland, lay at Holy Cross there was no question of surrendering "the Queen's unpaid garrison." Furthermore the citizens placed at her disposal their goods and their money. Lord Grey in 1582 petitioned the Privy Council for payment to the people of Clonmel of moneys owed them by Captain James, Captain Lower and Captain Morgan; the same year the Sovereign Geoffry White authorized payment to Alderman Pierce Sherlock of further sums. In 1583 Burghley was petitioned for £36 due to the town by Captain Zouche deceased. Four years later a sum of eight score odd pounds was spent on powder and munition for the defence of the town. As the Queen's exchequer was depleted there was no little difficulty in recovering these moneys. In 1587 permission was sought to import 2,000 quarters of wheat in lieu of Captain Zouche's debt *(aa)*. Again licence was asked to import 100 tuns of wine free, or a grant of lands of £40 yearly value, as a set off for other debts. Among the citizens who especially distinguished themselves in the

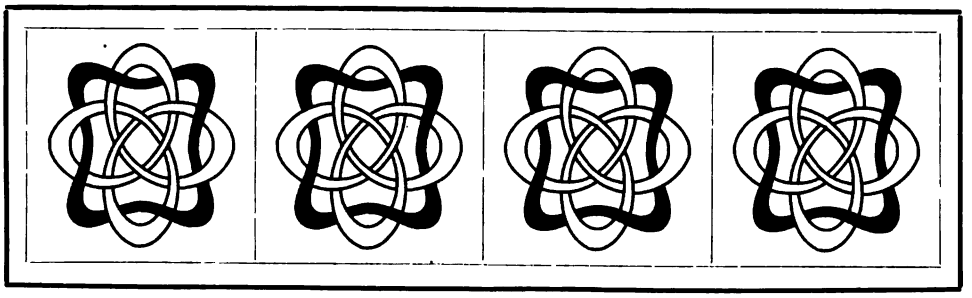
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heretics, animating the Catholic soldiers and administering the sacraments. . . . . He was long kept in prison where with much patience and perseverance he confirmed Catholics in the faith and moved many to repentance by pious exhortation and gave to all an example of the true Catholic religion. . . . . Having heard the death sentence he quietly thanked God and exhorted all to profess the Catholic faith and obedience to the Sovereign Pontiff. While he was brought to execution he spoke with such piety and wisdom that many were moved to tears and at the sight of the scaffold he threw himself on his knees in constant prayer amid the scoffs of the heretics. At the place itself, having asked the prayers of the people and given them his blessing he was hanged. While half alive he was beheaded and the whole night the soldiers kept watch upon the quartered body lest it should be taken away by the Catholics. The following day the four quarters were set up on the market cross in the centre of the town, the head on a loftier eminence to be seen by all. Thus he underwent his glorious martyrdom in the year of the Lord 1585 on the 30th day of April. Some days later the Catholics purchased the body and gave it honorable burial in Clonmel where he suffered. All this I heard from three trustworthy persons who were present—one of whom was engaged in arranging the altar, the other two were natives of the town. I knew them, as also White and the priest himself."—Spicil, Ossor. I., pp. 89-91.

(aa) This famine was artificial; the English soldiery systematically destroyed the growing crops for the purpose of starving out the Irish, preliminary to settling the new plantations.

service of the Queen were John Aylward who was rewarded with a lease of Grenane Castle, and Edward Gough who received a knighthood at Kinsale from Mountjoy. Thus Clonmel earned the encomiums of Elizabeth's successor. "An ancient borough fortified from the time of its foundation by forts and walls erected by English liege men, whose inhabitants are sprung from an old race using English habits, customs and laws, and who duly rendered praiseworthy service to Englishmen with the loss of their blood and life." *(bb)*

(bb) Charter of James I. 1608. As the whole population were constructive rebels, people secured their civic rights against martial law by obtaining 'Pardons.' The following Clonmel names appear in the Fiants of Elizabeth, 1571—Edmond O'Higgins, 1573—David White fitz Pierce and Sabina his wife, Nicholas White fitz Pierce merchant, Richard White fitz James yeoman, William son of Hugh O'Coury fisherman, Robert Casie weaver. Each of these to pay a fine of one fat cow. 1576—John Aylward gentleman, Darby Lynch husbandman, Thomas Brennock merchant, Thomas Nunan merchant—both pardoned at the suit of John Danyell the Earl of Ormond's man. 1577—James and John Brennock merchants, Edward Quirke and Peter White—to pay a fine of a cow each. 1583—Thomas White fitz Walter and Katherine his wife. 1591—Robert Condon. 1598—Ellen Clanchy, John O'Grady. 1601—Pierce White fitz David, Thomas Butler fitz Pierce, Thomas Butler fitz Edmund, James Butler fitz Edmund, Teig O'Casey tailor. 1603—John White late sheriff of Co. Waterford, Solomon White, Garret Wall merchant.



CHAPTER IV.

CLONMEL 1603-1641.

THE earlier years of the seventeenth century were ones of unexampled prosperity in the South. Racial feuds were rapidly dying out; the Anglo-Irish and the Celtic Irish menaced alike by the new English party began to grow together as one nation. For the first time the benefits of the law came within reach of the common people. The judges went circuit; the presidency court, the sessions and courts baron administered upon the whole fair justice, and life and property became tolerably secure. With the advent of peace, trade and industry rapidly increased. To this the numerous "undertakers" contributed not a little. They with characteristic energy prospected for silver in Tipperary and gold in Kerry, opened iron mines at Cappoquin, at Araglen, at Toomgraney and Macroom. They made pipe staves from the native oak for which a ready market was found in the wine ports of France and Spain. Agriculture also emerged from the patriarchal stage; corn and cattle were raised much in excess of domestic needs—a phenomenon carefully noted by contemporaries. Licence was granted to export grain to England when its price did not exceed ten shillings a Bristol barrel, while some beginning of the live stock trade was made. "There is a marvellous change" wrote in 1630 a close observer "upon the state of affairs which old inhabitants can remember. Buildings and farming are improving, each man striving to excel other in fair buildings and good furniture and in husbanding, enclosing and improving their lands." *(cc)* The fine Tudor mansions (Burntcourt, Loughmoe and Tickencorr in our own neighbourhood) still witness to the taste and prosperity of the period.

(cc) Cork to Dorchester, State Papers *ad ann.*

In the towns especially the progress was most marked. Trade had not yet been focussed in great distributing centres; each town was an independent commercial unit and its burghers had direct business relations not merely local but foreign. The Clonmel 'merchant venturer' collected his stock of tallow, hides, salt beef and pork which he sent by boat to Waterford or overland to Youghal *(dd)*. Then having sold his merchandize in some Spanish or French port he purchased wine, salt, hemp for cordage, silk, tapestry or other fine stuffs for the return voyage. To us it is strange to meet with James White and Bennet White, merchants of Clonmel in far off Cadiz in 1609 *(ee)*, but in the seventeenth century it was possible to find in the town men who had seen the whole western seaboard of Europe. Some indeed never returned from their perilous voyage, and to guard against such contingency wills were made before setting out. Garrett fitz Edmond Wall for instance in 1606 "being bound in a voyadg beyonde ye seas and doubting of any mischance" bequeathed his estate to his wife and daughter. Five months later the will was proved *(ff)*. But not only was commerce active but there was—for the time—considerable manufacturing industry. The increased growing of corn brought with it flour milling. Instead of the solitary manor mill to which all citizens had perforce to bring their corn, we find in contemporary patents one in Bridge Street and four in the south suburbs. Further the prohibition on the export of wool had the effect of stimulating its manufacture at home. Waterford had already earned celebrity for its rugs, mantles and freize, Clonmel followed, for about 1614 Benedict White fitz John set up in Suir Island a mill for the tucking and finishing of coarse woollen stuffs. Through the town were various kilns, doubtless for the drying of grain, while more than once there is mention of brewhouses and malthouses *(gg)*. This industry indeed was restricted by the Act 3 & 4 Philip and Mary, Cap. 7, which prohibited the manufacture and sale of beer, strong waters and the like, but licences appear to have been freely granted. In 1614 the following were licensed to keep taverns in Clonmel.

James White merchant and Victor White his son.
Patrick Wall merchant and Anne Wall his daughter.
Richard White merchant.
John White merchant.
Richard Wall merchant.
Thomas Donoghowe *(hh)*.

(dd) In the Youghal records is a sort of commercial treaty by which one of the Whites was enabled to ship his wares free of the port dues there.
(ee) State Papers *sub ann.*
(ff) Prerogative Wills P.R.O. Dublin.
(gg) Inquisitions Jas. I. *passim.*
(hh) Pat. Rolls Jas. I. ii.

Four years later the law was practically suspended by a grant as ample in its scope as it is curious in its time limit.

Granted to the Mayor, Bailiffs, Free burgesses and Commons of Clonmel licence to keep taverns and sell wine and ardent spirits in the said town and half a mile round the same during the lives of Nicholas Mulronie Merchant and of Jeffrey Barron son of Laurence Barron of the same town Merchant *(ii)*.

The result is instructive. In July 1623 the Irish Council reported "that the grant of licensing the sale of wine, aqua vitæ (whisky) and ale proving beneficial only to some private persons, and ale houses since that grant being multiplied, being one occasion of the dearth of corn here, [such grants] should be called in" *(jj)*. The recommendation was followed and the trade again brought within due control.

However the brewing and woollen industries may have fared subsequently under Falkland and Strafford, the humbler shopkeepers of the town appear to have reached a fair standard of comfort. The following affords a view of the household arrangements of Henry White fitz Thomas, draper, who died in 1614.

An inventary of my goodes and chattels
ffirst a big olde measinge pan. A silver standinge cupp or noll. A newe table boord. A new carpeleade. A prasneath. ffowre pewter dishes. Two pattingers. A flocke bed, a paire of sheets, ffifty five settes, three shaggs, ffovrte ordynaries, one hundred and thirty yards frize, six peeces of checkes, eighteen poundes in moneye, tenn barrells oaten malte, three barrells barley malte. There is alsoe due to me of Mr Nicholas White fitz Henry 8 li sterlinge as by our mutuall deede indated more at large may appeare. Itm I have in shopp wares by myne estimation ye value of 40 shillings sterlinge. Itm a cheste price seven shill. ster. *(kk)*.

Perhaps the best evidence of the prosperity of Clonmel at this period is the large amount of money advanced by the several merchants on landed security—then the only investment obtainable. In the patent and close rolls of James I. and Charles I. are mortgages of extensive estates made to Patrick White fitz Thomas, James White fitz Robert, John Bray fitz John, Laurence Barron and others *(ll)*. As the interest on these mortgages varied from 15 to 30 per cent., foreclosure was the sequel; the mortgage therefore was but the transition stage to landed proprietorship. Accordingly in the next generation the representatives of these merchants appear in the "Book of Distribution" as forfeiting landowners *(mm)*. Their wills also, many of which are extant, supply further information on the point and give invaluable glimpses into their social state and civilization.

(ii) Ibid. 16 Jas. I., 1 April. *(jj)* State Papers Jas. I. *(kk)* Prerogative Wills, P.R.O.
(ll) In the will of the last named no fewer than seventeen mortgages are recited—many being of whole townlands.
(mm) For example: Michael White fitz Bennet of Mylerstown, Edmond Bray and Nicholas Betts of Orchardstown, Francis White, Chancellorstown, John Flynn, Derrygrath, &c., &c.

Catherine White fitz Thomas in 1625—

I doe leave and bequeath unto my daughter Bess my best chaine and my best Juell. I distribute the rest of my Juells, chaines, Ringes with all my bodilie aparell upon my brothers, sisters and their children, my foster mother and my nurse and some poor kinder women of myne.

John Bray fitz John in 1632—

Itm. I doe will, legacie and bequeath to my said son John Bray my siluer saultes, my siluer taster, sixe siluer spoones, two highe bedsteeds with their truckles and furniture, all my tables carpletts, cussions, stooles, formes, chaires, cupboords, chests, my harpe. Tables, the great Crucifix or picture I lent Mr Richard Wadding of Waterford deceased and all my books. My sd son John Bray shall have and receave the gould Jeuel bequeathed by my father unto me which now my sister Ann Bray hath after the decease of my said sister.

James White fitz Robert in 1622—

I will and devise to my said wife Catherine Power all my pewter, brass, lynen, candlesticks, householdstuff, catle, her Jeuells ringes and chaine of gould and all my goods and chatells my plate only excepted.

Richard Leynach in 1628—

I doe leaue unto my wife Mary Brenock without devision all my plate, brass, pewter, buttry, dyaper lynnen, beddinge and all other household stuff that I haue whatsoever and she to take charge of my soule.

Laurence Barron in 1622—

The House I have nowe adwyld [dwelt] I doe leave to my wyfe during her naturall lyf chaste viduitie and dwelling in Clonmel otherwise but a third parte of the valuation of the rent thereof. Itm I doe leaue all my aparell to my brother Richard Barron. Itm I doe leave to my brother Robert Barron to helpe him to stocke 8 li. ster. when it is seen that he is hable to enioye it or otherwise to serue his necessary wants. Itm to my sister Beale 20 nobles. Itm to my sister Alson 20 nobles for mayntenance of her child. Itm to my sister Austin is three daughters fyve poundes a peece to their preferment when they be marryed. I doe leave to my nepheu James Wale is soun 5 li when he is hable to remburse it in marchandize. I leave my best goulden (sic) to Mr Walle. I leave my signett and ye small three turne Ringe I weare to my uncle John Whit in remembrance of my loue.

Edward Butler in 1619—

A note and true inventry of goods chattles and household stuff remayning. Twentie poundes worth parcells in wool ware and woole, fower gerrans, twelf tunns of salt, two hundred flemish hupes, one hundred Anysides. Two hundred half Lucoryes, half hundred English hupes, one bruing paune two smale paunes, one brass potte, five chests one trunke fiue brass candlesticks, two coops of platte, two Juells of gould two ringes of gould, two cupperts, tenn poundes worth of triffling in merchant ware, twelve poundes in money, seaven hundred sheepskins, two Spanis tables three quarter hundred Riess three barrells of beare malt twelve peeter dishes, two pattingers, two smale savcers with other smale trifflings. I bequeath third part of said goods to my wife the third to my children the third for my soule. I bequeath unto my brother Richard Butler my new fustean doublett, unto my brother in law Richard Neale my new cloake, my brother Walter Butler my best felt [hat] my eldest daughter Ellice fouertine cowes smale and greate, and the great brass potte, my eldest son John a silver goblett of platte parcell gilt weing xiii unces and the great drawing board and a new carplett.

These and many similar ones still to be seen in the Record Office call up a pleasing picture of old Clonmel. They speak of lives gracious and

refined, of love of kindred, of manifold charity, of tranquil enjoyment of this world and serene hope for the next. But the old Anglo-Irish burghers had run their course; they accumulated wealth, they built houses, they made settlements and entails little thinking that their grand-children would be homeless and their names traceable only in forgotten archives. Yet even in their lifetime they might have discerned the beginnings of the storm.

The Desmond colonies in Munster and the Ulster Plantation had one vital consequence, probably unforseen by those who planned them. Hitherto the representatives of English supremacy in this country were the Anglo-Irish country gentlemen and burghers. They composed the parliaments of Elizabeth and swelled her armies. At an earlier period they had loyally dissolved the monasteries and had even discarded the papal legates. When Europe was divided by religion into hostile camps they remained throughout on the side of the Queen, fought for her against the Desmonds and massacred the fugitives of Kinsale. Yet withal they were convinced Catholics and the diplomatic Elizabeth thought well to raise no questions of conscience but left them for the most part freedom of worship. With the advent of the new settlers the whole political situation changed. The Catholics need no longer be reckoned with. England had now a party secured by the strong ties of self interest, whose religion was a guarantee against continental intrigue, whose existence in fact depended on maintaining and extending English influence. Accordingly all power soon passed into the hands of the new colonists. They manned the executive, they dominated parliament, they gradually filled every office of trust and emolument to the almost entire exclusion of the hereditary ruling class. Raised on the ruin of Celts and Anglo-Irish alike, they looked on both with equal distrust. They were Protestants of the Calvinist type, and regarded with scorn and hatred the great Catholic population around them. If the temper of the age had been one of toleration and compromise they would not have sought peace, for turbulence led to forfeitures and forfeitures fell to them. Such were the men who then obtained power, who under the forms of law carried on relentless warfare on the religion and property of the people they ruled *(nn)*.

(nn) "It is certainly very unhappy for a nation at any time to be governed by strangers who cannot be supposed to have any natural love for the country and whose particular advantage doth not depend on the general good of the nation; but in a time of jealousies and distractions when a mutual confidence between the governors and the people committed to their charge is absolutely necessary, the consequences flowing from such a circumstance must be very fatal. This was the very case of Ireland at that time; the governors were the likeliest persons in it to get by the troubles of the Kingdom and to raise their own fortunes by the ruin of those of private gentlemen. There is too much reason to think that as the lords justices wished the rebellion to spread and more gentlemen of estates to be involved in it that the forfeitures might be the greater and a general plantation be carried on by a new set of English Protestants to the ruin and expulsion of all the old English and natives that were Roman Catholics."—Carte's Ormond T., p. 183.

What took place in Clonmel is only an example of the proceedings in the towns generally. From the beginning of the reign of James I. the open and ostentatious Catholicism of the people was a subject of sore complaint. Sir Henry Brouncker a few months after his appointment to the presidency of Munster, reported to Cecil that the towns in his province were swarming with priests, mass being said almost publicly in the best houses even in the hearing of all men *(oo)*. Saxey, chief justice of the presidency court, was equally distressed by the presence of Jesuits who, he said, numerous as locusts were everywhere harboured by the noblemen and chief gentry of the country but especially by the cities and walled towns *(pp)*. But how to deal with the evil was the difficulty. For as yet there was no statute of the Irish parliament by which the Catholic clergy might be banished; there was indeed the English statute, 27 Elizabeth, but the crown lawyers construed it in vain. No one had ever contended that an act of the parliament of England bound Ireland unless expressly named. The matter however was urgent, and Justice Saxey advised the Privy Council to seize on the persons of the priests and deport them to England where there was enough law to deal with them. Besides, he argued, did not the "queen's dominions" in Act 27 Elizabeth include Ireland *(qq)*. Sir John Davis, the attorney-general, took a more hopeful view. "The priests," he wrote, "would with all their hearts leave this miserable country and would be glad to hear of a proclamation of banishment that they might have a good excuse to depart; they that go up and down the [county of the] Cross of Tipperary get nothing but bacon and oatmeal, the people are so poor" *(rr)*. The experiment was tried. On 14th August, 1604, Brouncker issued a proclamation that all Jesuits, seminaries [seminary priests], and massing priests depart the province before the last day of September, any person receiving or relieving them to be imprisoned during his majesty's pleasure and fined in the sum of £40. Further, a reward of £40 was offered for the body of every Jesuit brought unto the lord president, £6 3s. 4d. for every seminary and £5 for every massing priest *(ss)*. But no priests were taken and none departed. Some months later a spy returned a list of the priests still in Munster which included among others Richard White priest in Clonmel, Fathers Mulroney and Leinagh Jesuits in the same, Redmond Nash priest in Fethard, Thomas Gefferay priest in Kilcash, Walter Wall Jesuit in Carrick-on-Suir *(tt)*. The royal authority was now invoked; a proclamation was made in which the King declared his high displeasure at the report that he purposed to grant

(oo) State Papers Jas. I., p. 193.
(pp) Ibid, p. 218.
(qq) Ibid, p. 219.
(rr) Ibid, p. 162.
(ss) Ibid, p. 190.
(tt) Ibid, p. 380.

liberty of conscience or toleration of religion to his subjects in that Kingdom. On the contrary he admonished them to hear divine service in the churches on Sundays and holidays upon the penalties contained in the statutes. All Jesuits, seminary and other priests to depart out of the Kingdom before the 10th December, 1605, and sheriffs, justices of peace, and other loyal subjects to use their best diligence to apprehend offenders *(uu)*. From a letter sent to Aquaviva, the Jesuit general, we learn how the proclamation was received in Clonmel :—

> At Clonmel there was a consultation about the proclamation. The citizens resolved not to publish it. When Miler [McGrath Protestant archbishop of Cashel] was going to the market place, a troop of horse burst into the town to keep down the people if they offered any opposition. Such horror was there of this proclamation that even the little boys remained indoors *(vv)*.

Active measures were at once taken ; troops of horse scoured the country; the houses of the gentry and opulent burghers were raided and some twenty priests were captured. The majority went into hiding or disguised themselves as grooms, as surgeons, as servants, as "esquires with sword and lance," or again as fools and strolling players *(ww)*. On 17th January, 1607, one of the Clonmel Jesuits, Nicholas Leynach, wrote "We are dispersed and like night robbers we long for darkness, no place is safe for us on account of the number of our pursuers. A and W [Andrew Morony and Walter Wall] are well and are selling their wares" *(xx)*. Nine months later they apparently were still "selling their wares," for on 6th September the Earl of Thomond, president of Munster, wrote to Salisbury "We have taken the best course that we might in placing some horse among them [the recusant Catholics] and appointing good officers at Clonmell and Cashell where most of the resort of the Jesuits and seminaries is, hoping by that means to have taken some of them ; but all in vain, they are so befriended that hardly any of them can be apprehended" *(yy)*. The priest hunting was kept up many years later. In 1615, for instance, a report of a spy now in the British Museum reads :—

> In ye Diocess of Lismore
> Fr. Richard White priest, gen'all vicar of the diocess of Lismore.
> Fr. Thomas Sheyne a Jesuite and a precher now resideing in Edward Whites house in Clonmel.
> Fr. Andrew Mulronie a Jesuite.
> Fr. Nicholas Leynagh, a Jesuite residing in his brothers, Nicholas Leynagh's, house.
> Thomas Magrath had a father a fryer authorized by the pope to discharge ye faculties of a bishop *(zz)*.

(uu) Ib., 303.
(vv) Letter 27th Nov., 1606, "Henry Fitzsimon, S.J.," Dublin, 1881.
(ww) Some curious instances may be seen in State Papers 439, 476, Fitzsimmons' Life, 117, 144, 152.
(xx) Fitzsimmons' Life, p. 166.
(yy) State Papers II., 258. *(zz)* Addit MSS., No. 19,836.

The Catholic lay folk of the town underwent a persecution in severity and duration only little less than that to which the priests were subjected. In the last week of Lent, 1606, Sir Nicholas Walsh, Sir John Davis and Sir Henry Brouncker joined in a commission of assizes and general gaol delivery, arrived in Clonmel. We have a report of the proceedings at first hand in a letter of Davis to Salisbury.

We came to Clonemell a well built and well kept town upon the river of Sure in the county of the liberty of Tipperary. In this county we gave in charge to the jury all matters not determinable by the Earl's charter viz., all treasons and all other offences which have been made capital or otherwise penal since 46 Ed. III. in which year the Earl's charter doth bear date . . . . my Lord President (whose zeal in matters of religion tempered with good moderation doeth merit very much consideration) was desirous that a priest one James Morice [the parish priest of Clonmel] who was lately before apprehended should have been indicted for publishing a slanderous and seditious bull though without all question it be a forged and counterfeit thing as you may perceive by the copy which I have presumed to send you herewith. Before we would conceive any indictment hereupon we thought meet to examine the evidence which we found not to be ripe enough because the parties that should make the direct proof were not present and therefore we deferred this business till another session. This town being in the liberty is more haunted with Jesuits and priests than any other town or city within this province which is the cause we found the burgesses more obstinate here than elsewhere. For whereas my Lord President did justly offer to the principal inhabitants that he would spare to proceed against them if they would yield to a conference [with the Protestant vicar] for a time and become bound in the meantime not to receive any Jesuit or priest into their houses, they peremptorily refused both, whereupon the chief of them were bound to appear at Cork before the Lord President and Council presently after Easter there to be censured with good round fines and imprisonment (*a*).

A more summary process was adopted towards the mass of the people, viz., indictment under the Act 2 Elizabeth, for absence from the Protestant church on Sundays.

Of the multitude we caused 200 to be indicted but with much ado was the grand inquest [grand jury] drawn to find the bill and yet for the most part they were gentlemen of the country. The Jesuits and priests of name that have lately frequented the town are Nicholas Lennagh Jesuit, Andrew Mulrony Jesuit, Richard White priest, Gerrard Miagh priest, William Crokin priest. Amongst these Nicholas Lennagh hath special credit and authority; and which is to be noted before that horrible treason was to have been executed in England [the Gunpowder Plot] he charged the people to say three Ave Marias for the good sucess of a great matter which what it was they should not know until it was effected and brought to pass. If our bishops and others that have cure of souls were but half as diligent in their several charges as these men are in the places where they haunt, the people would not receive and nourish them as now they do (*b*).

The great matter for which the people were charged to pray, we learn from the Jesuit correspondence, was the salvation of the dying Earl of Ormond. Davis having concluded the business of the assizes went to spend the Easter holidays with the old nobleman at Carrick-on-Suir Castle. He

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(a) State Papers, 475-6. *(b)* Ibid.

noted how the earl not being able to sit up during the festivity "had his robes laid upon his bed as the manner is." He might also have noted a polite if somewhat shy dependant resorting to the castle and well received there. This was the Jesuit, Father Walter Wall, who the previous year had reconciled Ormond to the Catholic church, and had been told off to remain until the end.

The persecution continued unabated through the year. Towards the end of August Brouncker again visited the town and tried to force the sovereign and principal burgesses to accompany him to the Protestant service. They stubbornly refused. John White fitz Geoffry was accordingly deprived of the sovereignty, while on 29th September Samuel Newse, sergeant-at-arms, compelled those put under trial at the spring assizes to surrender in Cork. In this instance the accounts we have are from the Catholic side. Fr. Bryan Kearney wrote to the secretary of the Jesuits.

A cousin of his grace [Lombard, Catholic Primate of Armagh] the brother of Fr. Thomas White S.J. was deprived of the sovereignty of Clonmel because he would not go to church with the president (*c*). So also was Mr. John Bray and Mr. Edmund Wall. These with nine other Clonmel and Cashel citizens are kept in Cork gaol ever since to the very great loss of their business (*d*).

A fuller relation is furnished by Christopher Holliwood, Jesuit superior at the time.

The principal inhabitants and the chief magistrate of Clonmel were summoned before the president and strongly urged to obey the proclamation. They point blank refused and declared they had rather lose all they had even their lives. They were twice summoned to Cork but disobeyed and when the sergeant at arms compelled them in the King's name to go, they were insulted, called traitors, fined and lodged in prison where they are still confined. The heroism of the mayor [sovereign] shone out conspicuously as did that of another who lost his position for the cause; a great friend of ours who is the head man of the whole place also signalized himself. The property of these men as well as of the people of Cashel has been confiscated and the rest of the town folk are so intimidated that there is no business going on in the place. (*e*).

How long the burghers were kept in prison we have no means of knowing. In July the following year, 1607, the Earl of Thomond and Sir Richard Morrison were empowered to release the recusant Catholics upon their own recognizances. "All of them," wrote Chichester, "were accordingly set at liberty except fourteen whereof eight are of Clonmel, four of Cork and two of Kinsale who are still restrained because they obstinately refuse to enter into that bond" *(f)*.

(c) This was John White, whose mother Anastasia Comerford, of Waterford, was aunt of Lombard.

(d) Hibernia Ignatiana, *ad ann.* Ed. E. Hogan, Dublin, 1881. *(e)* Ibid.

(f) State Papers II., 246. The outbreaks of persecution were only limited by diplomatic urgency as when the Spanish marriage negociations were on foot.

But these were only the beginning of sorrows. While the Ormonds retained the Palatinate, the Catholics of Tipperary experienced merely occasional outbursts. When, however, James I. seized on the liberties and imprisoned Walter, eleventh Earl,*(g)* they felt the full stress of the storm. The King's judges now came circuit to Clonmel, and at each assizes the Act 2 Elizabeth was given in charge. By this Act everyone was bound to attend the Protestant service in his parish church every Sunday and holiday. The penalty for absence was 12d. which in practice came to 10s. through the cost of the levy. The names of the recusants—those who refused to go to church—were furnished by the Protestant ministers, and bills of indictment were framed thereon. But the Grand Jurors being at this period all Catholics, refused to take part in the persecution of their co-religionists and threw out the bills. The law was now set in motion against the Jurors themselves. Proceedings were taken in the Court of Castle or Star Chamber in Dublin before the Lord Deputy, a few Protestant bishops and lawyers. The result we gather from a register of the Court which has only recently come to light *(h)*.

1612 November 20. Edmund Butler of Cloghicullyn and Jeffrey Mockler of Ballynatten being the leaders of a Grand Jury impanelled at Cashell Co. Crosse Tipperary last July before Lord Chief Justice Walshe and Sergeant John Beare Justices of Assize—to pay a fine of forty pounds apiece and the rest of the Jury thirty pounds apiece English money and all of them to be imprisoned during pleasure for refusing to present recusants.

The foreman, Butler of Cloughcully, as uncle of the then Lord Cahir and direct ancestor of the present Lady Charteris, might have paid the fine without difficulty, but to many of the poorer gentlemen it meant half their income.

1613 May 7. James Braye, William Brenocke, Walter O'Mulryan and Thomas White members of a Jury impanelled in February last at Clonmell in the county of the liberty of Tipperary before Chief Baron Methwolde and Garrald Loather esq., Justice of Common Pleas as Justices of Assize—to pay a fine of £40 English apiece and to be imprisoned during pleasure for refusing to join with the rest of the jury in presenting as recusants those inhabitants of Clonmell certified as such by the minister of the parish.

May 7.—Pierce Butler of Knockgraffon, Richard Purcell of Loughmoe and John Tobin of Killogh members of a Jury impanelled at Clonmel in February last before Chief Baron Methwolde and Justice Loather—to pay a fine of £200 English apiece and the rest of the jury £40 apiece and all of them to be imprisoned at pleasure for refusing to present as recusants divers of the parishioners of Lisronagh upon the testimony of one Dybsall, a minister, having no other reason to give but that it was against their conscience which answer this Court did absolutely reject and disallow.

(g) Called for his piety "Walter of the Rosary."
(h) Manuscripts of the Earl of Egmont, vol. i.—Hist. MSS. Comsn.

1616 November 22. William Mansell of Cattellyastowne, Rory O'Kennedy of Killeny, Geffry Mockler of Mocklerstown, Nicholas Sause of Sawcestown, John O'Meagher of Clonekenny and Edmond Comyn of Tulloghmayne—members of a grand jury impanelled at Clonmell before Sir John Blennerhasset and Richard Bolton esquire—to pay a fine of £20 English apiece and to be imprisoned at pleasure for refusing to present recusants.

November 22. Thomas Butler of Moretowne and Thomas Stapleton of Lynestown—grand jurors impanelled at Cashell, Co. Crosse Tipperary, before Baron Blenerhasset and Richard Bolton esq—to pay a fine of £20 apiece and John O'Dwyer of Dundrum also of the said jury also to pay a fine of £15 for refusing to present recusants.

Occasionally as the jurors were unable to pay the fines, the following ingenious method of punishment was devised.

1617 July 4. Richard Wall, John McKeogh, Owen Boy McKeogh and James Glynn Co. Crosse Tipperary—members of a grand jury impanelled at Cashell before Sir John Blenerhasset and Justice Sparke—to pay fines of £5 apiece, be imprisoned during pleasure, and to make full acknowledgment of their offence with papers on their heads in the four courts of Dublin, and at the next general Assizes in Co. Crosse Tipperary for refusing to join with the rest of the jury to present recusants.

We further order that in regard of their poverty the Lord Deputy remits the fines.

1617. July 4 Edmond O'Hedyn, Phillip English, Piers Comyn and John Mother of the county of the liberty of Tipperary, being grand jurors impanelled in the said county in this year 1617 before Sir John Blenerhasset and Justice Sparke—to pay a fine of 5 marks apiece, and to be imprisoned during pleasure for the like offence, the fine having been lessened in regard of the service the said persons had done in causing to be apprehended a notorious murderer.

1617 Nov. 7. Boetius McEgan of Sesseraghkell Co. Cross Tipperary being one of a grand jury impanelled before Chief Baron Methwolde and Sir John Blenerhasset at Cashell in September last—to pay a fine of £10 and to be imprisoned during pleasure for refusing to present recusants.

November 12. Piers Butler Fitz Walter of Nodstown (*i*) Piers Hackett of Ballytrasny and John O'Kennedy of Lackine, members of a grand jury impanelled before the above named justices at Clonmell in September last—to pay fines of £30 apiece, and John Keating of Nicholstowne, Teige O'Mullryan of Lysnesilly, Rory O'Kennedy of Ballyneclogh, James Marnell of Lysnemrocke and Edmond O'Hedyne of Moynard all Co. Tipperary, being likewise members of the said jury, fines of £20 apiece and all of them to be imprisoned during pleasure for refusing to present recusants.

1618 May 8. Piers Comyne, Richard Prendergast, James, Theobald, William and Thomas Butler of the county of the liberty of Tipperary, members of a jury impanelled before the Chief Baron of Exchequer and Baron Blenerhasset in the said County, to pay fines of £50 sterling apiece, to be imprisoned during pleasure and to give bonds for the public acknowledgment of their guilt for the like offence.

May 8. Nicholas Boyton, Redmond Hacket and Richard Butler members of a grand jury sworn before the Chief Baron and Baron Blenerhasset at Cashell Co. Cross Tipperary—to pay fines—Boyton (being the ringleader) 100 marks sterling and the other two £50 sterling apiece—to be imprisoned during pleasure and to give bond for the public acknowledgment of their guilt for refusing to present recusants.

By another section of the Act 2 Elizabeth, all judges, justicers, mayors or other lay or temporal officers on entering office were to take an oath before

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(*i*) Grandson of James, 9th Earl of Ormond.

persons duly constituted for that purpose, testifying that the King was the only supreme governor of the realm, as well in spiritual and ecclesiastical as in temporal things, and utterly renouncing all foreign jurisdiction. As the Catholic magistracy would not put this law in operation, the Court of Castle Chamber proceeded to enforce it.

1616 May 8. Bennet White, Mayor of Clonmell, to be fined £20 and imprisoned during pleasure for executing his office without having taken the oath of supremacy.

November 13. Piers Bray late bailiff of Clonmell, to be fined £10 English money for executing the office of bailiff without having taken the oath of supremacy.

The High Sheriff for that year was more fortunate.

November 20. Upon information that William O'Mara sheriff of Co. Tipperary has exercised his office without taking the oath of supremacy etc.

Decree remitting the offence as it appears that the sheriff of Co. Tipperary hath been nominated and appointed by the Earls of Ormond in former times and none of them have had the oath of supremacy offered unto them.

Towards the close of the reign of James I. the persecution was somewhat relaxed. In 1624 Falkland wrote to Secretary Conway that the news of the negociation of the Spanish marriage had emboldened the towns to elect recusant mayors. "As their confidence," he said, "has made them presume so my doubtfulness made me wink and forbear to question them for it." The following year, however, as the negociations had failed a commission was sped to Sir Edward Villiars, President of Munster, Lords Cork and Kinsale, and the justices of assize to administer the oath of supremacy to the mayors, sheriffs, recorders and bailiffs of every city and corporate town in Munster and bind them with sufficient security to appear before the Lord Deputy and Council *(j)*.

Besides religious persecution there was throughout this period another great and growing cause of discontent. The Ulster Plantation had been successful beyond all expectation. Irish officials and British statesmen congratulated one another that the province in the conquest of which in Elizabeth's time so much blood and treasure had been poured out in vain, was now a prosperous English settlement. Plantations accordingly, which hitherto had been carried on sporadically and at rare intervals, now became matters of settled policy. "Having found by experience," wrote King James to the Lord Deputy St. John, "that plantations in that kingdom are the only ordinary means to reduce the people to civility and religion, I am the more desirous to see them proceeded in with due diligence and care" *(k)*. "These plantations," it was urged, "tend to bring in law and order, to banish Irish

(j) May 30th, 1 Chas. I. *(k)* State Papers, 26th Feb., 1620.

customs, to disappoint foreign expectations, to assure the better sort to the Crown by valuable estates which they will not willingly risk" *(l)*. In 1610 the plantation was begun of the part of Wexford lying between the Slaney and the sea, and the subsequent years plantations followed in Longford, Queen's County, Leitrim, Westmeath and Wicklow. The Irish in the several territories were driven to the hills or bogs, care being taken to send abroad large numbers of the able-bodied to the armies of Spain, Germany and Poland *(m)*. The English were then settled in the arable and pasture land where, secured by strong houses, by turreted and looped bawns, they bade defiance to the pauperized, hunger-broken natives. Towards the close of 1621 the plantation of North Tipperary was projected, but as there were enough of plantations already on hand, for ten years nothing was done. Meanwhile the alluvial lands of the Shannon and the rich pastures of Nenagh were not lost sight of; noblemen at court and fortune seekers in Ireland alike contending for allotments. The Earl of Carlisle, Lord Holland, the Chancellor of Scotland, Lord Dorchester were all petitioners for lands in Upper and Lower Ormond. Lady Bingley appealed to the king, while Lord Norton, impatient at the delay, besought Secretary Nicholas to go on with the plantation forthwith. On the other hand the old "servitors" in Ireland who had marked these lands for their own, could not look on with indifference. They represented to the Privy Council that the lands should not be granted to great men who would not sit down upon them, that very few should be allotted above 500 acres, and each undertaker should be tied to residence and building answerable to his proportion *(n)*. Then Lord Esmond suggested there might be land enough for all if in addition to the two baronies of Ormond there was a plantation of Owney and Arra, Kilnelougarty, Ikerrin and Kilnemanagh. He concluded by enclosing a list of the ploughlands, the approximate acreage, and a map of the whole. Throughout all this dividing of the bear's skin, little notice was taken of the bear's growl. Walter Earl of Ormond complained bitterly that his family had held these lands since "Harry the Second's time" when they were granted to suppress the enemies of the crown. "I hope," he added, "I shall not be the first of the English to be ranked with the Irish and to be replanted" *(o)*. Similarly Richard Grace, descended from a branch of the family of Raymond le Gros, settled in Tipperary from the days of King John, found himself in 1637 ousted from his estate by legal chicane. He

(l) Lord Deputy and Council to the Privy Council 6th Feb., 1620, Ibid.

(m) The State Papers of the period are full of notices of the transport of Irish to foreign service.

(n) "Advice concerning the Plantation of Upper and Lower Ormond." This paper belongs to the period 1629-1631, and is misplaced by the Editors among the papers of James I., pp. 378-9.

(o) Ormond to Dorchester, Carrick, Jan. 5th, 1631. State Papers, p. 597.

appealed to the king for redress. Lord Falkland, he said, shortly before death was about petitioning his Majesty in his (Grace's) favour. His enemies are all powerful and he cannot "wage" law against them and therefore prays the king to order the Lord Strafford to do him justice *(p)*. But instead of justice the dispossessed Irish were treated to playful scorn. In August 1637, the Deputy came to Clonmel in connexion with the plantation.

"The business we came about is most happily ended and his Majesty now entitled to the two goodly countries of Ormond and Clare, and which beauties and seasons the work exceedingly, with all possible contentment and satisfaction of the people. In all my whole life did I never see or could possibly believe to have found men with so much alacrity divesting themselves of all property in their estates and waiting to see what the king will do for them. They have all along to the uttermost of their skill and breeding given me very great expressions of their esteem and affection. Oratory hath abundantly magnified itself through these excellent pieces we have heard, one at Carlow, three at Kilkenny, two very deadly long ones at Clonnmel. Architecture and invention not asleep as appeared in their arch triumphals with their ornaments and inscriptions" *(q)*.

But loyal addresses and triumphal arches had as little effect in staying the plantation as petitions for justice. Strafford's visit only deepened the discontent, and left to the people the sole hope of the sword *(r)*.

We have now reached the turning point in the history of Clonmel. The Anglo-Norman colony of William De Burgh which for four hundred years amid hostile influences had preserved "English habits, customs and laws," *(s)* was soon to give way to another colony opposed to it in everything except language. It is well, therefore, to note a few aspects of the old town which still in a large degree retained its medieval character.

If a line be drawn through Dowd's Lane, Richmond Street, Charles Street, William Street, Dispensary Street and New Street it will roughly mark the site of the ancient fortifications. They may be still traced in several places, especially in St. Mary's churchyard where they form the north and west boundaries. At the end of Dowd's Lane on the river edge, stood a circular embattled tower; two other towers of a similar character stood nearly opposite the present Abbey Street. A heavy quadrangular structure called "The Bastion" at the Watergate, a circular tower on the old Quay, and the

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(p) Ibid.

(q) Strafford to Lord Conway, 21st Aug., 1637. State Papers.

(r) "Philip O'Dwyre of Dounedromore a gentleman of such quality and estate that he could not brook the reviling language of Sir William St. Leger and seeing the Irish estates exposed to men of meane birth who aimed to raise estates by the ruine of innocents so that Sir W. Parsons and the Earl of Corke who within this sixty years past coming as naked lads here without either friends, meanes or learning were glad in the service of one Kenny the Escheator General to earn their livelihood in his menial service wherein they learnt those tricks acquiring by hooke and crooke lands, offices and livings that they were shortly after the ablest men for riches in the kingdom."

"Memorialls of the Warr begunn in 1641 wrote by Mr. Kearney in the Co. of Tipperary, Feby. 1657." Carte Papers, lxiv.

(s) Charter of James I.

South Gate at the extremity of Bridge Street formed the defences of the town on that side *(t)*. The bridge which was carried in three sections over "Great Island" and "Goat Island" was very picturesque with its bold projecting piers and saw-shaped battlements. But the narrow causeway was often negociable only by means of the pier recesses *(u)*. The mills and mansions of Suir Island were represented in the seventeenth century by a solitary row of houses. The east and north suburbs of the town contained together about three score cabins, the great majority of those dwelling outside the walls being resident in the Irishtown.

The most important thoroughfare of old Clonmel was 'The High Street' which extended from Bridge Street to the Main Guard. At the end stood the Town Cross where proclamations were issued, and payments "on the nail" made as being the safest place *(v)*. From Bridge Street to the West Gate a block of houses known as 'Middle Row' filled the present street. On either side of this were narrow lanes; the one on the south which led to the West Gate being called 'West Street or 'West Gate Street,' the corresponding one being 'North Lane.' From the records of the Palatine court it appears that two 'castles' stood in West Street; these probably were part of the fortifications on the river side. Gordon Street had no existence, and Peter Street which at the period contained a number of good houses, was termed 'Blind Street' from the fact that there was no gate in the town wall at its western extremity. The present Mary Street was known in early times as 'Our Ladye Streete,' 'the Street of the Blessed Virgin Mary' or more simply 'St. Mary Street' *(w)*. Many of the principal burghers, as at a later period, lived there, and in Our Lady Street, Geoffry Barron and his more distinguished brother Bartholomew, first saw the light. The original name of Gladstone Street was 'Lough Street,' the gate, which stood where it narrows at the north end, being called 'Lough Gate,' and after the Cromwellian assault 'Breech Gate.' It would seem that Market Street at

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(t) John le Botiller Earl of Ormond by Charter dated at Carrick Tuesday next before the Feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary 1463 granted to the sovereign, provost, burgesses and commons of Clonmel, licence to take customs of all merchandize coming for sale into the town provided they be expended on the diligent care of the Southern Gate and the repair of the bridge and walls.

(u) Through the development of the milling industry at the close of the 18th century the river topography underwent several changes. The branch which runs from the Old Bridge by the side of the road is artificial. The southern arm consisted of two branches one of which took a course further south through the present "blind" arches thus forming the "Goaten Island."

(v) The Anglo-Irish always erected crosses in the market place to remind those who resorted there to be conscientious in their dealings. Sometimes—e.g., Kilkenny—the structure consisted of a large lantern on which rested the cross proper. That of Clonmel seems to have been a plain ashlar plinth surmounted by a cap bearing the cross. The cap or socket may still be seen close to its ancient location adjoining the steps at Duncan Street.

(w) Will of Laurence Barron 1622, and Tipperary Palatine Fines, P.R.O.



PARNELL STREET.

that time a *cul de sac,* was originally 'Moreton Street.' Subsequent to the capture of Father Kenrachtin in the house of Victor White it was termed 'Martyr Lane' *(x).* In Lough Street on the east side lived the senior branch of the White family represented at this period by John White fitz Bennet. The narrow street leading to the East Gate was styled 'Sheelane Street,' a memorial probably of the old connexion of the town with Kilsheelan as the joint property of Lord Richard De Burgh. There is however a spelling of the name which suggests a different origin. On 4th May, 1602, Edmond Bray petitioned for the enrollment of a deed whereby Richard Bray, burgess, conveyed to Michael Bray eight tenements and a garden in 'Zilane' Street *(y).* On the south side of High Street, the short wide street to the Water-gate was styled 'Boate Street'—a common appellation in old English towns; the lane parallel with it, subsequently called 'Blue Anchor Lane' after a tavern there, was 'the Shambles lane.' Where Quay Street is now built was in the seventeenth century mere slobland and evil smelling at that; for the town sewer—an open one, was carried into the river there. The section of Clonmel within the walls, cut off by Boat Street and Sheelan Street was originally the 'site, circuit, and precinct' of the Gray Friars. Having been granted at the dissolution to the Earl of Ormond and the Corporation in equal shares, the latter during the reign of James I. leased to the Fagans, Whites and Danills, several lots in Sheelan Street for building. The south side of that street does not appear to have been previously built upon.

Sir John Davis, Attorney General for Ireland who spent some days in Clonmel in 1606 describes it as "a well built and well kept town" *(z).* Most of the houses were two storied and roofed with slate though at intervals might be seen thatched houses, survivors of an earlier period. Even in 1666 the

(x) An Inquisition held at Clonmel, 20 March 1622 before John Southwell, found James Bray seized *inter alia* of one garden in Marter Lane in Lough Street. There are some interesting references to this locality among the records. An Inquisition held in Clonmel 1568 before Edmund Butler found that John Cantwell, once Archbishop of Cashel, was seized in fee of a messuage, a garden and a house within the walls. That in March 20, Ed. IV. (1481) he granted said premises to the College of the Church of Cashel to be held for said college by Robert Sall his heirs and assignes. That the said premises are held in free burgage of the Earl of Desmond as of his Manor of Clonmel for the yearly service of 2s. 3d., and licence for alienation was obtained neither from the Earl nor from the King. That the Vicars Choral of the said college drew the profits from the date of the feoffment until St. Patrick's Eve 1549 since which time Edmund Bray, burgess deceased, and Michael Bray his son have done so in virtue of a feoffment made by the said vicars contrary to the Statute of Mortmain. On the 5 May 1578 a grant of the whole was made to George Moore "in consideration of his services during the wars in Scotland and Ireland." Moore seems to have reconveyed the premises to Bray. In the grant they are described as "the messuage and garden lying between the holding formerly of William Fagan on the north, the holdings formerly of Richard White, Walter Wall, Henry White and Peter Hanraghan on the south, Logh Street on the west, and the common wall of the town on the east. The house lying between the street late of Moreton on the north, the holding formerly of Lawles on the south, Logh Street on the west, and the holding formerly of Moreton on the east."

(y) Morrin Pat. Rol. II. 636.

(z) State Papers Jas. I. 1 p. 475.

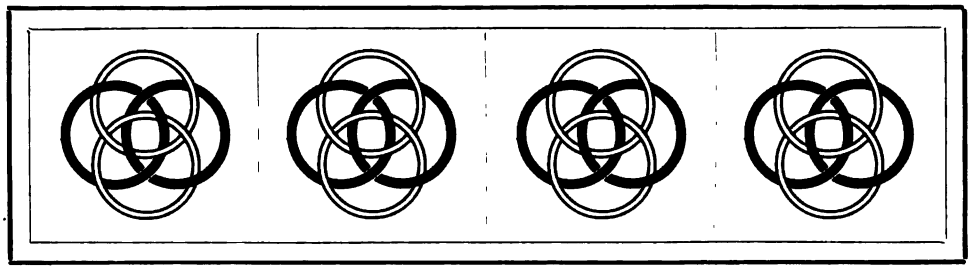
High Street itself contained seven *(aa)*. Several houses especially in Lough Street and Our Lady Street had gardens to the rere, while a few of the burghers raised edifices which in size and character made pretension to feudal castles *(bb)*. In High Street to the right of the Shambles Lane was a structure the various uses of which are quaintly set forth in the Survey of 1654. "The stone house in the middle of the Towne in the South side. The upper part whereof was formerly used for a guard house, the middle part thereof was continually used by Butchers to sell meat and the Loer part thereof comonly used for a Comon Goale which was alwayse time out of minde property belonging to the Corporation and imployed to the uses afforesaid." Opposite Bridge Street and forming the end of Middle Row stood "the county goale and Town hall built over the same," a building round which gathered many painful memories. Hither in 1565—to go no farther back, was brought in triumph by Ormonde, the wounded Earl of Desmond. Two years later by a kind of Nemesis, its doors closed on Edmund Butler, Ormond's own brother. Towards the end of 1582 Eleanor the wife of the ill-fated Desmond, entered it and only in January, 1584 left, to suffer more extreme want and misery in Dublin Castle. From it the following year was led out to execution Father Maurice Kinrechtan. Peer and priest alike, the champions of a fallen cause and a proscribed religion shared its horrors. Ascending St. Mary's Street a few buildings of a different character were to be met. Adjoining the church was the 'ffree school' where in the early seventeenth century an excellent classical education was given. The Jesuits appear to have conducted it for a while, and when distinguished personages visited the town florid addresses in Latin hexameters were read by the pupils. Strafford was bored in 1637 by "a deadly long one" but eight years before, Falkland and his companion Boyle, Earl of Cork, were greatly impressed by some verses recited by Bartholomew Barron. Close to the Free School was "a stone, slate house, built about 1624 by the Commons of Clonmell, upon a part of their Common land, and sett apart for an Hospitall for old, impotent, decayed inhabitants of Clonmell." This owed its existence to the charity of James White fitz Robert whose will dated 29th June, 1622 contains the bequest "Item I will, bequeath and demise of the moneyes due to me of John fitz Gerald of Dromany in the County of Waterford Esqr towards the building of the poore house or hospitall in Clonmell aforesaid the sum of fortie pounds ster" *(cc)*. Nor were the 'impotent and decayed' inmates forgotten by the citizens. For example, Sir James Goeghe of Kilmanahan in 1628 ordered his

(aa) Ormond Patent.
(bb) Remains of these may be seen to the rere of Quay Street and Collets Lane.
(cc) Prerogat. Wills P.R.O.

executors "to divide six barrells of good conditioned malte—three of oaten and three of barley, and four barrells of good wheat by just porcions at Christmas and Easter yearly to the Master and poore of the poore house of Clonmell." Perhaps among the quaint charities of the time the most noteworthy is that contained in the will of James White:—

> Itm, After my wife's decease I doe will, leaue and devise to my nephew James Bray, his heirs, assignes for ever, my dwellinge house in Clonmell with all the shoppes, sellers, and roomes thereof and the furnass of the said house; the Garden in Our La: Streete now John Stritches house and the highe Gardayne in the west suburbs. The said James Bray his heirs and assignes, maintayneing a light in a fare [fair] lanterne on dark nyghtes, in the corner of my saide house for my perpetuall memorie and remembraunce.

Here we take leave of Anglo-Norman Clonmel and its old world inhabitants.



CHAPTER V.

WAR OF 1641 AND SIEGE OF CLONMEL.

EARLY in November, 1641, report reached Tipperary that the Irish of Ulster were up in arms, and the planters and their families in full flight to the sea ports *(dd)*. When two weeks later it was learned that the Cavanaghs in Wexford and the O'Farrells in Longford, had re-possessed themselves of their old homes, the news stirred many a drooping heart throughout the two baronies of Ormond. Butlers and O'Kennedys, Graces and Mac Egans, rejoiced that plantations were at an end and their homes were now secure. Some of the more adventurous spirits made a raid on the cattle of one William Kingsmill in the parish of Ballysheehan, north of Cashel, where he and his brother-in-law Sir William St. Leger had begun a little settlement on their own account. Sir William pursued the raiders with two troops of horse, determined to create a salutary terror. Four labourers were hanged at Grange, eight at Galbertstown, six at Ballymurren. Captain Peisley, Sir William's lieutenant burnt houses wholesale and shot several persons at Golden and Ardmaile. These proceedings lashed the country into fury and the people were with difficulty restrained

(dd) The venerable historical fiction, "the Massacre of 1641" is finally disposed of by the last volumes of the State Papers Calendar, Ireland, Chas. I. Ed. Mahaffy. Some English were murdered in Cashel; the original Depositions on the affair were published by J. D. White, of Cashel. The bulk of the new settlers in Tipperary were sent under convoy to Carrick and Clonmel. "I have been present in Carrick in the year 1641, where I have seen in the said house of Carrick five families men, women and children, relieved by the Countess of Ormond at her own loss and charge, being after losing their goods. She sent for me and employed me to speak to those I trusted, to conduct her to Kilkenny, but altered her course then to Clonmell where there was no less than forty of the English for safeguard of their lives (which absolutely were men lost but for her great care of them) and brought them and such others as she met, safe to Kilkenny."—Attestation of Richard Comerford, of Dangin More, Ormonde Papers, 2 ser. ii., 368.

from bursting into open rebellion. Thomas Butler of Kilconnell, Richard Butler of Bansha, Philip O'Dwyer of Dundrum and others, went on 1st December to Clonmel to remonstrate with the president. They were told they were all rebels themselves, that none of them could be trusted and that some should be hanged as an example to the rest. In sullen discontent they retired to their homes; they watched the gathering storm and when late in December Lords Gormanstown, Fingall, Slane and Trimlestown appeared in arms they responded to the call and put themselves at the head of the people.

The scenes that followed were stirring and picturesque. Word was sent round the tenantry to meet the master in the castle bawn. Some came armed with implements of husbandry, some with Irish skians, a few retainers had fowling pieces, and a brace of flint locks were brought out of the house where they had lain in rust since the days of Elizabeth. Ball was made from lead stripped off the roof but powder there was next to none. The commissariat arrangements consisted of the herd of cattle which was driven with the troop, while for camping there was the large freize caddow or blanket, which folded on the horse, served also as a saddle. Such was the army of the Confederates as it took the field. One of the English refugees thus describes the first acts of war.

> This part remained two months quiet after all the rest had revolted and we concluded good hopes of its continuance till about twelve days before Christmas when rebels out of Leinster came in and disturbed our hoped security. The Lord President was not idle all this while but having secured Cork (the most remarkable place of his province) the best he could in the extreme want of men, money, amunition with three troops of horse and fifty musketters (a bold attempt) he fell upon Waterford and Tipperary and within a few days destroyed about 600 of the rebels without the loss of one man and having visited the cities of Waterford and Cashel with the towns of Clonemell and Carrig he returned to his house at Downeraile Dec. 23. But ere the holidays were half spent Richard Butler brother to the Earl of Ormond, Purcel Baron Loghmoh, Philip O'Dwyer great men in Tipperary revolted, the city of Cashel, townes of Clonemell Fedder, Carrig etc. did the like and suddenly the lords of Dunboine and Cahir with that whole country turned rebels *(ee)*.

It was not without misgiving that the people of Clonmel entered upon the war. But for the disabilities for office and the occasional outbursts of religious persecution they had few grievances. Some such as Henry White, Pierce Bray and James Fennell, regarded with suspicion any alliance with the native Irish. They had much to lose, and therefore held entirely aloof. Others, like Geoffry Barron, were enthusiastic in the cause, and swayed by religious motives were prepared to put their whole fortune at hazard. The great bulk of the citizens apparently were passive *(ff)*. And so in the

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(ee) Henry Rugge to John Smith, Youghal 10 Aug., 1642. Cholmondeley Papers, Hist. MSS. Comsn.

(ff) This I gather from a report of John Walsh to Ormonde, Carte Papers, Bodleian xliv.

beginning of January, 1642, the keys of the town were handed over by the mayor, John White, to the Irish commander, Richard Butler, of Kilcash *(gg)*. One of the first acts of the confederates in Clonmel, as in the other towns, was to give possession of the old churches to the Catholics. Thomas White was duly instituted Catholic Vicar of St. Mary's, where members of his family had long ministered, and where many generations of them lay buried. The Franciscans entered again into their abbey, and people wondered at seeing for the first time their strange habits and sandals. The civil administration of the town was left undisturbed, but the citizens were applotted according to their capacity, for the carrying on of the war. By the end of March the whole province, with the exception of the Earl of Cork's territory and a few towns, was in the hands of the Irish, yet it was felt that without foreign aid they could neither effectively assault the towns that remained hostile, nor even hold what they had conquered. Accordingly representatives were sent abroad to solicit arms, money and supplies. Geoffry Barron who had considerable experience in public affairs and was a skilled linguist, went as envoy accompanied by Fr. O'Hartegan to Richelieu and the French court. His mission was an entire success. The nuncio in Paris furnished large sums of money. Richelieu encouraged the Irish officers in the French service to return to the help of their country, and some fourteen ships were fitted out at St. Malo, Nantes and Rochelle with cannon, small arms, ammunition and military stores. On the 24th October, 1642, the confederate parliament met in Kilkenny, the representatives for Clonmel being John White and Geoffry Barron. A provisional government was established with an executive and judicature; ambassadors were accredited to foreign states, a mint was set up and a broad seal struck—"United for God, King and Fatherland" (Pro Deo Rege et Patria Hiberni Unanimes). Meanwhile the quarrel in England between Charles and the Parliament developed apace; civil war broke out with the battle of Edge Hill, 23rd October, and the Irish belligerents were left to themselves to fight out their own issue. Many of the Anglo-Irish who had entered reluctantly into the struggle, now saw in the King's difficulties an opportunity to escape, if only some guarantees for their estates and religion could be obtained. Accordingly in the concluding session of the General Assembly in November, 1642, a petition to the King was framed setting forth the Puritan schemes for the extirpation of the Irish by plantations, the exclusion of the natives from civil and military employment, judicial partizanship, denial of education, in all which they sought redress.

(gg) He was brother of Ormond, and direct ancestor of the present marquess. "He had such influence over his followers that he kept them not only from bloodshed but plunder, and his noble disposition was acknowledged even by his enemies."—Gilbert, History of Confederation.

The Queen also was petitioned to use her influence for peace. By commission dated January 11th, 1643, Ormond, Clanrickard, Roscommon and others, were empowered to treat with the Irish. The great part of the year, however, passed in alternate war and negociation, and only in September a year's armistice was agreed upon. Immediately commissioners were despatched by the Confederate Catholics to Oxford, where the King was, to discuss the terms of peace. The Puritan party on the other hand took alarm; two deputations —one from the Lord Justices, the other from the general body—went over, and every effort was made to defeat the proposals. At home, in order "to give all the opposition possible to the mischievous design" of the peace, early in July, Inchiquin, Broghill, Fenton and Smith, expelled the Irish residents in Cork, Youghal and Kinsale, and broke the armistice. As this drew an angry remonstrance from the Irish, the following disingenuous reply was sent:—

To our worthy freinds the Maior Bailiffs and Commonalities of the towne of Clonmel.

The intelligence which we have received from severall good hands of your owne party of your bad intentions towards us and ye new levyes of souldiers lately made in all parts of the province and ye calling back of part of your army lately advanced northward against the Scots without the last show of danger towards you giveth us just grounds to apprehend that you intend to ceaze upon our garrison towns and consequently (guessing at the subsequent by your former proceedings) to cutt us off and destroy us the Protestants of this province. This very consideration hath prevayled with us to draw us for our owne defence nott with a purpose to offend any of the Irish quarters,. [Meanwhile] we forbear all acts of hostility on both sides and continue that quiett commerce which formerly was betwixt us and by allowing you to buy in our townes such wares as you please (and we can spare) and you by sending to our marketts such commodities as you think fitt for which you shall receive ready money. Thus expectinge your positive answer herein wee remayne your loving friends as we find you.

BROGHILL, W. FENTON, PERCY SMYTH.

The discussions which arose on the conduct of the war, and more especially the peace negociations, brought out the diverse aims of the Confederates and eventually broke them into irreconcilable factions. The southern or Anglo-Irish, by tradition and blood allied to England, merely contended for security in their estates, political equality and religious toleration. The northern or old Irish owed no allegiance to the crown, aimed at undoing the Ulster plantation, and were hostile in principle to the English and their religion. The influence of the Catholic Church, especially after the arrival of Rinuccini, papal nuncio, was almost entirely on the side of the north. To this influence we may trace the support which the people of Clonmel gave that party throughout the war. Sir Richard Bellings, secretary to the Confederate Council, complained bitterly that Clonmel was entirely devoted to the nuncio and "the rendevous of all the turbulent spirits in the province" *(hh)*. When in August 1646 a treaty

(hh) Hiberniae, Desiderata Curiosa II. 436.

was concluded between Ormond and the Anglo-Irish, the heralds proclaiming the peace were refused admission into the town and a month later the gates were shut against Ormond himself. Only two prominent citizens, John White fitz Bennet and Thomas White fitz Richard declared themselves in favour of the Treaty *(ii)*. Nor was the confidence reposed in the Ulstermen undeserved, for more than once they saved the town from pillage, perhaps massacre. "On the 3rd May" [1647] says Cox "Inchiquin drew out 1500 horse and as many foot and took Dromana and Cappoquin and on the 10th of May he took Dungarvan and if his provisions had lasted he designed to besiege Clonmell but the want of victualls and carriages which has been fatal to most of the martiall undertakings in Ireland did also force him to return to Cork" *(jj)*. As the want of victuals was the very reason Inchiquin should establish himself in a fruitful country, the account given by Owen Roe O'Neill's secretary appears more trustworthy. "The Councell did send orders vnto the Generall [Owen Roe] to relieve Clonmell, with all expedition in obedience hereof [he] marched both day and night with his field pieces untill arriving to Ballinakelly in Leyse upwards of 24 miles a mightie march of a great armie Insichuyne advertised hereof raised his siedge and marched to his owne quarters though 30 miles between him and the Catholic Generall" *(kk)*. Again some months later when after the capture of Cahir Castle and the sack of Cashel all Tipperary lay at the feet of Inchiquin, Clonmel was safe for within it was a regiment of 1500 "red shanks" and its governor the redoubtable Alexander McDonnell *(ll)*.

During the years 1648-9 as the English Puritans gained the ascendency, and especially after the execution of the King, the several royalist parties were driven to make common cause, and so we find Ormond received in Clonmel with the honour due to the King's representative. Stranger still in November 1649, Inchiquin "Murrough the Incendiary" spent several days in the town concerting measures for the recovery of Carrick from his former friends the puritans. But the differences between Protestant and Catholic royalists were too fundamental; there was no loyal co-operation, and the subsequent campaign against Cromwell is a painful record of treachery and disaster. The one man of consummate military capacity who, trusted by Ormond and the Irish alike, might have led the forlorn hope, died as the campaign opened—Owen Roe O'Neill.

The feeling in Clonmel during the months of September and October, 1649, as the reports of Cromwellian successes were brought in, must have

(ii) Carte Papers xliv.
(jj) Hiberniae Anglicana I. 196.
(kk) Aphorismical Discovery, Ed. Gilbert.
(ll) The "Colquitto" of Sir Walter Scott's Legend of Montrose.

been one of profound despair. But there was no panic; the massacres of Drogheda and Wexford had the only effect they could have on brave men—the stern resolve to sell their lives dearly. Early in November having learned that Cromwell was across the Barrow and marching south through county Kilkenny, a meeting of the citizens was held and a letter despatched to Ormond.

May it please your Excellency,

I am commanded by the Counsell and Commons of this towne to represent unto your Excellency their apprehension of the present daunger threatened by the rebells and that your Excellency wilbe pleased to look upon them his faythfull subiectes, resolued to spend their blood in defence of their religion, Kinge and country, and being of themselues unable to withstand the fury of so mercilesse an enemy, your Excellency wilbe pleased to direct a present reliefe of men to be sent into them. Understanding that a considerable party of the army are yet in this province and in their march to the campe I made bould (being thereunto encouradged by John Walshe who ioyned with me in a letter) to write vnto the Major generall to direct them hither, undertaking to procure your Excellencies orders for him to that purpose, which we hope the necessity at hand will in your Excellencies favorable construction excuse our bouldness and be a motive to grant your present orders according our engadgement.

The poverty of this towne is well knowen, and therfore unable to mayteyne any considerable number. It is therfor ther humble request your Excellencie wilbe pleased to direct Martin Laffan the receiver, to pay them from tyme to tyme and upon his fayler, the Collonell to be employed hither to have power to raise his meanes from the adiacent baronyes or where he may in the country, to be abated vnto them in their publique dues and that your Excellency wilbe further pleased to graunt your orders for reimbursinge vnto the inhabitaunts of this towne whatever they shall happen to be out of purse for the mayntenance of that partie all which I represent to your Excellency and humbly take leave beinge

Your Ex. most faithfull servt.

Clonmell 10 November 1649. John White, Maior of Clonmell.

They humbly desire that the Collonell or Commander of the party may with 300 men march ymediatly into the towne and that the rest maybe in some neere guarrizons to be brought in if necessity shall require it. John White B[ennet] Maior of Clonmell *(mm)*.

The letter had the desired effect, Colonel Oliver Stephenson's regiment being ordered to take up quarters. But though Stephenson and his soldiers had formed part of the old confederate army, they were not altogether trusted; Lord Antrim, who was in the town, suggested that the Ormond-Inchiquin party were in secret alliance with the puritans, and accordingly the mayor and townsfolk refused to keep "watch and ward" upon the walls and gates under Stephenson as governor. While this dispute was going on Reynolds had seized Carrick for Cromwell. The mayor wrote to Ormond:—

May it please your Excellencye

Being assured by the testimonie of divers witnesses of the sudden takinge of Carricke for want of vigilancie by a partye of Cromwells horse, havinge acted some bloddye execution upon some of the townsmen and garrison there whereof some came

(mm) Endorsed to his Excell. the Marquesse of Ormond Lord Lieutanant, generall of Ireland These present—Carte Papers, Bodleian, Oxford, vol. 26.

into this towne, having further intimated (whereof some scouts employd from this towne brought mee intelligence) that a partye of Cromwells foot have likewise advanced as far as Carricke the afternoon of the date hereof, the horse having come thither in the morning; of all which I thought fitt to give your Excellencye notice being not as stronge as I could wish yett I hope in God that the townsmen and garrison having this day joyned by a solemne protestation and oath in a union for God, Kinge and countrye, and defense of this towne to the uttermost of their power, will be able to oppose and meete the enemyes designes if the bodye of your Excellencyes armie be uppon their backe, which is expected with all expedition (no lesse being your Excellencyes care) by

Your Ex. most humbl servt.

Clonmel the 20th of November, 1649 *(nn)*. John White B. Maior of Clonmell.

The following day the mayor again wrote to Ormond,

May it please your Excellencye

I have understood that Collonell Stephenson writt vnto your Excell: for commaunding the keys of this corporation into his own hands and giving the wathword and engaginge the townsmen at his disposall upon service, I thought fitt to intimat vnto your Excellencye that if your Excellencye had sent the Collonell orders to be factotum in these partes, that it may begett a rupture between the townsmen and the garison, I shall therefore humbly desire that your Excellencye may be pleased that I may enjoye my Keys, joyne in the wathword and that the captains of the towne together with the Collonell and his chiefe officers, may by their joynt adveise dispose the townsmen and garison uppon service which is the humble suite and sense of your Excellencyes

Most humbl servt.

Clonmell 21 Novr 1649. John White B. Maior of Clonmell *(oo)*.

At the end of the month, Ormond came to Clonmel to arrange winter quarters for the royalist forces; the townsfolk had the satisfaction of seeing Stephenson and his pseudo garrison of Clare peasants removed to make way for men whose fighting qualities were beyond question. These were two regiments belonging to the old army of Owen Roe O'Neill, and commanded by one of his ablest lieutenants, Hugh Duff O'Neill. In their train, however, came two troops of horse under Colonel Edmund Fennell, of Ballygriffin, who were destined to play a sinister part in subsequent events. Perhaps there was some instinctive suspicion of the new comers, for a few days later the mayor wrote complaining of the additional burthen they imposed on the town. Ormond replied:—

After our harty commendacons, wee have receaved your letter of the 11th of this instant and doe hereby assure you that as it was the necessitie that appeered vnto us for placeinge horse in that place being a frontier, occasioned our sendinge Lt. Collonel Fenell thither with the horse you mention so shall wee speedily imploy our best endeavours for the ease of the corporation to their satisfacion and have herewith written to Major generall Hugh O'Neale to afford thereunto what ease he possibly may. And soe wee bid you hartily farwell from Kilkenny this 19th of December 1649 your very lovinge freind

Maior of Clonmell Ormonde *(pp)*.

(nn) Carte Papers, vol. 26.
(oo) Ibid.
(pp) Carte Papers vol. 142.

On the same date O'Neill was written to.

Having receved a letter of the 11th of this month from the Maior of that corporacion expressinge their greevances by reason of the multiplicitie of the souldiers there, wee think fitt heerby to pray you to afford them what ease you may by manning the castles adjacent with some of the foote now engarrisoned there, wee intendinge as soone as it shalbe possible to ease them to their satisfaccon And so we bid you hartily farewell from Kilkenny Castle the 19th of December 1649, your lovinge freind

Major genall Hugh O'Neal. Ormond *(qq)*.

In accordance with these instructions O'Neill certified as follows:—

Imprimis, sent 100 souldiers to the garrison of Kilkash out of Colonel Realyes regiment. Sent out of Col. Tirlagh O'Neyll's regiment to Ballydine 14 souldiers and a Lieut. with a Corporall. Sent out of the sd regmt. to Castle Kaonagh [Mountain Castle] guarrison the number of 30 souldiers and a Lieut. and Sargent with two corporalls.

Hugo O'Neill *(rr)*.

Throughout the winter, complaint after complaint poured in upon Ormond of the troubles of the townspeople. They had quartered in their houses not merely the Ulster soldiers, but very often the wives and families who had followed them from the north. They had to pay besides to Richard Burke, of Borrisoleagh, and Theobald Butler, of Ardmayle, the weekly assessments for carrying on the war. Terence Coughlan, head of the commissariat, moreover levied his applotment of corn on them; in short, the impositions and oppression were so grievous that it was apprehended many of the inhabitants would flee the town altogether *(ss)*. A few illustrations will suffice. On 23rd January, 1650, the mayor wrote:—

May it please your Excellencye.

That this poore Corporacion altogether exhausted with the supernumerous garrison of two regiments consistinge of 1300 shouldiers 26 captins with theire respective under officers and neere soe many woemen and garzons, as alsoe 5 troopes of horsse are growen soe burdensome that many of the poore inhabitauntes have deserted the said towne and that your Excell. orders graunted att Thurles for the removeinge of 300 of the said number is noe way observed but rather more numbers brought in to reinforce theire companyes and for want of having carefull men whoe may be sensible of the sufferings of the said towne appoynted to see them mustered, many false billets are forced from our quartermasters uppon the relacon of the mustermaster which breeds more confusion then if the very shouldiers were effective amonge us which may be prevented if your Excell: were pleased to graunt your Comison unto able men of the sayd towne for mustering the said officers troopers and shouldiers and to give them power to muster them as oft as neede requireth and to prevent theire usuall practice of false mustering that you commande the severall garrisons to be mustered in one day together and to send your orders for removeall of as many of the said numbers as your Excell: will thinke fitt with theire unserviseable woemen and garzons whoe not being provided from the countrey begins to force away what they can light uppon, to the great discouradgments of the said inhabitauntes. Like wise I must intymate unto your Excell: howe destitute of amunicion and corne is the comon magazin of this towne which may prove fatall if

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(qq) Ibid.
(rr) Archives Kilkenny Castle.
(ss) Carte Papers, vols. 26 & 142.

not tymelie furnished or provided for. I have given in chardge unto my agent to peticion unto your Excell: for some healpes for the rayseinge of our fortificacons soe much conduceing to the saftie both of towne and countrey and though I knowe your Excell: to be very sensible of the particulars yett a tymelie redresse of the former abuses and a speedie graunt of all these requests as humbly desired by,

Your Excell: most humble servt
John White B. Maior of Clonmell.

Instead of the relief which he sought, a week later the following missive was received from Ormond:—

After our hearty commendacons. Wee understand that without our speciall orders in that behalfe the moneyes charged on that corporacion for the supply of his Maiesties navy commanded by Prince Rupert is denyed to be payd to Richard Butler Esqr the Receaver thereof, which hath added to the delay to the bringing those moneys and payinge the same to Lieut Coll. Morley who stayes for it. Wherefore wee pray and require you imediatly to cause the monyes to be leavyed in that corporacion for the use afforsayd to be payd to the proper receaver and there maybe noe more cause of complaint in that behalfe. And soe we bid you farewell, and remain at our Castle of Kilkenny the 28 of January 1649 [50]

Your very loveing friend,
Ormonde.

In vain also did White urge on Ormond considerations of high policy; corporations, he said, would be rendered "disserviceable" by excessive impositions, whereas they should be cherished for the use of the publicke and furthermore without their helpe a Commonwealth may not subsist.

THE SIEGE OF CLONMEL.

The month of December had been unusually severe with much snow and frost; it was followed by the mildest January in the memory of man. As an early campaign would take the Irish at a great disadvantage, and growing troubles in England required his presence there, Cromwell left his winter quarters in Youghal, Tuesday, 29th January. Tipperary and Kilkenny were the theatre of war, and thither his army was to advance in two divisions. One under the command of Ireton and Reynolds, marched directly through Carrick; the other led by Cromwell himself, crossing the Blackwater at Kilworth, thence to Kilbehenny, returned through the rough country south of the Galtees. In this way the small hostile garrisons which might cut him off from Youghal, his base, were all taken in. Burntcourt and Rehill castles were surrendered without a shot fired; the following morning, Saturday, 2nd February, amid a wild storm of wind and rain he set out from Rehill, and passing the Suir by the ford at Rochestown, was under the walls of Fethard that night. Tired and sodden as his troops were, he offered favourable terms, and Butler the governor after some objections as to the etiquette of

summoning a town so late at night handed over the keys *(tt)*. A few days after the inhabitants of Cashel with Kearney their mayor hastened to Fethard to throw themselves on Cromwell's mercy. The following Sunday morning, David Fitz Gibbon, after a slight pretence at resistance, surrendered Ardfinnan Castle—the only point from which the Cromwellian communications might be cut. Such was the tale of treachery and cowardice which day by day reached O'Neill in Clonmel.

The old soldier, however, was busily preparing to give the Cromwellians a hot reception. Only a few days after his arrival, on 10th December, he wrote to Ormond requiring a free hand as governor. Ormond replied:—"It is our full and cleere intention by the words of our comission that on all occasion you should dispose of all the souldiers in these partes as you thinke fitt for his Maties service and as for the possession of the Keys of the towne of Clonmell wee desire you apprehend noe danger and (avoyd any inconveniency that may present happen thereabouts) to leave in the Mayor it being in your power to assume it when you shall judge it necessary for the preservation of the place" *(uu)*. After this "the experimented warriour," a contemporary assures us, "was not idle, previdinge the futurition of a hearde siedge and builded braue workes for the defence of the towne" *(vv)*. His soldiers, however, were in arrears of pay, and piteous complaints were made to Ormond as to their condition. Ormond replied on 18th January that he had sent orders to the Commissioners of Assessment for Tipperary to make some payments. But the Commissioners, Burke and Butler, refused pending the settlement of their dispute with the mayor as to the liability of Clonmel for applotments. Ormond on 31st January cut the matter short by ordering £150 to be paid, and bade O'Neill to rest satisfied until "there was tyme to wade to a determination of the dispute" *(ww)*. There was another, and, at this juncture, a more imperative want. This was the want of ammunition and arms. In his first letter on taking the governorship of the town, O'Neill urged this on Ormond; the latter replied "wee daily expect a quantity of ammunition from Portumna whereof a good proportion shall be sent unto you" *(xx)*. The following month, in answer to further entreaties, Ormond wrote—"We are in preparacon for makinge up of a magazeen out of which

(tt) The Fethard tradition of a stubborn resistance is ludicrous; the garrison were all local recruits who would not stand a second volley. There were three companies—Colonel Pierce Butler's, Captain John Butler's, and Captain Theobald Hackett's—consisting of 82, 76 and 91 men respectively. Colonel Walter Butler was governor, James Butler quartermaster, Teige O'Barry surgeon, Fathers Edmond Ryan and Redmond Comyn chaplains—Ormonde Papers, Kilkenny Castle.

(uu) Ormond to O'Neill, 13th December, 1645.—Carte Papers, vol. 26.

(vv) Aphorismical Discovery. Edit. Gilbert.

(ww) Carte Papers, vol. 142.

(xx) Ormond to O'Neill, 13th December, 1649.—Carte Papers, vol. 26.

we hope to be enabled reasonably to supply the want of arms you complain of" *(yy)*. Preston was appealed to, to furnish some ammunition from Waterford, but Preston had none to spare. In the event O'Neill could not obtain an ounce of powder *(zz)*. Good advice he obtained in abundance.

After our hearty commendations. In regard we may presume by the enemyes faceinge that way that he intends to distresse the guarrison in Clonmell and that we understand you are like to fall into some wants by reason of the want of corne which yet we understand to be stored upp in great plenty in that towne wee therefore on such an exigencie have thought fitt and wee doe hereby authorize you or anyone of you to search the garners and store houses in towne and thereout to take uppon ticket equally so much of the said corne as from time to time shall supply that guarrison untill we shall take further order for the relief of it. And soe etc. from Lymericke 24 February 1650.

Your loveinge freind

Governor and Mayor Clonmell. Ormonde. *(a)*.

And promises were bestowed as freely as advice.

After our harty commendacons. Wee received your letters of the 23rd this instant and have by our letters heere inclosed desired our very good Lord the Earle of Castlehaven to furnish you with what men and provisions hee can, ourselves beinge at present unable to furnish you with any at this distance. And soe we bid you heartily farwell from Lymerick the 25th day of February 1649 [50].

Your loveinge friend

Governor of Clonmell. Ormonde *(b)*.

By this time the Cromwellians were closing round the town; three days later some of Axtell's dragoons captured a patrol of the garrison under the very walls, and Cromwell himself came over from Kiltinan to view the place and its defences *(c)*. O'Neill made an urgent appeal for help.

(yy) Ormond to O'Neill, 18th January, 1650. Ibid, vol. 142.

(zz) "Lately Hugh O'Neill after making a name for himself withdrew from Clonmel as the Marquis and pseudo Commissioners of Trust did not send him an ounce of powder nor anything else he wanted; yet he made a gallant fight, two thousand of the enemy are said to have fallen in the siege." Rev. P. Lynch to Dionysius Massario, Galway, 14th June, 1650. Spicilegium Ossoriense I., p. 343.

(a) Carte Papers, vol. 142. Among the Carte Papers is a long correspondence between Cromwell, Ormond and O'Neill relative to the exchange of prisoners. William, fifth Baron Charlemont, commonly called "Captain Caulfield," was a prisoner with O'Neill in Clonmel. On 5th January Cromwell proposed to exchange General Richard Butler, of Kilcash, Ormond's brother, for Caulfield. The latter attempted to escape. About 5 o'clock on 26th January he walked cooly into an apothecary's shop and said "I came out of Forde's unknown to the sentries. I would not care said the apothecary, Patrick Roche, you were in your own quarters. By God said Caulfield I would give twenty pounds to any that would convey me out of the gates. At this time came running in Lizzie Mun maid servant to Lionel Forde the good man of Caulfield's lodging and said Gods Leddy, Captain Caulfield why didn't you come back to the company, they are inquiring for you. Upon that Captain Caulfield (calling this deponent some bad name) said God's wounds you have betrayed me only for you I were in Carrick by this time." (Examination of Calin McKernan, sentry). An agreement was come to between Ormond and Cromwell, and on 16th February O'Neill was written to, that Caulfield and the other Cromwellians who had been taken since 10th February should be convoyed to Carrick, and the Irish garrison withdrawn from Kilcash. Three days later Ormond countermanded the order, but the release of his brother was finally obtained on 29th April on payment of a sum of money.

(b) Carte Papers, 26.

(c) State Papers, Commonwealth, p. 657.

May it please your Excellencie.

This day I receivd your letter of the 25th of this instant. Since my last letter to your Excie I have not to intymate more then that Cahir was yealded without shott or blowe upon what condicons I knowe not, which I believe your Excie knowes ere nowe, likewise Kilteenan was beseedged eare yesternight and yealded yesterdaye morninge about nyne of the clocke. All their armye is within a myle to the towne and the rest are cominge to them, in great hast they have sent a number of horses and oxen for more cannons. Wee expect nothinge else but bee beesiged every houre they having nowe noe other place to ayme att but this. Your Excie may knowe in what condicon wee are and the consequence of this place to the Kingdom which requires a speedye succour all which I humbly referre to your Lordshipps grave consideracon I humbly take leave and remayne

Your Excies most humble servt,

Clonmell ultimo February. Hugo O'Neill *(d)*.

Ormond replied:—

Sir—Your letter of the last of February intimating your expectation of being suddainly beseiged I received not till about nine of the clock this morning. In answeare whereunto I thinke fitt to assure you by these that rather then that towne should fall into the hands of the rebells I shall draw all the forces of the Kingdome into a body for its reliefe which I shall endeavour soe to effect as in ten dayes to be in a readines to advance to towards you, relying on your uttermost endeavours to defend that place during that tyme though you should as you expect be closely beseiged and soe deseiring to heare as frequently from you as possibly you may, I remaine

Your very affectionate freind

Ennis 3 March about 12 in the fornoone Ormond.

The task that now lay before O'Neill might well have filled him with dismay. Day after day his scouts reported the steady advance of the Cromwellians. Soon with his own eyes he could observe them massing, north of the town. Twenty troops of cavalry overran the country, and their ubiquity made them appear a countless host. He might have learned, too, that the Cromwellians "were in a gallant posture, well armed, well clothed and for bread, corn and other things plentifully provided" *(e)*. By the end of March some 9,000 men had set themselves down in the entrenchments *(f)*. And these were for the most part veterans seasoned in the civil wars and filled with religious and political fanaticism. They had heard for years of the massacre of their fellow Protestants in Ulster and now their preachers exhorted them to crush "the vessels of wrath foredoomed by God." Within the town O'Neill mustered about 1600 men, of whom one-fourth were armed only with pikes while some 200 had no arms whatsoever *(g)*. His artillery consisted of a few cannon and these even he could only use sparingly for want of powder. But the little garrison with the exception of Fennell's two

(d) Carte Papers, Vol. 26.

(e) Whitlocke Memorials, p. 434.

(f) Cromwell's army after the junction with Heweston at Kilkenny numbered 20,000 men according to Borlase. The bulk of these were brought to Clonmel as Ormond threatened to raise the siege.

(g) The muster roll of 3rd January, 1650, published by Gilbert shows about 1400, of these 150 were in out garrisons Kilcash, Ballydine and Castle Coonagh.

troops of horse, were absolutely reliable. They were all Cavan and Tyrone men, the hardy northerns described by Rinuccini who living on butter and milk, had few wants and fewer desires, and were more careful of their swords and muskets than of their own bodies *(h)*. Besides they were well officered, Colonels Turlough O'Neill and Philip O'Reilly, Captains McDonnell, Brady, McArdle, O'Hanlon and others had been through many a hard fight in Flanders and elsewhere. And if the Cromwellians were steeled by religious fanaticism, these men also had memories to avenge and a religion to fight for.

On the 19th of March, Cromwell came to direct the siege operations in person *(i)*. The customary demand for the surrender of the town was made, good quarters and conditions being offered. "To which answer was made by Hugh Duff that he was of another resolution than to give up the town on quarters or conditions till he was reduced to a lower station and so wished him to do his best. On which Cromwell fell to his work and planted his cannon" *(j)*. As the defence was likely to be long and stubborn and affairs in England were pressing another method was adopted.

My Lord Cromwell by the enformation of some of Insicuynes partie or other proper surmishes lited upon a fitt instrument of treacherie. Major Fennell an ambitious and covetous traytor was sued vnto to be actor of the tragedie of betrayinge both men and towne and for his paines was offered £500. The time of the performance on Fennell's parte was the verie next night after the covenant was indorsed about 12 aclocke that he with such as were of that conspiracie guiltie, would guarde such a gate and would open the same at the said peremptorie hower for the intringe of 500 men of my Lord Cromwell and then to simulate an opposition to the rest.

That night O'Neill "by some inspyringe good angell" was making the rounds and finding Fennell and the "natives" on guard at one of the gates, had his suspicions aroused. For he had given stringent orders that two-thirds at least of the guards at each gate should consist of Ulstermen. Sending privately for a body of 500 of his Ulster forces, he at once put Fennell under arrest. Fennell on promise of life confessed the whole, O'Neill and his officers

advicinge therefore what best to doe in that extreamitie resolve to open the gate the peremptorie time according the former covenant. The enemie was watching his opportunitie, obsearvinge the signall marched towards the gate, 500 did inter, the rest nolens volens were kept out and all that intred were putt to the sworde thus did God discover this treasonable plott under Major Huigh O'Neylle *(k)*.

(h) Rinuccini Embassy in Ireland p. 495.

(i) Whitelock p. 430.

(j) Warr of Ireland. By a British Officer of Sir J. Clotworthy's Regiment.

(k) This episode rests on the sole authority of the writer of the "Aphorismical Discovery." But as there had been treachery in Drogheda, Wexford and Duncannon, the affair is more than probable. Whitelock (p. 434) has an echo of it "April 19, 1650 From Chester, that Hugh O'Neale (*sic*) chief in Clonmel offered to yield the place for a sum of money." Fennell "with more than ordinary justice" says Lord Castlehaven was hanged by Ireton at Limerick though he helped to betray that city also. Clonmel was not forgiven.

Hopes were now entertained that the typhus raging in the town as well as the shortness of provisions would soon bring about a surrender *(l)*. Meanwhile the war correspondents on both sides were as usual engaged in the work of slaughter. "20 March letters from Ireland that about 80 of the enemies foot and 10 horse of the garrison of Clonmel went forth to fetch in provisions but were fallen upon by some of the parliament's horse who killed 23 of them and took seventeen prisoners and their horses" *(m)*. "23 March letters that the Lord Lieutenant had taken Clonmel and slain 2000 of the enemy there and was marched towards Waterford" *(n)*. On the other hand Cromwell by reason of O'Neill's "many valiant sallies and martiall stratagems did loose some daies 200, other daies 300, other 400, other 500 men; this losse was so often and common that he was wearie of the place and if his honor did not impede his Lordship would quitt the place and raise the siedge" *(o)*. The fall of Kilkenny in the end of March left Cromwell free to devote himself altogether to the siege of Clonmel, and thither he returned on 14th April *(p)*. Reinforcements from England arrived, consisting of a regiment of foot, two hundred and sixty horse and a supply of money, but bringing at the same time the momentous news of war preparations in Scotland. Clonmel had now to be taken at any cost, and so on the Tuesday following, 16th April, the cannon to open a breach were got into position *(q)*. Shortly after, O'Neill and the Mayor managed to get through the Cromwellian lines a last appeal.

May it please your Excellencye.

Beinge at the writinge hereof closelye beseidged by the enemye wee thought it our dutye to give your Excellencye notice thereof though wee have receaved your Excellencyes answer unto our laste dispatches representing the dangers wee hourlye feared which are nowe come in our sight. Wee are heere, God be praysed of good couradge and resolution and will endeavour to defend this place as longe as may be in annye reason expected if the present advance of the armye towards us or the late promised releefe by your Excellencye will not fayle us for the defence of this place wherof the safety of the Kingdom maynelye depends which is in hast humblye submitted unto your Excellencyes grave consideracon to prevent annye bloddie tragedye to be acted heer as in other places for want of tymely releefe. What comfort may be possiblye sent us we humblye desire that the bearer may be posted away night and day therewith it being of great concernment unto

Your Excellencys most humble servts.

Hugo O'Neill John Whyte

Clonmel the 27th of Aprill 1650. Maior of Clonmell.

(l) "From Chester 19 March. That the Lord Lieutenant was before Clonmel and the plague was very hot in the Irish quarters."—Whitelock, p. 430. In December fortunately, White, the Mayor, had impounded the corn applotments of Co. Tipperary against the protests of Commissary Coughlan, but by this time the supplies were running out.

(m) Whitelock, p. 430.

(n) Ibid, p. 431.

(o) Aphorismical Discovery.

(p) Whitelock, p. 434.

(q) "Mr. Lloyd informs that his Excellency intended to fall upon the place very suddenly and thence come to England. On Saturday was sevennight he came before Clonmel and the Tuesday following the great guns were brought down before it."—Perfect Diurnal, May 6-13, 1650.

May it please your Excellencye it is our humble suite that the armye if in annie reasonable condicion may march night and day to our succor and in the meane tyme that the promised releefe may be sent us accomodated with provisions for themselves and the guarison together with the necessaries mencioned in your Excellencye's late letters (*r*).

Ormond in the meantime was making fruitless efforts to get together an army. Lord Castlehaven did not hold out much hope. "Seeing we are not like soone to be in a condisione to meete Cromwell in his strength I knowe no other waie to helpe Clonmell but to endeavour by strong divertions to divide his forces to which purpose I am labouring what I may to have a partie together heere by tuesdaie nexte with fourteen daies meanes. I have this morning dispatched an express to the Bishop of Clogher who I hear is soon to have a rendevouse that if he be not readie for his greate designes in Ullster to joine his forces with mine." *(s)* Castleconnell being appealed to, called the gentry together at O'Brien's Bridge where it was agreed to raise 1100 foot and 300 horse. Ormond promised ammunition as soon as possible but this project also came to nothing. *(t)* Finally Lord Roche assembled a considerable force in County Cork. Broghill was sent against him by Cromwell with 1500 foot and 500 horse. On 10th May, Roche's forces were defeated near Macroom, the Bishop of Ross who accompanied them being hanged at Carrigdrehid Castle. *(u)* When Broghill appeared before Clonmel with the news of his victory and the last hope of relieving the town was cut off, the whole Cromwellian army received him with acclamations, crying out A Broghill! A Broghill! *(v)*

Still the spirit of the garrison was unbroken, but it was the courage of despair; they expected no quarter and they would give none. One day they had a stern object lesson in Cromwellian justice. An inoffensive man, Father Nicholas Mulcahy, parish priest of Ardfinnan, who had refused influencing the garrison to surrender, was brought forth in front of the walls and there his head was struck off. Such an episode was little calculated to intimidate men who had arms in their hands and knew how to use them *(w)*.

The town at this period, regarded from a strategic standpoint, was a parallelogram, lying east and west with its base on the river, the sides being roughly 500 by 400 yards long. The enclosing walls originally built in the fourteenth century were from 25 to 30 feet high and 5 feet in thickness. They were pierced by four gates and strengthened at intervals of about 70

(r) Carte Papers, vol. 27
(s) Castlehaven to Ormond, Ballimore, 17th April. Carte Papers, vol. 27.
(t) Castleconnel to Ormond, 25th April. Ibid.
(u) Lord Roche to Ormond, 14th May. Ibid.
(v) Boyle Memoirs, Dublin, 1759 p. 41.
(w) Propugnaculum Catholicae Veritatis, Bruodin, Prague, 1669.

yards by turrets. The south-east quarter of the town was occupied by the old Franciscan church and monastery which had been kept in repair and partly, in the time of James I., devoted to military purposes. In the north-west corner was the churchyard of St. Mary's, lying around the parish church, a massive pile having battlemented roofs and two flanking towers—a fortress which manned by a resolute guard could be taken only with cannon. The streets adjoining the gates were exceedingly narrow, with one exception, Lough Street, which led to the North Gate. This fact determined Cromwell to open the breach at that point. For through the breach and the neighbouring gate when captured, an overwhelming force of horse and foot could be poured by way of Lough Street, into the town; whereas the prolonged conflict in the narrow streets with an enemy well posted would entail terrible loss. Accordingly the battery was planted at the foot of Gallows Hill, being protected from a sally of the Irish by the camp which occupied the declivity behind. Here also it would appear Cromwell's headquarters were situated *(x)*.

From about the middle of April when the battery first began to 'speak,' onward through the month of May, the air was vibrant with the thunder of cannon. The garrison could only reply feebly and at lengthening intervals, for the ammunition was failing, and every ounce of powder had to be economised. The walls bravely stood the shock; but their old time builders little dreamt of cannon that would carry balls of 42 pounds weight *(y)*. Amid the awful gloom and strain of those terrible weeks the energy of O'Neill fired the whole population. His practised eye saw every danger, and his resource was equal to every emergency. One incident of this time put the townsfolk into high spirits. "Within two hours after night fall the Major generall sent out two hundred chosen men and officers with a good guide through bye ways from a place of the wall next the river that was neglected by the besiegers, and fell on the backs of those in a fort not fully finished and cut them all off before any relief came; on which immediately the next gate was opened for them, and they got in safe with the loss of half a dozen. The number killed in the fort was about sixty, being one of their companies" *(z)*.

The siege was now entering on its last phase. By the middle of May the cannon had done their work and a large stretch of the wall was falling.

(x) The strategy was that by which Cromwell (and indeed every 17th century leader) gained his victories—always to seize the occasion when horsemen could be launched forward with powerful effect, holding a reserve to follow up and assure success. O'Neill as "an old surly Spanish soldier" was quite familiar with it an laid his plans accordingly.

(y) Cromwell marched from Gowran with horse and foot having "3 peeces of artillery the bullet of the leaste of which weighed 31 lb"—Sir W. Butler to Ormond 3rd April 1650—Carte Papers vol. 26. Some balls have been found which weighed 42 lbs.

(z) Warr of 1641. By a British Officer of Clotworthy's Regiment.

On Thursday the 16th both parties knowing that another day would decide the issue, nerved themselves for the final struggle. The Cromwellians made ready for a sharp encounter and a merciless battue. The Irish on the other hand in spite of the overwhelming forces against them, were not less confident. For they believed that Cromwell was outgeneralled; the plan of seizing on the North Gate from the inside and thus through the two inlets rushing the town with an irresistible mass of horse and foot, had been taken advantage of by O'Neill for a purpose of his own. He provided for the attacking party a convenient passage from the breach to the Gate. "Hugh Duff did set all men and maids to work, townsmen and soldiers, only those on duty attending the breach and the walls—to draw dung hills, mortar, stones and timber and made a long lane a man's height and about eighty yards length on both sides from the breach with a foot bank at the back of it and caused to be placed engines on both sides of the same and two guns at the end of it invisible opposite to the breach and so ordered all things against a storm" *(aa)*. Behind this lane stood some houses forming the extremity of Lough Street. These also were made to serve for purposes of defence.

On the morning of Friday, May 17th, the cannonade began again; through the day the breach was made more and more accessible and about three in the afternoon the battery was silenced *(bb)*. The Cromwellians now advanced singing a Scriptural battle hymn *(cc)*. As they approached they were received with a well directed fire. Entering the breach, the Ulster pike men engaged them in a fierce hand to hand encounter, whilst the marksmen placed in the earthworks behind, steadily shot them down. Every inch of the ground was stubbornly contested until at length the Cromwellians reeling under the terrible onslaught, after heavy losses, turned and fled *(dd)*. The utter rout of the storming party spread consternation among the Puritan forces; it looked as if the invincible Ironsides were going to be beaten at last. There was an immediate call for another and a stronger force, but the infantry in a state of mutiny complained that the horsemen should take their share of the fighting *(ee)*. The picked men of the army were now got hastily together, the

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(aa) Warr of 1641. By a British Officer of Sir John Clotworthy's Regiment.

(bb) "The guns had performed their business very well so that about three of the clock in the afternoon the soldiers stood safe on the breach."—History of Irish Rebellion, Dublin, 1743, p. 20.

(cc) History of Ireland, McGee.

(dd) The Cromwellian accounts state "Our men kept close to the breach which they had entered, all the time save only one accidental retreat in the storm" (Whitelock) "We had with our guns made a breach in the walls where after a hot fight we gave back a while" (Several Proceedings in Parliament) "The drawing the men to the breach was somewhat offensive which caused some loss" (Cliff, Ireton's secretary). The Irish account is "Then began the assaulte verie fierse and courageous, the defendants opposed so manly that three severall times they beat the enemie backe" (Aphorismical Discovery).

(ee) "The foot not being so well satisfied that the horse especially in storms did not run equal hazards with them"—History of Irish Rebellion, Dublin 1743.

bulk of them belonging to Ireton's regiment, the leaders being Colonels Cullam, Grey and Leigh, Captains Jordan, Humphreys and others. A British officer of Sir John Clotworthy's regiment graphically describes what followed.

They entered without any opposition and but few were to be seen in the town till they so entered, that the lane was crammed full with horsemen armed with helmets, back breastswords, musquetoons and pistols. On which those in the front seeing themselves in a pound and could not make their way further cryed out 'Halt! Halt'! On which those entering behind at the breach thought by those words that all those of the garrison were running away and cryed out 'Advance! Advance'! as fast as those before cryed out 'Halt! Halt'! and so advanced until they trust forward those before them, till that pound or lane was full and could hold no more.

Then suddenly rushes a resolute party of pikes and musqueteers to the breach and scoured off and knocked back those entering. At which instance Hugh Duff's men within fell on those in the pound with shotts, pikes, scythes, stones and casting of great long pieces of timber with the engines amongst them and then two guns firing at them from the end of the pound, slaughtering them by the middle or knees with chained bullets, that in less than an hour's time about a thousand men were killed in that pound, being a top one another.

The Irish writer of the "Aphorismical Discovery" gives a similar account.

Cromwell determined to loose all at once or win the garland. Commandinge therefore both horse and foot pell mell that such a heape in such an occasion was seldome seene that by the very thronge severall of them perished, advancinge forwarde unawares (both opposition and assaulte being soe furious and hott) not observinge either ditche or counterscarfe fell headlonge into the said ditche from whence there was no redemption or possibilitie of recoverie but there were massacred and butchered. Their seconds and comrades seinge what hapned, retired, neither the threats of the Generall nor the bloudie sworde of inferiour officers was sufficient enough to keepe them from turning tayle to the assaulte and turned to the campe leavinge Major generall O'Neylle in the possession of a bloudie wall.

The second division of the storming party with Cromwell himself was at the North or Lough gate "expecting the gates to be opened by those entered untill he saw those in the breach beaten back, and heard the cannons going off within then he fell off as much vexed as ever he was since he first put on a helmet against the King for such a repulse he did not usually meet with" *(ff)*.

Night was now coming on, and even if the disheartened soldiers could be got together for another assault, Cromwell judged it would be sheer madness *(gg)*.

Victory was with the Irish, but it was a victory that could have no issue. O'Neill had no reserves by which in the panic and unpreparedness of defeat, he might have stormed the camp and destroyed in detail the besiegers' army spread as it was over a line of three miles.

(ff) Warr of 1641-52. By a British Officer, etc.

(gg) That the Irish in Cromwell's opinion could not be dislodged by any storming party, is clear from his resolve to bring cannon into the breach itself next day. (History of Irish Rebellion, Dublin, 1743). Such a step in the presence of a strong garrison could only end in disaster but then he knew that by this time O'Neill's men were thinned and his resources spent.

Consulting with his officers and seeing that their ammunition was gone he concluded to leave the town without Cromwell's leave and so at nightfall he imparted the same to the Mayor, one Whyte, and advised him after he was gone half a dozen miles off as he might guess, to send privately out to Cromwell for licence to speak to him about conditions for the town; but not to make mention of himself on any account till he had done. After which advice to the Mayor he marches away with his men about two hours after nightfall (*hh*) and passed over the river undiscovered by a guard of horse that lay on the other side of the bridge and he made no great halt till he reached to a town called Ballynasack where he refreshed his men. Then the Mayor according as he was advised about twelve o'clock at night sent out to Cromwell very privately for a conduct to wait upon his Excellency; which forthwith was sent to him and an officer to conduct him from the wall to Cromwell's tent who after some course [customary] compliments was not long capitulating when he got good conditions for the town.

After which Cromwell asked him if Hugh O'Neill knew of his coming out, to which he answered he did not for that he was gone two hours after nightfall with all his men, at which Cromwell stared and frowned at him and said "You knave have you served me so, and did not tell me so before." To which the Mayor replied that if his Excellency had demanded the question he would tell him. Then he asked him what that Duff O'Neill was, to which the Mayor answered that he was an over sea soldier born in Spain; on which Cromwell said "God d——n you and your over sea"! and said in a fury By G—— above he would follow that Hugh Duff O'Neill wheresoever he went.

Then the Mayor delivered the Keys of the gates to Cromwell who immediately commanded guards on them and next morning himself entered where he saw his men killed in the pound notwithstanding which and his fury that Hugh Duff went off as he did, he kept his conditions with the town (*ii*).

Articles made between the Lord Leifetenant and the Inhabitants thereof touching the rendition thereof, May the 18th, 1650.

It is graunted and agreed by and betwixt the Lord Lieut. Genll. Cromwell on the one part and Mr Michael White and Mr Nicholas Betts Comrs. entrusted in the behalfe of the towne and guarrison of Clonmel on the other parte as follows.

1st The said towne and guarrison of Clonmel with the arms ammunicon and other furniture of warr that are now theirin shall be rendered and delivered up into the hands of his Excellency the Lord Left. by eight of the clock this morninge.

2nd That in consideracon thereof the inhabitants of the said towne shall be protected their lives and estates from all plunder and violence of the souldiery and shall have the same rights libertye and proteccon as other subjects under the authoritie of the Parliament of England have or ought to have and injoy within the dominion of Ireland.

Vera Copia O. CROMWELL (*jj*).

Thus ended the siege of Clonmel after five weeks of close investment and nearly three months since the Cromwellians first appeared before the walls. It cost the besiegers between 2000 and 2500 men and many officers—in one regiment alone, Ireton's, they were nearly all slain (*kk*). From the first the

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(*hh*) Eighty wounded men were left behind who were unable to travel'—Cary's Memorials II., 218.

(*ii*) Warr of 1641-53. By a British Officer, etc.

(*jj*) MS. R.I.A.

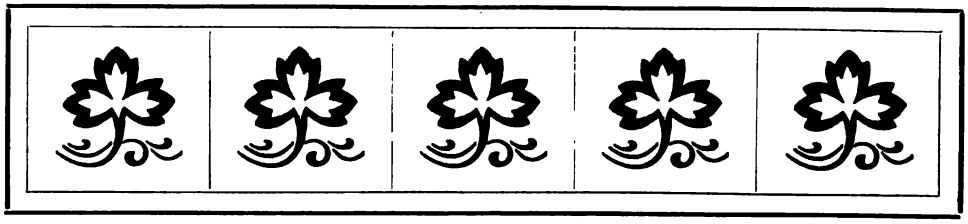
(*kk*) Sir Lewis Dyves, Borlase and Carte state 'near 2500.' Cox and some contemporary authorities 'over 2000.' 'Nearly all the officers of Ireton's regiment are wanting and you may shrewdly guess at Hercules by his foot'—Cary's Memorials II. 218.

Cromwellians clearly realized the difficult task before them as is evident from the protracting of the siege in order to wear out the garrison. But that they could be beaten in a stand up fight, they never dreamt. Whitelock acknowledges "they found in Clonmel the stoutest enemy that ever was found by the army in Ireland, and there was never seen so hot a storm of so long continuance and so gallantly defended neither in England nor Ireland"*(ll)*. Cromwell himself confessed that the defence of Clonmel "nearly brought his noble to ninepence" *(mm)*. It is not altogether idle to observe that had the garrison been a few thousand stronger, the subsequent history of Ireland would have to be written differently *(nn)*.

(ll) Memorials p. 457.

(mm) Cox, Hibernia Anglicana II. 16.

(nn) Long after there were echoes of the siege. 1654 November 6, Theobald Bolton linen draper St Peter's Parish, Cornhill petitions parliament for relief in his necessities. His only brother Major Charles Bolton was wounded at the taking of Clonmel of which he is since dead, (State Papers, Domestic.) 1655 October 13, Nicholas Jordan petitions the Admiralty, the State stands indebted to him and his brother in the sum of £300 for debentures; the latter, Major Thomas Jordan was slain at Clonmel etc., (Ibid.) "The ancestor of the present Langlie of Lisnebruck proprietor of the colleries near Killenall in the county of Tipperary had his hand choped off above the wrist when scaleing the walls. I had this fact from his own lips one night I slept at his house, in confirmation of which a hand with a glove on it and the colours he carried at the time, are hung up to this day as a record of that transaction in Mary's Church, Clonmel. I have seen them there many a time"—Paper of Philip son of Nicholas Comins of Clonmel, 1786. The Langley referred to was Lieut. Henry Langley of Capt. Thomas Ask's troop in the regiment of horse commanded by Col. Jerome Sankey. The old Lough Gate, or as it was sometimes called the North Gate, was subsequently known to the people of Clonmel as the "Breach Gate." Even in legal documents this name superseded the former ones. 4 March 1708 Fine by Joseph and Sarah Dennison to John Marshall of "a waste plot of ground etc. being part of the former holding of Thomas Elwell and Henry Ansell situate outside the Breach Gate of Clonmell" (Records of the Tipperary Palatinate P.R.O.) Many years ago when the houses lying between SS. Peter and Paul's Church and Gladstone St. were being erected, numerous evidences of the assault were obtained. The late John Dowsley M.D. of Mary St. long kept a small museum of bullets, fragments of matchlocks, helmets, breastplates, buckles and the like. The latest souvenir was a portion of a cannon ball, about one-third. It weighed 14 lbs. and was found when laying a waterpipe into Dwyer's premises (*Clonmel Chronicle*, 16th Jan., 1895).



CHAPTER VI.

CROMWELLIAN CLONMEL.

ON the surrender of the town, Cromwell at once left for England, and Colonel Jerome Sankey was made governor of Tipperary with head quarters in Clonmel. As Sankey was a characteristic product of the period, his career deserves notice. He was now 29 years of age, a native of Shropshire, and educated at Cambridge. He graduated doctor of laws and subsequently took orders in the Church of England. Whether his experience policing the University as proctor or (as evil tongues suggested) his narrow curate's stipend of £8 a-year prompted him, he threw off the clerical gown and took a commission in the Chester horse. Being known to some members of the Parliamentary Committee for the Affairs of Ireland, he became in rapid succession major and colonel of that regiment which accompanied Cromwell to Ireland. His ecclesiastical training now stood him in good stead, for the whole army of the saints did not contain (except Major Tomlinson) a more acceptable preacher. As a zealous anabaptist he constantly divided the Word and had "great bickerings with the devil." On occasion even, he undertook to exorcise evil spirits *(oo)*.

It is true his enemies accused him of buying land debentures from his own soldiers for a few shillings; of cheating Captain Godfrey and others out of Lismalin Park while acting as their trustee. It was noted moreover (holy man that he was) he rejected the 3,000 acres which the Lord had by

(oo) "One Mr. Wadman being in a fit of melancholy reflecting on the death of his wife. Hereupon Sir Jerome would needs undertake to cast out the Divel. At the end of every period in the course of his Conjurations hee would ask Mr. Wadman how he did? who alwaies answered with a sigh 'All one.' Inasmuch as at length Sir Jerome was fain to say that Wadman's Divel was of that sort which required Fasting aswel as Prayer to expell it. Whereupon the Spectators observing how plentifully Sir Jerome had eaten and tipled that evening, did easily conceive the cause why the Divel did not stir."—Reflections upon Some Persons and Things in Ireland, by Dr. Petty, p. 101. London, 1660.

lot predestined unto him, and carnally-minded, choose land of greater fertility *(pp)*. But the high spiritual conversation of the governor, and his zeal in the cause of the Commonwealth made him proof against all attacks.

Naturally, the first measures of Sankey were directed against the Catholic clergy. A few of the priests had fled with O'Neill, the rest remained in hiding *(qq)*. The parish priest of Clonmel, Thomas White, long lay concealed. At length when the storm had partly spent itself he ventured out. Though known to hundreds his secret was never betrayed, and he passed as a servant in the house of James Brennock in the Irishtown *(rr)*. Others were not so fortunate; Father Miles McGrath was seized while ministering to a sick man; he was immediately taken and executed *(ss)*. The following April, 1651, Father O'Higgins was hanged at the Main Guard *(tt)*, and the same year Father William O'Connor was beheaded. The latter with fiendish contempt was stripped stark naked at the execution *(uu)*. "I meditated," said Sankey, "upon the severe justice of God against Saul, Jehosophat, courting those they should have trampled upon and for sparing where the Lord commanded destroying, and the end for which I herin ingaged at first was sealed upon my heart" *(vv)*.

Though Cromwell left Ireland 29th May, 1650, the war was not over for more than three years after. The Irish beaten in the towns took to the bogs, the woods and the mountains. Colonel Edmond O'Dwyer under the King's commission, long carried on a guerilla war in Tipperary. He had under him portions of five regiments—Col. Walter Butler's, Donough O'Dwyer's, Stephen White's, Edmond O'Meagher's and his own. In the first terror of the invasion, the people fled with their stocks and belongings, leaving the country desolate. The Cromwellians, therefore, unable to levy contributions, and fearing that if the land were untilled, there would be famine and they themselves perish with the rest, invited the farmers to return; certain districts around the garrisons were "protected quarters," within which they might dwell and grow their crops without molestation *(ww)*. Outside these, a war of extermination was carried on against O'Dwyer's troops and the Irish generally.

(pp) Ibid, pp. 34, 69, 90.

(qq) A Dominican, James O'Reilly, was overtaken in the pursuit and forthwith despatched.—Hibernia Dominicana, p. 566.

(rr) "James Brenocke, Yeoman and Catherine his wife . . . . Thomas White servant"—Poll Money Returns, Appendix, *infra*.

(ss) Ibid.

(tt) Spicilegium Ossoriense I., 378. Hib. Domin. 329, etc

(uu) Sufferers for the Catholic Faith in Ireland. Myles O'Reilly, p. 245. London, 1868.

(vv) Sankey to Cromwell, Clonmel, 27th March, 1652.—Severall Proceedings in Parliament.

(ww) The parts within the mountains and the Suir, all the villages upon the mountains . . . the barony of Comsy . . . the parts within the mountains called the Galtyes . . . the vale between the mountains and Clanwilliam . . . all the houses and villages in the Comrae and in the glyns were all exempted from protection.—Proclamation, 3rd Feb., 27th Feb., etc., 1650. Council Books, P.R.O.

In the beginning of the winter we spent much time in burning and destroying the non protected quarters especially about the great bogg of Monely [Eliogarty] where Colonel Axtel and Colonel Abbot met me according to appointment, when (through the benefit of the hard frosts which are unusual in this land) we burned and consumed most of their substance and store in three or four days time *(xx)*.

Forced by hunger the Irish sometimes ventured into the protected quarters and were disposed of according to the orders of the "generall counsell of warr" sitting at Kilkenny.

"Being harboured by the protected people after publication of those orders, we have put them in execution, and hanged fifty and odd since" *(yy)*.

Probably the Irish account is not much wide of the truth. "No less than five hundred poor labourers and women were hanged at Clonmel and other garrisons in this county, guilty of no other crime but being found within the imaginary lines drawn by the governors of the several garrisons" *(zz)*. The general character of the warfare carried on by Sankey may be understood from a few instances.

A soldier being killed by some of the Irish army Colonel Jeremy Sankey summoned all the inhabitants of the parish wherein he was killed (being under his protection) to come to Fethered where he put them to the dice and hanged five of them. One Lieutenant McGrath of his Majesty's army, being taken prisoner by Capt. John Godfrey was five days after hanged in the town of Fethered by Colonel Sankey notwithstanding the said Godfrey's promise to have given him quarter *(a)*.

And Sankey's subalterns in the several garrisons were alike active in the work of massacre. Maurice English the representative of an Anglo-Norman family settled in Rochestown for centuries, was dragged out of his castle by Captain Godfrey and hanged in Cahir *(b)*. Philip Purcel kinsman of the baron of Loughmoe, found within protected quarters near Thurles, was killed by Major Bolton. David Walsh whose ancestors since the first conquest held Powerstown, was mercilessly slaughtered by Major Morgan on the road to Carrick. Similarly with others. No wonder if traditions of hanging and murder cling round every ruin in the county, and the "Curse of Cromwell" is still on the lips of the peasant *(c)*.

Nor could it be said that the Cromwellians were merely retaliating on an enemy faithless and truculent. During two years Sankey had lost only one officer and five men, while he reported that O'Dwyer was "exact and punctuall in the performance of his word in all ingagements." In April, 1651, the Irish

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(xx) Sankey to Cromwell, 27th March, 1652.
(yy) Ibid.
(zz) "A collection of some of the Massacres and Murthers Committed on the Irish since the 23rd of October 1641, London 1662.
(a) Ibid.
(b) Godfrey's tomb may still be seen within the ruined church of Knockgraffon.
(c) Ibid.

commander captured two troops and a company, with Captains Cuffe, Godfrey and others *(d)*. He at once released them on equal terms; it were better he had kept them as hostages for the good conduct of the saints.

But the greatest difficulty of the pious governor, was the making peace with O'Dwyer. "Truly this business from their first offer hath been more formidable and distracting to me than any undertaking that ever yet befell me." For he feared lest sparing the lives of the Irish was an act of infidelity to the Lord and a snare of the evil one. Then he recalled the good works of O'Dwyer "and having this principle that rewards and punishments are for good and evill works, whatever the workers are, and this hath its foundation upon a scripture rule Mat. 6," he resolved in favour of the treaty. And he acted with the safer conscience for "the treaty should extend to no condition for persons guilty of murther; no mention of any toleration for religion or priests and no capitulation for reall estates" *(e)*. Accordingly on the 23rd March, 1652, at Cahir Castle articles were signed by Colonels Edmond O'Dwyer, Donough O'Dwyer and Walter Butler on the one part, and Colonels Jerome Sankey, Solomon Richards and Adjutant Allen on the other, bringing the war to an end.

Yet not the end. For on the following 8th November, a high commission was opened in Clonmel before Judges Donnelan and Cooke and Commissary general Reynolds, to try for murder those who in 1641 on the first outbreak had slain any English. While the great mass of evidence showed that the English and Protestants had been sheltered by Lady Thurles, John Cantwell of Ballymakeedy, Sir Richard Everard, Thomas Tobin of Clorine, Geoffry Mockler of Mocklerstown, James Sall of Meldrum and others, there was proof that several non-belligerents, including some women, were killed at Golden, Cashel and Silvermines. If it were ascertained that any tenantry or followers of a particular gentleman were present on these occasions, he himself was held by the court *particeps criminis* and condemned accordingly. In this way Pierce Butler of Shanballyduff, and his eldest son Thomas, James Butler of Boytonrath, Thomas Kent of Lough Kent, and James Butler of Ruscoe, were hanged for the attack on Golden Castle at which not one of them was present. Similarly Colonel Teige O'Meagher, Colonel Donough O'Dwyer, Theobald Butler, Hugh Ryan, Ullick Burke of Lismacue, Bryan Kearney of Ballybeg, James Burke of Scartfield, and several others were hanged for the murders at the Silvermines and Cashel *(f)*. The more

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(d) Sankey to Cromwell *supra*, also Borlace p.
(e) Ibid.
(f) Memorialls of ye Warr begun in 1641 wrote by Mr. Kearney in the Co. of Tipperary, Feby. 1657. Carte Papers, Bodleian, vol. lxiv.

dangerous of the Tipperary gentry being thus disposed of, it remained only to deal with their disbanded soldiers. These, trained in the use of arms and seasoned in guerilla warfare, might subsequently disturb the Cromwellian settlement, if not frustrate it altogether. Hence the Commissioners of Parliament early determined to send as many as possible into foreign service. In the summer of 1651, a party of 110 taken by Sankey was transported to Spain. These were followed by several others, and in July, 1654, 3,500 under O'Dwyer himself went to serve the Prince de Condé.

Now that the leaders were executed or banished and the "swordsmen" transported beyond seas, the people at large were to hear their fate, and in particular, the citizens of Clonmel were to learn the Cromwellian interpretation of the articles of surrender: "Ye inhabitauntes of ye said town shall have ye same rights libertye and proteccion as other subjects under ye authoritie of ye Parliament of England have or ought to have and inioye within ye dominion of Ireland." On the 26th September, 1653, the estates, farms and houses of the people of Ireland were declared by Parliament to belong to the Adventurers and the Army of England. Connaught was reserved for the Irish, and thither they with their wives and families must remove before the first of May following. If found on this side of the Shannon they were to be reputed spies and enemies, and to suffer death. Proclamation of this was forthwith made in the several precincts or military districts throughout the kingdom. What must have been the feelings of the old burghers of Clonmel—Whites, Brays, Barrons, Brennocks, all of old English lineage, when summoned to the market place by "beate of drumm" they heard the sentence of their doom. Everyone who had been mustered on the Irish side; everyone who had kept watch and ward—that is to say almost every adult male—fell under the ban. The only exceptions made were boys under fourteen and girls under twelve in the service of Protestants. Preparations for the clearing of the town were at once made. And first, in accordance with instructions issued by the Commissioners of Ireland on 9th November, Colonel Jerome Sankey doubtless lifted up prayers with strong crying and tears to Him to whom nothing is hard, that he might not be wanting to His servants. After this the great work of driving forth the Amorrhites and bringing in the people of God proceeded apace. Early in December the Commissioners of Transplantation—Colonels Charles Blount, Solomon Richards, Henry Paris and Francis Vaughan—opened sessions in Clonmel. Heads of families appeared before them, and having stated their abode, age, stature, colour of hair and eyes, and the like particulars of their family and dependents together with the number and description of their cattle and other substance, certificates were thereupon issued. With these they proceeded before 30th January, 1654, to

the Connaught Commissioners sitting at Loughrea, who assigned temporary allotments. On them the transplanted persons erected cabins so that all might be in readiness for their wives and families who were to arrive not later than the first of May. The following are a few examples of the Clonmel certificates :—

(No. 27) By the Commissioners of the Revenue within the Precinct of Clonmell.

Wee the said Commissioners doe hereby certifye that Ullicke Burke of Monecannane in the countye of Tipperary, hath ye 18th day of January 1653[4] in pursuance of a Declaration of the Parliament of England for the affairs of Ireland bearinge date the 14th day of October 1653, delivered vnto us in writing a particular containing therein the names of himselfe and of such other persons as are to remove with him with the quantities and qualities of their respective stockes and tilladge, the contents whereof are as followeth (viz.)

1. Ullicke Burke of Monecannane freeholder, adged sixty nine yeares, middle stature balde pated, his substance two cows, two garrons, one quarter part acker of Winter corne.

2. Mary Burke his wife adged fortie eight yeares, tall stature, brownish hare.

3. John Burke his son, adged sixteen years, low stature, black hare.

4. Nell Burke his daughter, adged eighteen yeares, middle stature, brownish hare.

5. Margaret Burke his daughter, adged seventeen yeares, low stature, brownish hare.

6. William Rian his servant, adged twenty seaven yeares, bald pate.

The substance whereof we believe to be true, In witness whoeof we have hereunto sett our hands and seales the day and yeare afforesaid

FFRANCIS VAUGHAN, CHARLES BLOUNT, SOLOMON RICHARDS.

But if the bald-pated man of sixty-nine was not spared, neither was the young widow with her flaxen-haired children.

(No. 5) By the Commissioners etc.

We the said Commissioners . . . . . (videlicet).

1. Mary Nugent the Relict of Richard Nugent of Cloncoskraein adged twentie seaven, blacke, lowe.

2. John Nugent of the same sonn and heire to the said Richard adged nine yeares, flaxen haired, freeholder.

3. Mary Nugent daughter of the said Richard adged seaven yeares, white hare, lowe.

4. Elinor Nugent daughter to the said Richard adged five yeares, flaxen hare, lowe.

The substance . . . . . 25 January 1653 [4] (*g*).

And in the great exodus, we note the passing of the historic families of the town.

(g) This John Nugent who a boy of nine was transplanted to Connaught, was ancestor of the Nugent-Humbles of Cloncoskran, Co. Waterford. On 9th May, 1656, Mary Nugent as mother and guardian of John, obtained a Decree in the Court of Athlone for 365 acres. They returned, however, at the Restoration and unlike most of the old Irish landowners, succeeded in having their case heard in the Court of Claims. On Thursday, 13th August, 1663, John Nugent was decreed an "Innocent Papist," and as such restored to 674a. 3r. 24p. part of the estate of his father Richard. The pedigree of the family as found in Lodge's Peerage I., p. 221, is at this period hopelessly incorrect.

(No. 129) By the Commissioners of Revenue for the Precinct of Clonmell.

Wee the said Commissioners doe hereby certifie that Thomas White fitz Richard of Clonmell afforesaide, in the county of Tipperary, freeholder, hath upon the seaven and twentieth day of January 1653[4] in pursuance of a Declaration of the Commissioners of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England for the affairs of Ireland bearing date the 14 day of October 1653 delivered unto us in writing a particular containing therein the names of himself and of such other persons as are to remove with him, with the quantitie and qualitie of their respective stockes and tillage, the contents whereof are as followeth, seaven persons one cowe, one yearlinge two swine. The substance whereof we conceive to be true. In witness whereof we have hereunto sett our hands and seals the seaven and twentie day of January 1653.

SOL. RICHARDS CHS. BLOUNT HEN. PARIS.

(No. 10) By the Commissioners . . . .

Margaret Bray alias Corr . . . . forty eight persons, twenty ackres summer corne, six cowes one yearling, eleven garrons, nine sheep six goates, thirty swine.

—30 January 1653[4].

(No. 138) . . . . Patrick Donnoghow of Clonmell . . . . twelve persons, two cowes, two swine . . . . 19 December 1653.

(No. 139) . . . . James Brenocke of Clonmell . . . . one hundred and thirtie persons, fforty four ackres of sommer corne, fforty four cowes, one yearlinge fforty and one garrons one hundred and twentie sheep

. . . . 31 January 1653[4].

(No. 109) . . . . John Corr of Toberhaney [Tubberaheena] . . . . one hundred and forty four persons, eighty six acres sommer corne, forty eight cowes, eleven yearlings, forty eight garrons, three hundred and forty eight sheep, sixteen goates, fifteen swine.

. . . . 30 January, 1653[4].

Petitions from the wretched people went forth to the Council in Dublin to be dispensed from transplanting. Some pleaded their age; many were infirm; some had never borne arms against the Parliament of England; some had shown, in fact, a constant good affection towards it. Several already convinced of the errors of Popery, were earnestly seeking God. John Walsh of Lisronagh (upon the certificate of Colonel Richards) had performed many good and acceptable services to the Commonwealth, and was on the 17th March dispensed from transplanting until further notice. George Mathew of Rehill (uncle and guardian of Lord Cahir), upon the certificate of Colonel Jerome Sankey, having lived civilly, and given intelligence on divers occasions to the Cromwellian soldiers, was also dispensed. The petitions of John Bray and Thomas White were referred to the Athlone Commissioners. James Kearney of Fethard, was on 5th May dispensed for twelve months on proof he had not appeared in arms against the Commonwealth in the first year of the war. Walter Butler of Cloughbreedy, had given evidence against James Butler of Roosca, of the attack on Golden in 1641. Wherefore (he said) he could not without hazard of his life live amongst the said James' kindred in Connaught. There was so great resort of the Irish to divine worship in the liberties of Clonmel (so reported Major Stanley) that Mr.

Gelatius Hickey who was well qualified to instruct them in Protestant principles had his salary doubled *(h)*. But this awful period will, perhaps, be best realized from an individual case.

The Whites had been for centuries rulers of Clonmel. Proud of their old English blood, they from time to time victualled the royal forces operating against the Irish, and entertained the representatives of English authority who visited the town. At this period the head of the senior branch was Nicholas White. His father Henry had been member for the borough in the parliament of 1634, and his grandfather Nicholas in that of 1613. Educated abroad, on the death of his father in 1642 he came into the inheritance of a considerable portion of the town *(i)*. In 1641 when the war broke out he had not returned, and throughout all the troubles maintained a strict neutrality—"lived indifferentlie," as was stated. After the siege of Clonmel Ireton took compassion on him. "Nicholas White sonne of Henry White late of Clonmell Esqre. decd., whom being in his Minority, and residing in France in the beginning of the late rebellion, the late Lord Deputy Ireton ordered 30 li per annum to be allowed out of his father's estate" *(j)*. But as he had lived in the Irish quarters he was unable to prove "constant good affection" to the Parliament which was at war with his King and proscribed his religion. So on the 19th December, 1653, he appeared before the Cromwellian commissioners.

(No. 130) By the Commissioners of Revenue for the Precinct of Clonmell.

We the said Commissioners doe hereby certify that Nicholas White of Clonmell aforesd. in the county of Tipperary esquier, hath upon the nineteenth day of December 1653 in pursuance of a Declaration of the Commissioners of the Commonwealth of England for the Affairs of Ireland bearinge date the fourteenth day of October 1653 delivered unto us in writing a particular containing therein the names of himself and of such other persons as are to remove with him, with the quantitie and qualitie of their respective stockes and tillage, the contents whereof are as followeth, thirty one persons twenty nine ackres of winter corne, seventeen cowes, three yearlings, twenty garrons. The substance whereof we conceive to be true. In witness whereof we have herewith sett our hands and Seales the nineteenth day of December 1653.

SOL. RICHARDS CHAS. BLOUNT HEN. PARIS.

A few days after Christmas Nicholas White on his way to Connaught took a last look from the heights of Ardgeeha, at the town and fields, the home of his fathers over which he roamed as boy and ruled as man. Having got his allotment *de bene esse* or temporary assignment, from the

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(h) Commonwealth Books, P.R.O., Dublin A., 85, 86, 91, &c., &c.

(i) John Walsh, Ormond's agent, estimated it at £300 a year. At present about ten times that sum. Carte Papers, xliv. 40.

(j) Return of the Revenue of Clonmel 31st October, 1653-4, P.R.O. The Commissioners at Dublin ordered a pension of £8 a year to "Beale Leynagh an Orphant of William Leynagh late of Clonmell now vnder the tution of Colonel Blount." Ibid.

Commissioners at Loughrea and built his cabin, he there waited until the 25th March, 1656, when by decree of the Court at Athlone he was granted 1,004 acres amid the desolate rocks of West Clare. Here he pined during the four following years, until on the news of the King's restoration he made his way back to Tipperary. As the Cromwellians in possession would not admit him into the town, and there was a proclamation ordering the escaped Irish back to Connaught, he took a small farm on the slope of Slievenamon whence he might behold his old home. From there he addressed several petitions to the Duke of Ormond to be restored. The only reply he received was official sympathy, and so step by step he sank into pauperism. The following is the last we learn of this broken gentleman of Clonmel :—

To his Grace the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. The humble Petition of Nicholas White Esqr.

Humbly sheweth. That your Grace on your petitioners severall former addresses was pleased to declare a tendernes of your petitioners condition in regard that your petitioners Estate (formerly belonginge vnto him) in the towne of Clonmell and libertie thereof is conferred vpon your Grace, and your petitioner having no place to liue in was forced to take the ferme of Garrangibbon att a greate Rent which your petitioner by the fale of stocke and scarcetie of monies is noe way able to pay (without takeing your petitioners five melsh Cowes being the onely reliefe of himselfe and his famelie). Your grace may be therefore pleased out of your greate pyetie and pittie to give orders to your Receiver to Remitt four and fortie pound Rent due for this last yeare and a halfe and this present year to your Grace out of the said ferme. Your petitioner being destitute of all meanes to pay the same or any way to subsist.

And your petitioner will ever pray etc. *(k)*

There is no reference from Ormond on the petition; it is probable that the "five melch Cowes" the only relief of himself and his family were taken from him also.

Through the winter of 1653-4 the outcast landowners and towns folk with their tenants and dependents, their stock and household goods passed in endless cavalcade westwards. In vain did they pray that their flight might not be in winter and on the Sabbath. Yet even by the following May all were not 'removed.'

Upon consideration had of the petition of such of the Inhabitauntes of the County of Tipperary as are comprehended within the Act of Transplantation, and of the Report of the Standing Committee of Officers thereupon. It is ordered that the Officer commandinge in cheife at Clonmell be and hee is hereby impowered to graunt Lycense to such of the Petitioners as hee shall think fitt, for the space of six weeks from the date hereof while they are building their cabbins in Connought to passe to and from between Connought and Clare and the place where they nowe respectively reside. Provided they act nothing to the preiudice of the Commonwealth. And it is further ordered that their wives and families, such as have not been engaged against the Parliament interest, be dispensed with from their transplantation for the space of sixe weeks aforesaid and hereof all whom it may concern are desired to take notice. Dublin 1 May 1654 Thomas Herbert Secretary *(l)*.

(k) Carte Papers, Bodleian lx. No. 280. No date but among the papers for 1663.
(l) A 85, p. 314, P.R.O. Dublin.

Towards the beginning of July the town had been so cleared of inhabitants that it was foreseen there would be want of artizans and labourers before the new settlers could arrive from England. Representations were accordingly made to the Council in Dublin by the Cromwellian garrison.

Artificers etc. at Clonmell } Upon consideracon had of the Report of Coll Sankey, Coll Abbot and Coll Richards, concerninge a Dispensation to be graunted to the forty three persons in the paper hereunto annexed menconed (being artificers and workmen) to stay for some certaine time within the Towne of Clonmell. It is ordered that the Commaunder in cheife for the time being and Commissioners of Revenue at Clonmell, doe dispense and give Lycense to the forty and three persons aforesaid or to as many of them as they shall thinke fitt, to stay within the said garrison of Clonmell for such time as they shall judge convenient. Provided the whole time granted to the said persons doe not exceed the twentie fifth day of March next. And hereof all whom it may concern are to take notice.

Dated at Dublin 8 July 1654 *(m)*.

For some there was a more terrible fate than transplantation. In January 1654, Colonel Jerome Sankey, governor (among others), had orders to arrest and deliver to Captain Thomas Morgan, Dudley North and John Johnson, English merchants, all such Irish men and women within the precinct of Clonmel as should not prove they had a settled means of livelihood, all children in hospitals or almshouses, all prisoners, the said persons to be conveyed under military escort to the nearest ports thence to be shipped for Barbadoes. To such dire purpose had these Puritans read their Bibles (one copy of which was served out to each troop) "If you will not kill the inhabitants of the land they that remain shall be unto you as nails in your eyes and spears in your sides and they shall be your adversaries in the land of your habitation" (Numbers xxxiii. 55).

The town now presented a scene of awful desolation. The ten years' war, the siege and bombardment, the plague of 1650, the suspense of the four following years and the final clearances, left it almost in ruins. Even in 1666, twelve years subsequent, the Ormond patent shows in the principal streets "waste tenements" "a house slated ruinous" "a house and back side waste" "a decayed castle." To this place which had become in great part the habitation of the bat and the owl it was now sought to attract English settlers. By the Act of 26th September, 1653, adventurers and soldiers were enabled to purchase a moiety of the houses within the town at the rate of six years of their letting value, provided such purchase was effected before the 24th June, 1655. The other moiety was reserved to satisfy the arrears of the soldiers of Inchiquin and others who had fought for the Parliament in Ireland previous to the 5th June, 1649. Further, the Commissioners for the Affairs of

(m) A. 85, p. 479.

Ireland were to grant vacant places and waste ground within the town to persons professing the Protestant religion on condition that they erected good and substantial houses thereon within three years after the date of such grant *(n)*. But in vain were these inducements held out; soldiers would not turn their swords into ploughshares and the tradespeople of Bristol and Exeter had heard evil reports of Teig and Phelim. Appeals were made in England. The Popish recusants, it was said, were now cleared out of the towns and not allowed within a distance of two miles *(o)*. But in vain; only a few came. The original scheme therefore of setting down an entirely new population of English had to be abandoned.

Alone perhaps in the case of Clonmel, we are able to judge how far the "Cromwellian Settlement" was carried out in the towns of Ireland. The poll money returns for 1660, still existing, afford a detailed picture of the place in that year, the last of the Commonwealth. First, as to population; the number of adult persons resident within the walls or town proper amounted to some 394. Outside were 476 of whom 204 were in Irishtown, 110 in the north suburbs, 86 in the east, and 76 beyond the bridge. As the total 870 included about 300 married women and widows the gross population would be approximately 1000. If all these were God fearing, and proof against the corruption which the Lord had so eminently witnessed against in their predecessors (as General Fleetwood pointed out) the Cromwellian conception of a city of God might be ultimately realized. But judging from the names the new settlers did not constitute quite a fifth of the whole. The Irish were still in an overwhelming majority though reduced to utter impotence, social and municipal. All merchants, shopkeepers and artizans of the birth of Ireland, such as had escaped Connaught or the Barbadoes, were banished outside the walls. There were two exceptions, due probably to the character of their trade, one Edward Comerford of Bridge Street, who imported Spanish wines, the other Walter Brennock an apothecary in High Street *(p)*. Servants, domestics, and unskilled labourers in the employment of Protestants were suffered to remain. Outside, the population was exclusively Irish, some remnants of the old burgher families, Whites, Walls and Barrons being still distinguishable in the common mass. Further, not only were the new settlers small in number but fewer still belonged to the mercantile class. There were Commonwealth officials, disbanded soldiers, younger sons of good families and mere adventurers. John Booker, the first name on the list, had been a drysalter in London, and joining the Parliament army eventually

(n) Scobell's Acts and Ordinances, C. xii.
(o) Cromwellian Settlement, 2 Edition p. 285.
(p) He lived in a house on the site of the present theatre.

obtained command of a regiment which in 1646 he brought over to Ireland to aid Inchiquin. As one of the "49 officers" (those who served the Parliament in Ireland before 5th June, 1649) he was allotted in payment for his services, certain houses in North Lane, the former property of Nicholas White. Another, Samuel Foley, the younger son of an iron founder in Stourbridge, who held the rank of captain, made his abode in the old home of John White fitz Bennett in Boate Street. Here he had three sons born to him, the eldest of whom, Samuel, became Protestant bishop of Down and Connor. A third, Charles Blount, raised a regiment in Gloucestershire for service under Inchiquin. When on the beheading of the King, Inchiquin deserted the Parliament, Blount held on, and in 1649 helped to betray Youghal to Cromwell. Subsequently he was Commissioner of Revenue for Clonmel, for which and other services his arrears of pay amounted in 1663 to £2,200. At his death in High Street in the April of that year he bequeathed the whole to his wife, Valentine, in "confidence that she would be a tender mother to his children and improve the estate for her owne and their advantage carefull of their breeding." But more notable than the military settlers were the small body of active, enterprising traders who followed in their wake. One, Richard Carleton, from Cambridge, set up as wine merchant in High Street whence in 1676 he retired a country gentleman at Darlinghill. His descendants in the next century clambered into the peerage *(q)*. Richard Perry (or Perryman as he was sometimes called) Mayor's sergeant under the Cromwellian corporation, subsequently turned to trade and accumulating wealth founded the well-known county family *(r)*. Richard Hamerton who purchased woods and exported pipe staves, eventually established himself at Ballyneale. William Vaughan began the banking business which his descendants, the Ryalls, carried on for three generations. Richard Kellett, another successful trader, was able to purchase Cloghnacody and Jossestown in 1703 for the sum of £1,371. By far, however, the most noteworthy of the new comers was Richard Moore. Originally a glover in Barnstaple, he took up residence in Clonmel in 1655. Here he prospered exceedingly, mostly in the capacity of land broker and general property agent. At his death, at his house in Lough Street in 1690, he was possessed of estates in Kilworth (Cork), Chancellorstown, Garrinlea, Hore Abbey, Barne and elsewhere. His descendants in the junior line still flourish in the neighbourhood; in the senior they became ennobled as Earls of Mountcashel. The part which they played in Clonmel affairs he could not have foreseen in the wildest dreams of

(q) Baron Carleton, of Anner, created 1789.

(r) "The first day of October 1660. . . . Henry Waynewright was sworne one of the Sergeants at Mace for this Corporation in the Place of Richard Perry who desired to quitt himself from the Employment."—Corporate Minute Book quoted in Commons' Journal.

ambition. But among the more obscure settlers who arrived then or shortly after were some who attained a prominence only little less. These were the Marshalls, Gordons and Bagwells *(s)*.

By the middle of 1655 the new colony had made such progress that an inquiry was held into the municipal property and franchises, preparatory to re-establishing the corporation. For since the surrender of the town the charters and other muniments had disappeared, and only by gathering together a number of the old inhabitants, some of them possibly from Connaught, could evidence be obtained *(t)*. The original report signed by the members of the court of inquiry is still extant, and is in some respects the most valuable record we have relating to the town *(u)*. The charter of James I. which was referred to in evidence, was not adopted as the basis of the new corporation. The Act of Barebones' Parliament "For the Satisfaction of Adventurers," etc., enacted that "the town of Clonmel shall have equal privileges franchises and immunities with the city of Bristol in England and charters granted vnto the inhabitants thereof under the great seal of England to that effect" *(v)*. Though no such charter ever appears to have passed the seal, the Cromwellian inhabitants in 1656 erected themselves into a corporation and proceeded to exercise all rights, municipal and parliamentary. In conjunction with Waterford they returned Captain William Halsey as their representative to the Commonwealth parliaments of 1654–6–8. Owing to the smallness of their number they admitted to the corporate freedom a considerable body of outsiders, mostly soldiers, utterly unconnected with the town *(w)*. The calamitous effects of the precedent thus created, were seen only in the following century.

Having "come to possess houses they had not built and vineyards they had not planted, they might not forget the Lord and His goodness to them in the day of their distress" *(x)*. Accordingly one of the first acts of the Cromwellians was to bring over a preacher and endow him with a liberal salary *(y)*. This was Samuel Ladyman, a graduate of Oxford, who took up

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(s) Particulars gleaned from State Papers, Wills, Pleadings in Palatine Court, etc.

(t) The transplantation of Tipperary, particularly Eliogarty, was so thorough, that Petty's surveyors were unable to ascertain the townland boundaries. Some persons had to be brought back from Connaught to point them out.—Crom. Sett., p. 202.

(u) Quit Rent Office, Dublin. Printed in full in Appendix.

(v) 26th September, 1653. Scobell's Acts and Ordinances xii.

(w) Clonmel ff, January 11, 1658. At an assembly of the Maior Bailiffs and ffree Burgesses the persons whose names ensue were admitted and sworn free of the said Corporation viz. :—Major Francis Bolton, Lieutenant Colonel William Candler, etc.

(x) Letter of Col. William Allen, April 6th, 1654. Thurloe II., 214.

(y) A schoolmaster, a schoolmistress, and a surgeon also formed part of the establishment. "Mr. Edward Bainebrigge Schoolemaster of Clonmell 40 li per annum, Mrs. Spencer Schoolmss att Clonmell 10 li per ann., Mr. John Gosling Chirurgion to the Hospitall at Clonmell 40 li per aunum." State of the Revenue for the Precinct of Clonmel 1653-4. P.R.O., Dublin.

residence towards the end of 1652. Pure religion, free from all carnal accretions, was to be practised, and so the church of St. Mary's was to be henceforward styled "The Public Meeting House," and thither every Lord's day (for there was no Sunday now) all householders, their man servants and maid servants were to come to hear the Word *(z)*. If Ladyman sowed Colonel Sankey apparently watered, and there was a great increase.

Whereas Mr. Samuel Ladyman was by an Order of the 18th October 1652 appointed to preach the Word at Clonmell and at such other places thereabout as Coll. Sankey and the Commissioners of Revenue there should thinke most convenient. It is upon the petition of the inhabitants of Clonmell thought fitt and ordered That the said Mr. Ladyman doe preach the Gospell at Clonmell aforesaid and such other places within that precinct where he shall concieve his peines therein may be most for the advancement of the same. And for his peines and care therein to receive the former allowance settled upon him out of the publique Treasury of that precinct. Dublin the 23 of febbruary 1653[4].

CHAS. FLEETWOOD, MILES CORBETT, JOHN JONES (*aa*).

Soldiers, however, will be soldiers, and some evil reports began to reach the saints in Dublin.

Information has been made that Lieut. Peter Flower of Capt. James Stopford's company is a common tippler and has been seen often in drink and leads a scandalous life. We certify that during the three years he has been quartered in Clonmel we have not known him to live under any such scandal but have known him to be a person of very civil deportment and a constant frequenter of the public worship of God.

Js: Booker sheriff, Richard Lehunt, Tho: Batty, Maior, Robert Lovelace and Richard Perrott bailiffs, Charles Blount, S. Foley, Ja. Halsey, William Almons, Richard Moore. Clonmel 30 Sept 1659 (*bb*)

Worse still. Colonel Solomon Richards, one of the Commissioners of Transplantation, treated the elect of Clonmel as fanatics. His conduct scandalized London itself.

Col: Richards behaviour at Clonmell to those whose judgment leads them to sing psalms, makes a very loud noise here, and seems not to be relished (*cc*).

Among the most godly members of the congregation was Major Thomas Stanley who succeeded Sankey in the governorship of the precinct. He is described in the Carte correspondence as a "phanatique officer." He was

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(z) Declaration by Commissioners for the Affairs of Ireland. Brit. Museum, Grenville.

(aa) A 85, p. 141. From the list of the "Civil Officers imployed in this Precinct 1654" we find "Mr. Samuell Ladyman Preacher of Clonmel 130 li o o Mr. Robert Carr Preacher at Clonmel and the Garrisons adjacent 100 li per ann."—P.R.O., Dublin.

(bb) State Papers, Commonwealth, p. 691.

(cc) John Percivale to Sir Paul Davis, London, July 4th, 1654. Egmont MSS. II., 546. Yet Richards was not altogether without grace. "Upon the information of Colonel Solomon Richards, that Captain William Williamson is now a prisoner in Dublin upon suspicion of committing fornication, in the county of Tipperary during the time of his service there; and that the said Colonel has entered into a recognizance to prosecute, and as the said offence is alleged to have been committed within the precinct of Clonmel, Ordered that said Williamson be sent from Dublin to Clonmel in order to his tryal, and that recognizances be cancelled. Dublin Castle, 17th March, 1654."—Crom. Settlement, p. 233.

one of the representatives of the soldiers whose lots fell in Munster and as such, made a prominent figure, while the Dublin Council books testify that he—

Was free of every spiritual order
To preach and fight and pray and murder.

Such as:—

"Ordered that James Standish Esquier Receivor Generall doe out of the publique money in his hands issue forth and pay unto Major Thomas Stanley the summe of Tenn pounds upon account the same to bee by him distributed amongst those souldiers and others that did the late execution upon the Tories that were killed in the County of Waterford for payment whereof this etc. Dated att Dublin Castle the 1st of Aprill 1656.

H. CROMWELL, MILES CORBETT, MATHEW TOMLINSON (*dd*).

Again.

"Ordered etc. Five pounds on the certificate of Major Thomas Stanley to Thomas Gregson, Evan Powel and Samuel Alley (being three souldiers of Coll Abbots regiment of dragoons), for the arrest of Donogh Hagerty a Popish priest by them taken and now secured in the county gaol of Clonmell to be equally distributed between them 10 August 1657 *(ee)*.

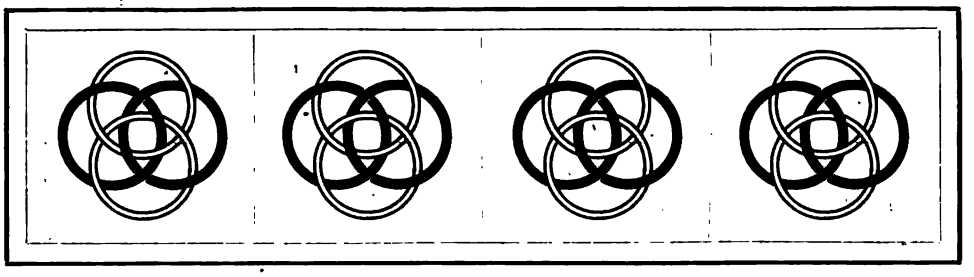
The following year he showed renewed activity in the pursuit of Tories but out of the fifty pounds he claimed, the Commissioners of Revenue disallowed forty "because they were slain in the field." Stanley pleaded that "his disbursments were warranted and there was no other way for the conviction (*sic*) of those Toryes who were guilty of murther and roberyes and could not be taken alive" *(ff)*. On the setting up of the Cromwellian corporation, he presented them with a sword of state. It was an appropriate gift from the butcher fanatic. But all the Cromwellians had not so steeled their hearts by perverted scripture. Amid the terrible records of confiscation and massacre rises one gleam of kindly human nature, Colonel John Booker in 1665, while bequeathing five pounds to the necessitous English of Clonmel, left twice that sum to the "poore Irishe inhabitauntes of the said towne" *(gg)*.

(dd) A. 2, 95.

(ee) Treasury Orders p. 9. It would be instructive to know whether among these Tories (i.e., outlawed gentlemen and their followers) were any of the Powers whose home in Tickencor Stanley now occupied.

(ff) Historical MSS. Commission 8th Report.

(gg) Wills dated 1665 and 1668. In latter he left to the Salters Company of London "tenn pounds to buy a peece of plate (my executrix to see it bought and my coat of arms ingraven) for them to keepe."



CHAPTER VII.

CLONMEL FROM THE RESTORATION TO THE REVOLUTION.

DURING the closing months of 1659 there was withering fear and suspense in many a Cromwellian home in Tipperary. Regicides like Isaac Pennington, Andrew Boughton and Francis Allen, or members of the Long Parliament such as William Brereton and Thomas Barnadeston prepared for the worst. Or again puritan republicans as Colonels William Moore at Lismalin, Henry Pretty at Killboy, Richard Le Hunte at Cashel, John Godfrey at Knockgraffon sullenly looked out of their castles, ready to maintain with the sword what they had won by the sword. On the other hand the royalist Butler or Burke who for ten years had followed the fortunes of Charles abroad, made feverish preparation to return "being consumed with an infinite longing to see the smoke of their own chimneys"*(hh)*. Meanwhile Sir Charles Coote and Lord Broghill, having deserted the Commonwealth and allied themselves with the King's party in England, were securing the cities and garrison towns. A few days before Christmas Broghill seized Clonmel in the name of "a free parliament," and Major Stanley (now doubtless armed with the text "fear God, honour the King") was sent to besiege Cork where Colonel Phair held out for Fleetwood and the Commonwealth. Lest Ludlow should rally the fanatical sections of Cromwell's disbanded army a volunteer force was formed in the royalist interest. A company of foot was raised in Clonmel, of which Colonel Booker took the captaincy, Richard Perrott and Ralph Chadcraft being lieutenant and ensign respectively. There was however no need for their services. A secret assurance as to estates was given by Charles, and so Cromwellians and Irish alike welcomed his accession to the throne. The King's Declaration for the

(hh) Bishop Bramhall to Ormond, Carte Papers xxiv.

Settlement of Ireland on the following 30th November helped to keep up the deception, for while it expressed great care for the interests of the Adventurers, Officers and others, the Irish were equally reassured in consideration of the treaty of 1648 and their services beyond the seas. As however the months wore on, the fact became more and more evident that, with the exception of the Protestant royalists, there was to be no restoration of the Irish to their homes. In Clonmel the Cromwellian authorities still ruled, Thomas Batty being mayor and Major Francis Foulkes governor, though to put themselves right they obtained an "Exemplification" of the charter. The old burghers who had returned from Connaught and elsewhere were neither permitted to trade nor dwell within the walls. In vain did the King's letter of 22nd May, 1661, authorize them to peaceably inhabit and trade, and confirm to them their former corporate privileges. In vain did they petition the Lord Lieutenant Ormond to re-enter the town. John Walsh of Kilmore, Ormond's agent, recommended certain of their number for favourable consideration, but to no purpose.

Those who submitted and constantly adhered to the Peace of '48	ffrancis White fitz Patricke John White fitz Thomas Michael Oge White Michael White fitz Thomas John Stritch William Leynagh William Conry James Walle James White fitz Nicholas Thomas donoghow John White fitz Michell Heire of John Walle Heire of Thomas Roche Michael Bray fitz Piers James Brennock William Swyny William Morroghow Nicholas Betts Walter Mulrony John English
Those who by their early repentance redeemed their former failings by submitting to the cessation in '43, to the peace in '46 to the Cessation with the Earle of Inshiquin and uppon all other occasions manifested their good affection to his Maties service	John White fitz Bennett of Clonmell 200 li per ann. [estimated property.] Thomas White fitz Richard of Clonmell 70 li per ann.
Those who from the beginning lived indifferentlie and were of knowne good affection to his Maties service and dyed before the Cessation in '43	Henry White of Clonmell and Nicholas White his sonne, 300 li per ann. Piers Bray of Clonmell and Edmund his sonne came to Carricke, 100 li per ann. (*ii*).

(*ii*) Carte Papers, vol. xliv., No. 46.

All hope was cut off by the Act of Settlement of 1662 which enacted that "the Corporations of Ireland are now planted with English who have considerably improved at their own charges, and brought trade and manufacture into that our kingdom, the disturbing or removing of which English would in many respects be very prejudicial, wherefore," etc. (Section 15 of Déclaration). And the Act of Explanation, 1665, forbade even the sale of houses in Corporations to "Papists or Popish recusants" *(jj)*. A few instances will illustrate the working of these Acts. Patrick Fleming was fortunate enough to have his case heard by the "Court of Claims" before the closing of that court through Cromwellian clamour. By decree dated 23rd June, 1663, he was declared an "Innocent Papist," and therefore to be restored to all his estate. In the event, he was deprived of three houses and an orchard in Lough Street, and nine houses and a garden without the walls near the river Suir. In mockery a "reprize of equal value" in lands adjoining said Corporation was ordered. But as a London adventurer named Radcliff, and the Duke of Ormond already divided these lands between them, there was nothing left for Fleming *(kk)*. Lady Morris who had been previously married to Bennet White fitz Geoffry, was transplanted to Connaught in 1654 with her three young children, Sir John, Harry and Edmond. On the 22nd August, 1655, the Cromwellian court at Athlone assigned the wretched woman 354 acres. After the restoration she obtained on 1st August, 1663, a decree of innocence and an order to enter upon the estate. She could not be restored to the houses in Clonmel, being a Papist, and no reprise in lands elsewhere would be granted her, having accepted from the Cromwellians lands in Connaught. So read the decree *(ll)*. Further, not only were the Irish excluded from inheriting or acquiring property within the town, but such English as intermarried with them fell under the ban.

COURT OF CLAIMS.

12 August 1663	James Mortimer and his wife Pltffs. James adjudged Innocent Protestant Ellen his wife Innocent Papist

Nota.

James is a Protestant; Ellen a Papist. They claim in right of Ellen, and the question is whether they shall be restored to what is in the Corporation of Clonmell.

Adjudged they shall not be restored in specie for what is in corporations.

Qu. If he had been a Papist and she a Protestant—and he had claimed in her right *(mm)*.

(jj) Exposition of Clause relative to '49 security.
(kk) Decrees for Innocents, Roll VI., Skin 1, P.R.O., Dublin.
(ll) Ibid, Roll IX., Skin 82.
(mm) Minutes of Sir Edward Deering, Judge of Court of Claims. Carte Papers, lxvii.

In the patent rolls of Chancery are enrolled the grants of lands, houses and other tenements, under the Acts of Settlement and Explanation. These afford a graphic picture of the town as it was ultimately settled *(nn)*; they exhibit Clonmel street by street and house by house; we can read on the signboards as if, the names of the new settlers and the dispossessed Irish.

While the restoration brought to his countymen but the extinction of their hopes, it raised Ormond to the pinnacle of wealth and honour. To his Irish dignities was added an English peerage and the stewardship of the royal household. Among the numerous grants made to him was one of almost the entire town of Clonmel. As lord of the manor he previously derived certain chief rents from the burgesses. Now all feudal tenures, fee farm grants and leaseholds were declared forfeited, and the town at its full improved value became his. The estate, for example, of John White was held by suit of court and a yearly rent of twenty-two shillings. Its value now may be estimated from the fact that it consisted of thirty-four houses within the walls, and twenty-one without; three corn mills, one tucking mill with several gardens and parks. When however there was question of adventurers' or soldiers' interests the Duke did not get so easy possession. The burgagery lands which lay in Co. Tipperary, containing 718 plantation acres, had been distributed to Hugh Radcliffe, Charles Alcock and others. Before they could be removed lands of equal value had to be found for them elsewhere. This presented such difficulties that Ormond after prolonged negociation advised his agent Walsh to compound for the chief rent of three pence an acre *(oo)*.

The Cromwellians and Protestant royalists being now in peaceable possession and all fear of the Irish removed, religious differences began to assert themselves. Episcopalianism returned in full flood with the restoration, and crown and mitre became convertible terms. The Cromwellians who were independents, baptists, or presbyterians, had either to accept the new creed or lie under the suspicion of disloyalty. In Clonmel as elsewhere there was much vexation of spirit. On learning the King's intention to erect a new Protestant hierarchy Majors Stanley, Le Hunt and others in 1660 sent

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(nn) Appendix.

(oo) The problems which arose in the administration of the Acts were perplexing. Here is a local case, "Bennett White of Clonmell in the Countie of Tipperarie long before the rebellion did mortgage vnto Richard Earle of Corke the castle towne and lands of Maylarstowne [Milerstown] for 60 pounds and dyed long before the Rebellion. John White his sonn and heire entred and continued possession paying thintrest of the mortgage vntill ousted by the vsurpers. Sithence which time the same is disposed of by the now Earle of Corke it being not allotted to Adventurers or Souldiers. The said castle and town are houlden of James Duke of Ormond as of his Manor of Clonmell. John White is a forfeiting person."

The question is whether the Duke of Ormond may pay the said mortgage money to the Earle of Corke, whether the said Earle be bound to accept thereof. And whether the said Duke may enter by virtue of the King's Declaration and Act of Settlement which gives him the forfeiture of all lands held of him? Carte Papers xxiii. 157.

round for signature a petition that the "godly ministers of the Gospel who had so long laboured among them might be continued and countenanced." They were peremptorily ordered to desist *(pp)*. Two years later the conflict had grown so angry that it was seriously proposed to remove the "phanatiques" out of the town as had been done with the Irish *(qq)*. Wholesale arrests were made and George Baker, Protestant Bishop of Waterford came to St. Mary's on Sunday, 31st May to preach submission. The dissenters nothing daunted met at Innislounaght in the house of Thomas Batty who, on the Wednesday preceding, had been lodged in gaol *(rr)*. Information was conveyed to Sir Francis Foulkes governor of the town, and a company of soldiers surrounded the house and marched the whole body into the town Marshalsea. Zephanii Smith, one of those arrested, being asked by a soldier "why he was not att church then to hear the Bishop preach and he replyed that he did preach himselfe in church before now and hoped to preach there again in God's due time, and if he had been at Masse or at an Ale house amongst a company of Drunkards, swearers or heathens he doth suppose that he should not have been tormented." Thomas Little, another soldier, heard the wife of John Foster of Abbey say "that there must be another boute or blowe for it and that very suddenlie" *(ss)*. In the event many accepted the episcopacy, the most notable being Samuel Ladyman the preacher, who on 24th February, 1666, took orders in the established church and thereby retained the living of Clonmel. Others, as William Vaughan, Phineas Riall and Richard Perry, held out and formed the first dissenting congregation in Clonmel, under one Mr. Wood as minister. Amid the war of sects we discern the first beginning of a body which afterwards attracted no little notice, and whose connection with the town was entirely beneficent—the Quakers.

May it please yr Grace

I haveing been prisoned in this town for the space of three monthes past for sheepe of Sir Hardress Waller taken by me for his Maties service (as sheriff for the Countie of Tipperarie) in July 1660.

Yesterday being Sunday seuerall Quaquers being in this prison together, the enclosed printed paper was discouered being in the hands of one George Sharpe a Quaquer by one Edmond Prendergast who is likewise a Prisoner for Prosecuteing his Estate and Claime of his father deceased formerly Maior of Clonmell. Whereupon I

(pp) Stanley fell foul of the authorities and went to England. The following year he came back bearing a letter under the King's sign manual "that he was returning to plant and therefor was to be favoured and encouraged." (Carte Papers xli., 331.) He was elected member for Clonmel and subsequently Co. Louth. He passed a patent for Tickencor, Kilganey, Ballymacarbery, Ballymakee, Ardpadden, Castleconnagh, etc. in all 9,155 acres in 1666. He was subsequently made privy councillor and dying in 1694 was buried in St. Michan's, Dublin.

(qq) Carte Papers xxxii. 172.

(rr) Richard Perrot, Mayor to Ormond, 27th May, Carte Papers.

(ss) Carte Papers xxii.

examined the said George Sharpe who confessed he had the said paper from one John ffennell who lives near Cahir whereupon I issued a warrant against the said ffennell who upon his examinacon etc.

J. BOOKER (*tt*).

Enclosure was "A Word of Remembrance, Reproofe and Counsell to England and London put fforth by One that loues and longes for their Prosperity. M. C." But John Fennell on examination, denied he gave it to George Sharpe, or ever saw or heard of the document.

Throughout this troublous period a strong garrison was maintained in Clonmel *(uu)*. As there were no barracks, the soldiers (save a few who occupied the fort and the turrets in the town wall) were billeted on the inhabitants. This gave rise to much discontent. On 28th November, 1662, Ormond wrote to the Mayor.

Fforasmuch as we are informed that there are not in the town of Clonmell, inns or alehouses sufficient for the reception of the troop of horse and two foot companies that are in garrison there, we therefore hereby require and authorize the Mayor of the said town to take effectual order that the said troop and companies be quartered as well in private houses, as in inns and alehouses in the said town, equally and indifferently as the severall inhabitants thereof are able to beare them (*vv*).

Soldiers then as now were somewhat absent-minded, and among the Ormond papers are several petitions for payment of their debts. William Thwaytes who "kept a marchant's shoppe" commiserating the condition of sergient Brewer, Drummer Williams and others in the years 1663-4 supplied them with cloth, victualls and other goods. Richard Whitehand, shoemaker, petitioned for boots supplied Captain Richard Smith; Nathaniel Carr for goods furnished to William Tuksbury, and so on *(ww)*. At length the burthen became intolerable. Following the example of Dublin shortly before, several citizens resolved to billet them no longer *(xx)*. The military appealed to Ormond.

The humble petition of Captaine Richard Smith, Captaine Randolph Taylor, Ensigne Robert Meredith and Ensigne Garret Foulke sheweth, That the officers and souldiers of the foote companyes to which your petitioners belong commanded by Sir Francis Foulke and Captaine John Botiler and guarrisoned in the towne of Clonmel have till of late been furnished by the inhabitants of the said town with

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(tt) To Ormond, Clonmel, October 22nd, 1662. Carte Papers.

(uu) In 1662 there was a troop of horse under Lord Shannon 91 men, a foot company of 93 under Captain Sir Francis Foulke, and another 97 under Charles Blount.

(vv) Ormond Papers I., 259.

(ww) Carte Papers, cliv.

(xx) "This day being at dinner in a house of this town Mr. Richard Hamerton came in and in very much passion burst forth without any provocation in the following manner, that he would indict the constable that gave the souldiers quarters but in inns and alehouses, and that he paid the King his due and that the souldiers should pay their quarters; there is no need of souldiers now there being a mititia worth one and a half and at any time could beat them." Richard Smith to Sir Francis Foulkes, 30th December, 1667. Orrery Papers.

convenient lodgings and quarters; some of the inhabitants finding lodgings, and others in the suburbs and elsewhere giveing certaine allowances by their owne agreements and consents to several of the officers and souldiers, to provide and pay for their owne quarters and accommodation where they thought most convenient. But now may it please your Grace, Richard Hammerton, Edward Batty, Anthony Lawrence, George Collett and William Vaughan able inhabitants of the said towne, refuse to quarter or pay the allowances for quartering by them contracted for as formerly but by their examples and instigation have caused the several other persons undernamed to doe the like and obstinately persist therein; by which meanes many of the soldiers are altogether destitute of lodgings and quarter, being turned out of those they formerly hyred for want of payment of the allowances contracted for, and forced to lye in the guard when they have done their duty to the great inconvenience of the poore souldiers. For reliefe wherein the petitioners haveing in a faire way often applyed themselves to the Mayor of the said towne without any effect or redresse they are forced most humbly to pray that your Grace will be pleased to take the premisses into consideration and give such order thereon as your Grace in your greate wisedome shall thinke fit. And your petitioners shall pray, etc (*yy*).

Ormond on 14th March, 1668, ordered Hamerton, Batty and the others named to forthwith provide quarters for the soldiers, and in case of refusal to appear before him in Dublin and show cause to the contrary. They did neither, however, but sent a petition to have the matter in dispute investigated in or near Clonmel. Through the action of certain Dublin citizens the illegality of indiscriminate billeting was soon after established.

Amidst all the sectarian bitterness and the turmoil of contending interests under the Acts of Settlement, the new inhabitants were not idle. Industrial development was impossible owing to dearth of population; the small farmers and cottiers having been swept away by the Cromwellian wars. The two baronies of Iffa and Offa, exclusive of Clonmel, contained in 1658 only 4,952 souls, the whole County of Tipperary 26,684. But there was much commercial activity and enterprise. Herds of black cattle and vast flocks of sheep covered the face of the country; the negociation of these and their products made a trade important and far reaching. There was also a large export of Irish oak for pipe staves and other purposes; for during this period the primeval forests of Ireland were being cleared. From 1660 onwards the shipping of cattle began on a considerable scale, but in 1666 the country gentlemen who composed the English parliament grew jealous, and an Act was passed declaring the trade a nuisance, and absolutely prohibiting it. As a result good cows might be bought for ten shillings and horses for half a crown *(zz)*. Forbidden the export of live stock, cattle were killed and salted, a foreign trade in hides and tallow developed, and besides supplying the West of England large quantities of wool were run (as the term was) to France and Holland.

(yy) A list of forty-eight persons is annexed who refused to quarter.—Ormonde Papers 10, pt. 5, pp. 55-6.

(zz) Broghill to Dorset, 18th December, 1666. 4 Rep. Hist. MSS. 280.

The part which Clonmel took in the trade of the period we are fortunately able to judge from a contemporary ledger still existing. William Vaughan kept shop in High Street, a few doors from the main guard (north side), from the middle of the seventeenth century until its last year, when he died. Petty trader, merchant, bill broker and banker, his ledger throws a flood of light upon the commerce and the business methods of the time. The principal article which he dealt in was wool. This he bought in huge quantities, nearly every person of prominence in South Tipperary appearing in the ledger. Having packed the wool and brought it to Clonmel, it was shipped as the market offered—some from Waterford, most from Youghal—to Minehead, Bideford or Barnstaple. There it was negociated and paid for by English bills. As the exchange usually rose high against Ireland, an additional profit was thereby obtained. This perhaps will be best understood from a concrete transaction. In 1685 Vaughan purchased from Richard Moore (who was by this time a great sheep rancher), 128 bags of wool, the price paid being £1,433. The wool was carted by way of Ballinamult to Cappoquin at the rate of 2s. 2d. a bag. Here it was conveyed by boat to Youghal, whence it was shipped to Edmund Spurier, of Minehead. Vaughan was paid by bills on Joseph Carpenter, of London. Now as remittances had to be sent to Stephen Moore (Richard's eldest son) then in England, and as the exchange was 18 against Ireland, Vaughan was able to sell his bills on Carpenter at a handsome profit. Frequently it appears that the wool was exported merely for the profits of the exchange. In 1687 on a consignment of fifty bags to Joshua Holland, of Minehead, a loss of £26 on the wool was turned to a profit of £32 on the exchange. Again in the same year a deficit of £37 is recorded on 123 bags. So great was the demand for English bills that Vaughan occasionally overdrew on his correspondents. Where the loss on the wool would be excessive, the following curious method of liquidating the balance was resorted to. "Mr. Edmd. Spurier Dr. [1686.] To cash sent yu in a bagg of wool No. 2, £100—00—00." But more interesting by far than the cross-channel export of wool was the trade with the continent.

"Mr. Robert Ball is equally in co-partnership with Will Vaughan, Oct. 19, 1688—To 59 casks of butter shipt on board the Fortune of Youghal (Will. Kellin master), for Dunkirke, and is consigned to Mr. Tho. Baker and Mr. John Fen of Ostend, wch cost on shipboard, in all £81 3s. 9d.

Nov. 12—To 41 casks of butter shipt on board the Swan of Love Ed. Poore master, for Rochelle and consigned to Mr. Walsh and Gaule, from Youghall per Robert Ball which cost in Ireland £57 11s. 4d.

To 44 casks of butter consigned to Mr. Tho: Baker and Mr. John Fen of Ostend, per the Pearl of Waterford cost in all being on my own proper account £65 7s. 1d.

To profitts on the above 144 casks of butter £43 13 10d."

There are also accounts of considerable shipments of butter, cheese, tallow and frieze to Thomas Barton of Bordeaux.

Partly owing to foreign trade, partly to the supineness of government, much of the business of the country was done in foreign coin, and the ledger is full of references to pistoles and ducats. More curious still was the currency established by the traders themselves. In the middle of the seventeenth century it was found impossible to carry on a petty cash business for want of small copper coin. The shopkeepers of Clonmel as elsewhere supplied the deficiency by a coinage of their own. The earliest of these tokens was issued by William Henbury, a corn miller.

{Obverse: WILLIAM HENBVRY OF (a harp).
{Reverse : CLONMELL 1656 (W.H.)

In the same year he was followed by George Carr, a shopkeeper in High Street, who as the son of John Carr, a gentleman, considered himself entitled to quarter his arms on the coin.

{O.: GEORGE CARR (Carr arms—On a bend between three Cornish
{R.: OF CLONMELL (G.C. ID. 1656). [choughs as many—).

Richard Hamerton not content with the profits derived from the export of pipe staves, appears also as a 'moneyer.'

{O.: RICHARD HAMERTON (1657).
{R.: IN CLONMELL 1657 (R.H.)

{O.: RICHARD HAMERTON (R.H. between two dotted circles).
{R.: OF CLONMELL 1657.

The issue had now become so profitable that persons other than traders took part in it. The coin of Colonel John Booker is interesting as the first to exhibit the arms of the town.

{O.: J. B. OF CLONMELL (1658, ID.)
{R.: FOR CITTY AND COVNTY (Clonmel arms—a stag pursued by a dog [over a bridge, a fish below).

After the restoration though there were several proclamations crying down the tokens under stringent penalties, still new ones were put forth.

{O.: ANN HENBVRY (a harp).
{R.: IN CLONMELL 1663 (A.H.)

{O.: RICHARD HAMERTON (Clonmel Arms).
{R.: OF CLONMEL 1664, (a fish).

{O.: JOHN FRYERS 1668 (a ship).
{R.: OF CLONMEL PEVTERER (ID.).

To escape the penalties set out in the proclamations the dates were omitted from the following :—

O.: RICHARD CARLETON OF (Clonmel Arms).
R.: CLONMELL MERCHANT (R.C. ID.).

O.: TEPERARY WILL (ID.).
R.: CHANGE THEM AGAN (R.C.).

O.: RICHARD HAMERTON (ID. a dolphin).
R.: OF CLONMELL, (Clonmel Arms).

O.: JOHN HARWOOD (three fleurs-de-lys, two and one).
R.: OF CLONMELL, M.A. (ID.).

O.: ANDREW ROBESON OF (Robinson Arms, three stags).
R.: CLONMEL HIS. ID. (a wool pack).

O.: MARTIN DIX CLONMELL (a dagger between a pierced mullet of [six points).
R.: IN TIPPERARY MUNSTER (a harp enclosed in circle).

From these and other indications as also from the pleadings of the Palatinate court, there is evidence that the period from the Cromwellian settlement to the Revolution was one of great prosperity in Clonmel. The fact that so many of our local gentry date their origin to the traders of that time, is conclusive. But the foundations of more lasting prosperity would have been laid had not the iniquitous policy of William III. crushed the woollen industry. In 1674 Sir Peter Pett a well-known economist of the day, addressed a memorial to the Duke of Ormond setting forth that the manufacture of worsted and coarse woollens for home consumption, would increase the profits of wool, give much employment to the poor and enhance the value of his Grace's estate. Accordingly Ormond entered into a treaty with one Edward Nelthorp, a Norwich manufacturer. Humphrey Hill was sent over to settle preliminaries and Captain Grant began negociations with Walloon refugee wool combers in Canterbury for their removal to Clonmel. Houses were to be assigned them for twenty-one years "without paying any rent save one piece of fine searge yearly," but Nelthorp complained that better terms were offered him elsewhere. Other troubles rose in unexpected quarters. Nelthorp wrote 22nd June, 1675, to George Mathew, Ormond's agent "His Grace tells me he has writt to you concerninge the opposition the Corporation of Clonmell gives Mr. Hill as alsoe how to prevent other little manufactoryes that may be sett up on purpose to destroy oures" *(a)*. Friezes were made for a time but the subsequent history of the industry is not known.

(a) Hist. MSS. 6 Rep. p. 713.

All this time that the new settlers were acquiring riches, purchasing land and founding families, the old natives of the town Whites, Barrons, Stritches, Brennocks, looked on with hungry eyes from their cabins in the Irishtown, the Old Bridge and the other suburbs. As their rights to trade freely in the town, and enjoy all other municipal franchises, were indisputable under the charter, the Corporation to exclude them adopted the illegal expedient of requiring all freemen to take the oath of supremacy.

At a Doyer Hundred Court held at the Tholsel of Clonmel 19 October 1668 . . . . John Rindon Butcher the same day took the Oath of supremacy and the Oath of a Freeman. . . . . .

4 Day of October 1669 Robert Hayman took the Oath of Supremacy and the oath of a Freeman of this Burough.

Against this they in common with the "ancient inhabitants" of Waterford, Wexford and Galway, repeatedly petitioned the King. At length a friendly viceroy, Lord Berkeley, was sent over and on 23rd March, 1672, proclamation was made of an Act of Council ordering that his Majesty's Irish Roman Catholic subjects, formerly inhabitants should be forthwith restored to their accustomed freedoms and be allowed to peaceably inhabit and trade as freely as they or their ancestors did and no distinction to be made on pretence of difference in religion *(b)*. The ferment which the proclamation created in Clonmel is graphically described in some correspondence preserved in the State Paper Office.

Wee the Irish natiues of this Corporation of Clonmell had just cause to honour his Maiesties proclamation of 26 ffebruary 1671[2] accompanied with the act of the Councell graunting vs libertye to be restored to our freedome and that without interruption wee beinge thereunto born by birthright. Seeing how carelessly the same was proclaimd by the bell man and read by a pitiful clerke without the Maior bailiffs or aldermen or any person of note or fashion which rejection made our hearts bleed yett wee poor Irish dared say nothing nor coulde wee obtaine leave to make bonfires or any show of triumph and it added to our grief to heare it said it would produce a second Rebellion. Amongst the rest Richard Moore that was a very poore glover but now is an esquier of 2000 li a year was heard to say 23 March the day it was proclaimed, that it was the King's ballett renderinge it soe insignificant and scorneful that it would move a loyall heart to knock him dead but that the law forbiddeth. Pray consider if anything can be made of these expressions. The words can be prooued home and a good deade it were to cheque the pride of these Cromwellian sectaries. I remember when their Monarch liued that any proclamation order or decree he passed and graunt he gave none durst oppose it or seem in the least dissatisfied. May God inspire their hearts to be true and faithful to our King but it rested in himselfe to make them more obedient else I belieue he shall neuer have their love. In making use of your freedom and access you will add to your glory to present this our grievance by way of petition or remonstrance that wee cannot have the benefit of the proclamation and Mr. Daniel Arthur has commission to advance whateuer expenses the same may cause *(c)*.

To these charges the Mayor replied in a letter to the Lord Lieutenant.

In pursuance of the late proclamation and the late rules for makeing freemen I have admitted and sworn severall natives of this corporation as freemen and in court

(b) Original in Gale's Corporate System of Ireland, cxlix.
(c) James Lee to Sir Edward Scott. State Papers, Domestic Chas. II., *sub ann*, P.R.O. London.

and else where declared my readiness all that could make out their rights therevnto either by antient records or by copies of their own parents former freedomes. Nevertheless John Power an inhabitaunt of this towne has applied with others very tumultuously in court demanding not only his freedom but to be admitted a burgess and yett obstinately refuseing to produce either copies of freedom or a record to make out his right though antient records have lately been seen in his possession which to the greate preiudice of the corporation he denies to show me so that by the advice of my Counsell I have forborne to admit him as freeman or burgess. Whereupon he has lately caused some scandalous papers to be penned reflecting very much on the reputation of our whole society and particularly the Mayor bailiffs and burgesses the authority of this Corporation *(d)*.

The reasons for withholding the records appear in an intercepted letter of Lee to Power. "Having being formerly a natiue inhabitant which I made appeare by an old record which I haue shown to some of the petty burgesses of this town but not to the Maior being very sure he would forceably keep it from me" *(e)*. Some twelve of the old natives obtained their freedom but in the meantime so great a clamour was raised in England over the admission of Catholics into the Corporations that Berkeley was recalled and Essex appointed Lord Lieutenant *(f)*. On the 23rd September following, the "New Rules" for the government of Corporations, were issued. These by subjecting municipal appointments to the control of the Lord Lieutenant and Council, and by imposing the oath of supremacy on all mayors, bailiffs, recorders, town clerks, treasurers, aldermen and burgesses, extinguished the charter rights of the old inhabitants and gave legal sanction to the Cromwellian Settlement of the towns. Two months later a bribe to apostacy was held out by the Corporation.

At a Councill held at the Tholsel of this Town of Clonmell on the 13th Day of November 1672. Quaere. Whether the Natives of this Towne as Merchants and other Tradesmen conforming themselves to the Rules of the printed Proclamation from the Lord Lieutenant and Councill bearinge Date the 23 Day of September 1672, shall be made free of this Corporation or not.

Carried on the Affirmative.

The history of Clonmel as of the rest of the kingdom, during the subsequent twenty years, is a record of politico religious turmoil. On the one hand the insecurity of the new settlers owing to the Catholic succession to the throne, their fierce Calvinistic religion, the stories of popish plots and massacres imported from England and circulated by such men as Orrery and Mount Alexander, created profound distrust and hatred. The Irish on the other hand, clamorous for restoration to their estates, showed neither good sense nor tact in a situation delicate and perilous in the extreme. Their

(d) Francis Hopkins, Mayor of Clonmel to Essex, Lord Lieutenant, Feb. 15th, 1673. Ibid.

(e) James Lee to John Power. Ibid.

(f) The following appear in the "Ministers Money" return for 1674. Henry White, James Moroney, Nicholas White, John Stritch, Ignatius Sall, Peter Rothe, Edward Laffan, Nicholas Barron, Edward Comerford, Walter Brennock, Thomas Ryan.

leaders Talbot and Nugent eager to dominate the army and (through the corporations) the parliament, helped in no small measure to raise the storm which eventually swept away the Stuart dynasty. The incidents of Clonmel life are characteristic of the time. On the fifth of November, 1672, the Mayor and Corporation went to church to commemorate the anniversary of the Gun Powder Plot. They were mobbed on their return and the mayor received rough handling *(g)*. The effects of the Titus Oates' explosion were also felt, for on 5th April, 1679, by proclamation from the Lord Lieutenant, the Catholic inhabitants were removed outside the walls of the town, except a few necessary merchants and artificers. This cruel measure was followed by one more cruel, because more lasting in its effects. In 1681 the first of the trade guilds, that of merchants, was formed; a few years later the guilds of the cordwainers and brewers. The three included in their scope all the commerce and handicrafts of the town. It was competent for the members, being Protestants, to impose any terms they pleased on Catholics, or indeed to say whether they should be permitted to trade at all. Yet the Cromwellians did not feel their ascendancy quite secure. The grand jury of the county palatine in 1682 refused a loyal address to Charles II. Ormond as lord of the palatinate and lord lieutenant took notice of the affair, and determined to bring to account Stephen Moore who had moved the rejection of the address. "I know not how farr Mr. Herbert's [Chief Justice of Tipperary] passion may have been the cause that an address was not unanimously agreed to at Clonmell but it will behove Mr. Moore to give some signall evidence that he repents the opposition he gave it, and is ready to make amends and it concearns my Lord Chief Justice to dispose him to it that he may not stand suspected to cajole the partie for feare or favour, and I know not what demonstration those can now make but by contriving and carrying on an address as plaine and full as any other county or corporation has presented" *(h)*. Nothing, however, appears to have been done, but four years later Moore emboldened by impunity used seditious language towards the new king. For this he was put on trial, and Tyrconnell, Lord Lieutenant, to secure conviction came to Clonmel in person. The Cromwellian jury refusing to convict, the affair assumed national importance *(i)*. But the event which stirred the town to its depths was the suit in the Court of Exchequer—*Attorney General* v. *The Corporation of Clonmel* in 1687. A judgment of "Ouster" was given as in the case of the other towns, on the grounds that the members were not duly

(g) Sir H. Ford to Earl of Arlington, 25th Nov., 1672. Essex to Arlington. State Papers Domestic Chas. II., P.R.O. London.

(h) Ormond to Arran, October 2nd, 1682.—Carte Papers L., p. 195.

(i) List of Jury in vol. xxxix., No. 27 of the Carte Papers. This is possibly the origin of the family fiction that Moore financed King William in the sum of £3000 which was never repaid.

elected, had violated the articles of incorporation and the like. Furthermore, a new charter (7 December 3, Jas. II., 1687) passed the great seal. It has been the fashion of partisan historians, such as Harris and King, to represent these proceedings as the confiscation of civic rights, and the filling of the corporations with the dregs of the papist population to the exclusion of the respectable Protestant inhabitants. The truth is that the new charters enlarged the powers of the local bodies and provided safeguards against their becoming what they subsequently did—mere pocket boroughs. The following were named in the charter to Clonmel as the governing body to come into existence 29th September, 1688:—

Mayor.

James Butler, Merchant.

Bailiffs.

Richard Dennison, Merchant.
Patrick Brennock, Merchant.

Aldermen.

Nicholas White, gent.
Richard Moore, gent.
John Bray, gent.
Joseph Comerford, gent.
Thomas Meade, gent.
Peter Root, mercht.
William Vaughan, mercht.
James Butler, jun., mercht.
Leonard Boyton, mercht.
John Hickey, Doctor in Medicine.
William Stanley, mercht.
George Collett, mercht.
Walter Brennock, apothecary.
Richard Whitehand, mercht.

Free Burgesses.

Thomas White.
Nicholas Barron.
James Moroney.
John Savage.
Gilbert Fryer.
Nicholas White.
John Stritch.
Thomas Donoghow.
John Greet.
Theobald Butler.
Richard Daniel.
George Sherlock.
Richard Bambrick.
William Quirke.
Francis Moroney.
Richard Betts.
Nicholas White fitz James.
Thomas White.
Thomas Craddock.
Laurence Brennock.
John Mead.
John Nevill.
John Moore.
John Meagher.
James Comerford.
James Long.
Dermot Daniell.
John Stritch, jun.

Recorder.
Sir Theobald Butler.

Town Clerk and Protonotary.
James Butler fitz James.

One bailiff, six aldermen and eight burgesses represented the non-Catholics in the new corporation. Of these George Collett, a quaker, and William Vaughan, a "sectary," were excluded as such from the former corporation, while the second alderman named, Richard Moore, had persistently opposed every concession to his Catholic townsmen.

On the evening of Thursday, 21st March, 1689, King James II. after a weary journey from Lismore reached Clonmel. A contemporary describes his progress. "All along the road the county came to meet his majesty with staunch loyalty, profound respect and tender love as if he had been an angel from heaven. All degrees of people and of both sexes were of the number, old and young. Orations of welcome being made to him at the entrance of each considerable town and the young rural maids weaving of dances before him as he travelled. In a word from Kinsale to Dublin the way was like a great fair, such crowds poured forth from their habitations to wait on his majesty" *(j)*. Events now moved rapidly. King James a week after his arrival in Dublin summoned a parliament of a kingdom only yet half subdued. Clonmel returned as its representatives Aldermen Nicholas White and John Bray, while among the other members for the county we find Butlers, Purcells, Everards and Tobins, all belonging to families that had gone through forty years of plunder and persecution. From a parliament so constituted neither deliberative discussion, nor political sagacity might be looked for. One of the first acts was a wholesale attainder of the Cromwellian settlers *(k)*. The following residents of Clonmel were named in the Act:—Hercules Beere merchant, Henry Charnley merchant, Andrew Coulter gentleman, John Green gentleman, John Ladyman gentleman, John Mead merchant, Hugh Radcliffe gentleman, Richard Piggott esquire, Phineas Ryall merchant, William Vaughan merchant, John Walkington, clerk *(l)*.

(j) A Light to the Blind. Ed. Gilbert, p. 46.

(k) The only justification that could be found for these measures was the resolve to secure the fruits of their victory. The Irish had fought for King James' brother for ten years in France, yet after the Restoration not one obtained as much land as would afford him a grave.

(l) The County Tipperary names in the Act of Attainder are Charles Alcock Powerstown, Jonathan Ashe Killoquick, Joseph Biggs Castlecoyne, Francis Biggs Kedragh, Lieutenant Bradstone Tipperary, Robert Boyle Killgrant, John Bright Shanrahan, John Briggs Castletown, John Buckworth Shanballyduff, Chidley Coote Armagh, John Castle Richardstown, Thomas Chimmicks Tullamayne, George Clarke Ballytarsney, George Clarke Shanrahan, George Clerke Tubberaheena, Richard Clutterbuck Derryluskan, John Darcy Cashel, James Dawson Tuam, John Doherty Cashel, Mary Davis Killoquick, John Evelyn Drangan, Anthony Erby Cashel, Robert Foulkes Baptistgrange,

On the principle of dividing the bear's skin before killing him, a further act was passed repealing the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, and redistributing the land to the former Irish owners. These measures while adding little to the strength of James' party in Ireland, enlisted against him all the forces of national hatred. His cause before stood for Catholic monarchy against Protestant republicanism, now it became the narrower and more passionate issue, Ireland against England.

During the period 1689-1690 while several of the Protestant inhabitants of Clonmel fled in apprehension, there appears to be no evidence of the abuse of power by the Catholics. The levies for the support of King James' armies, and the legalized plunder by debased currency pressed equally on both parties, but some relief was afforded by the reduction of the garrison in order to swell the army in the north. When, however, in the early days of July, 1690, news was brought that James was defeated at the Boyne, that Dublin had fallen and William was rapidly marching southwards, it was proposed to burn the town lest it should afford him shelter. Story, King William's chaplain, gives some particulars.

Sunday July 20 1690. Encamped at a place called Rossed Narrow upon the estate of one Mr. Read [six miles from Kilkenny] where the King had news that the enemy had quitted Clonmel whither Count Schomberg marched with a body of Horse. This is one of the strongest towns in Ireland and cost Oliver Cromwell at least 2000 men in taking it; the Irish made some pretensions to hold it now; in order to which they levelled all the suburbs and hedges but all they did was to make the inhabitants pay them £300 to save the town from being burnt or plundered; it stands upon the river Sure in a pleasant and fruitful country *(m)*.

Another clergyman in the train of William, Rev. Roland Davis, supplies further information.

Capt. Henry Fox Lackymore, Richard Tanner Aghlevallane, Francis Fookes Ballycarron, Nicholas Fowler Ballintotty, Sankey Godfrey Knockfallrey, William Godfrey Knockgraffon, Samuel Green Ballynonty, Christmas Gwin Graige, James Harrison Cloughjordan, Isaac Haynes Knocknaroe, John Hill Borris, John Hoyle, Glenahelly Samuel Hughes Cashel, James Jones Tipperary, John Leake Knockgraffon, John Lehunt Cashel, John Launer Killusty, Edward Legg Ballinderry, George Lehunt Ballinure, Stephen Moore Hore Abbey, Thomas Moore Carrigansheeragh, Thomas Meredith Ballycahill, Thomas Moody Kilcaroon, Ann Parnell Killusty, Michael Parker Killosalla, John Page Loughkent, John Perry Kilmaloge, John Pyke Woodenstown, Henry Pretty Killboy, Joseph Ruthorne Poulakerry, Molyneux Robinson Cashel, Gregory Roe Killeheen, John Sadleir Ballintemple, Richard Sadleir Ardfinnan, John Seed Tullagh, Thomas Shapcott Loughkent, Arthur Taylor Noane, Margaret Walkden Ardmaile, Thomas Valentine Killoan, Purefoy Wanoick Ballysheedy, William Watts Drangan, Humphrey Wray Ballycallan, John White Ardfinnan, Elizabeth Ward Keile.

(m) War in Ireland, Story, p. 109. The army of King James had not a monoply of plunder. "Some of King William's regiments in Munster lay as heavy on the country as the enemy could do; of which Fethard in the county of Tipperary afforded a melancholy instance, the day before the battle of Aughrim; which the army being about to leave swept clean off everything not sparing even the parson's books and sermons; and the loss that little town sustained was computed to amount to £2000 in money, plate and goods. But (adds my author) their damage was soon after repaired by a contribution from several regiments concerned." Harris' King William, p. 324.

We marched from Kells [Co. Kilkenny] to the mills near Clonmel with four pieces of cannon in the van. As we passed by the mountain above Kilcash we saw two small parties of the enemy hovering on the mountain and supposed to have a design on our baggage (*n*).

The Williamites nevertheless entered the town unmolested, the gates being open and the garrison fled. Davis supplies an unconscious climax to this sort of warfare. "21st I went to Clonmel to visit Mr. Thomas Moore with whom I dined and spent most of the day." But with the defeat before Limerick and the brilliant coup of Sarsfield, the campaign entered on a new phase. William was compelled to return to Clonmel on 30th August to arrange for winter quarters and a renewal of the war the following year. The command of the army was entrusted to Count Solmes and General Ginckle, and the civil government to Lords Justices Sydney and Conningsby. The defences of Clonmel had been neglected since the Cromwellian period. In 1666 Orrery reported—"In the town and citadel no guns mounted nor any scaffolds to fire over the walls of the citadel." William, who left nothing to chance, gave instructions regarding them. "The fortification of such places as Cashel and Clonmel where the troops will be for the winter should above all things be advanced; these places should be well provisioned both for horses and men" *(o)*. Nor were these precautions needless, for a fortnight later Solmes wrote to the King: "The rapparees the day before yesterday attacked our provisions and artillery between Clonmel and Carrick and everything had to be sent back to the former place for safety" *(p)*. During the winter there were other troubles. On December 10th, Ginckle wrote from Kilkenny: "The governor of Clonmells letter tells me that his garrison is in great distress; in two batallions there are 250 sick and 25 died in four days, and they are beginning to desert" *(q)*. The war continued to drag on for another year when the Irish gained a diplomatic victory by the treaty of Limerick, guaranteeing them such civil rights as they had enjoyed in the reign of Charles II. How the terms were kept in the case of Clonmel will appear in the following chapter.

(n) Diary of Rev. Roland Davies, Camden Society.
(o) Memoire pour mon Cousin Solmes. King William, Waterford, September 2nd.
(p) Solmes to William, Tipperary, September 14th.
(q) Lord De Ros Papers, Hist. MSS. Commission, p. 321.

CHAPTER VIII.

CLONMEL IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

"I WAS once" wrote Swift in 1700 "in your county, Tipperary, which is like the rest of the whole kingdom, a bare face of nature, without houses or plantations; filthy cabins, miserable, tattered, half starved creatures, scarce in human shape; one insolent ignorant oppressive squire to be found in twenty miles riding; a parish church to be found in a summer day's journey, in comparison of which an English farmer's barn is a cathedral; a bog of fifteen miles round; every meadow a slough and every hill a mixture of rock, heath and marsh; and every male and female from the farmer inclusive to the day labourer, infallibly a thief and consequently a beggar which in this island are terms convertible. There is not an acre of land in Ireland turned to half its advantage; yet it is better improved than the people; and all these evils are effects of English tyranny; so your sons and grandchildren will find to their sorrow" *(r)*. The *saeva indignatio* of the Dean has somewhat darkened the shadows, but the picture in its broad outlines is a true one. The clearing of the woods forty years before had left the county "a bare face of nature." The bogs were still undrained, while much of the land was brought into cultivation only at a period long subsequent. Enclosures there were none; four townlands for example, close to Clonmel,—Caherclough, Lisronagh, Garranearla and Killmore in all 1400 acres, were in 1702 divided neither by dyke nor hedgerow *(s)*. The roads, mere bridal paths, were in the same condition as when St. Patrick had passed over them. The mansions which dignify the landscape had then no existence; there is not (with probably one exception)

(r) Swift to Rev. Mr. Brandreth. Swift's Earlier Life, Rev. J. Barrett, London 1808.
(s) Ormond, fee farm grant 1702.

on the soil of Tipperary a house of two storeys which dates from the period 1640-1740. Nor is Swift's portrait of the "ignorant, insolent, oppressive squires" overdrawn. The sons for the most part of puritan tradesfolk, they retained all the self-exaltation and the narrowness with none of the sprituality of their fathers. They were placed in the midst of a people who hated them; they were vexed by the daily sight of the old owners "coshering" among their tenantry and could not, if they would, render beneficent service or kindly charity *(t)*. Farming after the manner of the time huge sheep walks, they were compelled to live in the country, removed from every source of enlightenment and culture. In the event the Irish gentry, fox-hunting, duelling and debauched, earned for themselves an evil pre-eminence even in the age when the saying "as drunk as a lord" passed current.

If the standard of social life was low, that of public life was still lower. Nowhere was the dictum of Horace Walpole—"every man has his price" better understood. The government of the country by the English ministry was carried on by wholesale bribery. Parliament as a deliberative assembly simply ceased to exist. Lasting for the life of the king and practically irresponsible, it became a mart for the sale of votes. Accordingly the great object of ambition to the county squire was a seat in the Commons, and elections were contested with a bitterness and an unscrupulousness of which one can have little conception in our times. When the squire obtained a preponderating influence in a borough, or ultimately as "patron" nominated the member himself, he was then in a position to command office and pensions for his sons, advantageous alliances for his daughters, and at the end of no long vista lay a peerage for himself. Across the preamble of the patents of the eighteenth century nobility in Ireland might be written the words "parliamentary corruption" *(u)*. The process by which Clonmel was converted into a pocket borough, the several steps by which the family of a Devonshire tradesman ascended into a peerage without military services or civic distinction, deserve careful notice.

Owing to the conditions under which the Cromwellian corporation was established, the ancient qualifications for freedom, viz. birth, apprenticeship,

(t) "I know that lasiness is commonly objected to the Irish and is made the ground of their povertie. I own that there are some whose ancestors had great estates and lost them in the several rebellions; now the posterity of these men commonly preserve with care their genealogies and still reckon themselves gents and look on it as the greatest debasement in the world to work or exercise any trade; they live therefore either by robbing or on their Clans who still pay them respect and maintain them after a sort." (Taxation of Ireland 1716, Historical MSS. Commission, 6 Rep.) Sixty years later the descendants of these "Tories" went about, their ancient title deeds carried in a handkerchief in their hats; Arthur Young saw them as common labourers making wills in which they bequeathed large estates.

(u) For example—The ancestor of the late Viscount Lismore obtained control of the boroughs of Fethard and Enniscorthy. In due sequence a marriage with the Ponsonbys, the great parliamentary managers, followed, and the Lismore peerage.

and marriage, were ignored, and the Council, the Mayor, or a body of citizens called the D'Ouir Hundred Jury exercised *mero motu* the power to admit freemen. Further, the number of the new settlers being small, the precedent was early established of conferring the freedom, with its various municipal and parliamentary privileges, on persons who had no connection with the town whether by trade or residence. The opportunities thus afforded for intrigue are obvious, and they were soon availed of. As early as 1681 a by-law was made restricting the Mayor's and the Council's nominees to persons of the rank of esquire *(v)*. But as esquires abounded, two further acts were passed—one on 7th February, 1693, the other, 4th September, 1704—prohibiting the Mayor from conferring the freedom independently of the Council and the D'Ouir Hundred, under a penalty of £40 for each person sworn. Prohibitions and penalties notwithstanding, freemen continued to be made with a view to the hustings.

At a Generall Assembly of the Town and Borough of Clonmell at the Tholsel thereof, before the Mayor, Bailiffs, ffree Burgesses and Commons of the said Borough, the 5th Day of June 1713.

Whereas we find it prejudicial to the Revenues and publick Interest of the said Borough that the Mayor of the said Borough should make any Person residing without the Liberties of the said Borough free thereof.

We therefore present that it be ordered, enacted and consented by the said Mayor, Bailiffs, ffree Burgesses, and Commons aforesaid that the present Mayor of the said Borough or any other Person that shall hereafter be Mayor thereof, shall not admit or swear any Person whatsoever free of this Borough without the unanimous consent of the Common Council thereof or the greater part of them, and the Doyer Hundred Jury if then sitting, or the greater part of them; and that if the present Mayor or any Person who shall be Mayor of the said Borough, shall admit or swear any person or persons whatsoever free as aforesaid contrary to the true Intent of this Act, that then such Mayor shall pay to the Chamberlain of the said Borough for the use of the said Mayor, Bailiffs, free Burgesses and Commons, the sum of £40 sterling for each person so sworn.

We also present that every succeeding Person who is to be admitted and sworn Mayor shall, before he takes the usual Oaths, take one other Oath to observe this and all other Bye Laws made for the good government of this Borough provided they are not repugnant to the Laws of the Land.

Nor did this put a stop to the creation of faggot voters; three years subsequent the D'Ouir Hundred Jury found it necessary to make a presentment.

Wee find and desire that no person not living in Town be either admitted or sworn free of this Corporation.

At this period the citizens at large, had a considerable share in the government of the town. The mayor and other officials were elected by a

(v) At a Council held for the Corporation of Clonmell on the 3rd Day of October 1681. Ordered that no Person or Persons under the Degree of an Esquire be made free of this Town for the future unless by Service or a Doyer Hundred Jury upon Pain of each Mayor swearing any such Person to forfeit fifty Pounds sterling to the use of the corporation for each such offence, and the same to be leavied by way of Distress.

majority of the freemen and council assembled together in common. The corporate estate was administered by the D'Ouir Hundred Court consisting of the mayor, bailiffs and a jury of fifteen citizens, held for that purpose twice a year *(w)*. Moreover there was a strong local party led by Robert Hamerton, grandson of Richard the settler of Cromwell's time. Deriving under the Radcliffs a valuable interest in the burgagery lands, Hamerton, besides a house at Ballyneale, had a stately mansion close to the east gate where the Town Hall now stands. Here he rallied the resident freemen, and announced promiscuous hospitality by an inscription over the vestibule.

WELCOME ALL
TO HAMERTON HALL.

Such was the position of affairs when Stephen Moore "the Colonel," was installed mayor, 29th September, 1724. As a parliamentary candidate he had already attracted much attention, and his skill with the pistol was notorious. In 1719 he had contested Fethard with Counsellor Slattery, Lord Cahir's agent. Slattery though unseated on petition was subsequently elected for Blessington. The feud was renewed and on Sunday, 13th November, 1726, Moore and Slattery fought on the Green with sword and pistol. The result may still be read on a tomb within the ruined church of Kilgrant.

HERE LYES Y^{E} BODY OF JOHN SLATTERIE CO[UNSELLOR]
AT LAW, A MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT WHO WAS KILLED
BY STEPHEN MOOR Y^{E} 13 N^{R} 1726.

Daring and unscrupulous, Moore by interest or menace, obtained a majority in the town council by means of which he set about converting Clonmel into a pocket borough for the advantage of his family. It had been customary for the mayor on entering office to summon the D'Ouir Hundred Jury to take cognizance of the corporate estate and present persons for freedom. No jury was called, and in vain were petitions presented reminding the mayor of the by-law :—

"Ville de Clonmellensis—At a Council held the 29 day of November 1700. Ordered That the Doyer Hundred Jury be kept twice a year."

On the 21st January, 1725, Robert FitzGerald, Recorder of Clonmel, died. Moore nominated for the office Thomas Marlay, Solicitor General. As the election was by the freemen at large, Moore forthwith made forty-three of

(w) "The Oath of the Doyer Hundred Jurors. You shall swear that you shall well and truly enquire into all and singular the Revenues of this Corporation and to all other the Lands Tenements Rents and Arrears of Rents and all Debts and Fines belonging to the same as shall be given you in charge and of the same true Presentment make to the best of your knowledge."

his friends free, two only of whom were resident in the town. The bailiffs refused to swear Moore's nominees as ineligible, but Richard Going, the town clerk, at Moore's request administered the oath and Marlay was duly certified to the Lord Lieutenant as Recorder of Clonmel. Robert Marshall, however, the rival candidate, petitioned against the return, and the election was set aside. Moore, nothing daunted, held a council meeting a week later at which he created no fewer than forty-nine additional freemen of whom a solitary individual only, was resident in the town. The following 24th June saw two rival mayors elected. Moore certified to the election of James Going, Mayor, Bartholomew Labart and James Castell, Bailiffs; the town party returned Robert Hamerton, Mayor, Jeremiah Morgan and Richard Whitehand, Bailiffs. On the hearing of the case before the Privy Council it appeared that exclusive of his own nominees only sixty-five freemen voted for Moore's candidates, while the opposition numbered one hundred and forty. Hamerton was approved of, but the affair did not end here. At a council meeting held in October

It appeared at the Generall Assembly that on the 29 of September last, Stephen Moore Esqr. then Mayor of this Corporation, was required according to the usuall custom to appear in the Tholsell to swear the said Robert Hamerton, Mayor, Jerome Morgan and Richard Whitehand, Bayliffs, pursuant to the said election and approbation, which he absolutely refused to doe and hath ever since withheld and retained the Regalia or Ensigns of Mayoralty belonging to this Corporation and the books of the same, but hath done no Act as Mayor.

The case was now carried to the King's Bench, and a judgment of 'Ouster' obtained against Hamerton on the ground that he was not one of the three persons nominated by the council, according to ancient usage, for the office of mayor. But two years later, in the parliamentary election, consequent on the death of George I. the Moores suffered a signal defeat. Guy Moore and Stephen Moore obtained 169 and 161 votes respectively against 136 votes recorded for Robert Hamerton and 133 for Robert Marshall. On petition to the Commons, the Moores were unseated, as the ninety-two freemen made by Stephen Moore during his mayoralty "had not been presented by the Doyer Hundred Jury and were only to serve a family interest." Some curious glimpses into electioneering methods are afforded by a petition of Sir Thomas Prendergast against the return of Guy Moore in 1733. Hayman, Moore's agent, promised John Flahavan publican to have £50 spent in his house and "his bills would not be looked into." James Kearney was ordered by the Colonel, to keep an open house for the Moore party. Alderman William Thompson of Waterford, was promised the mayoralty of that city by Messrs. Christmas and Marshall on condition he voted for Prendergast. He was intercepted however in Carrick by Ambrose

Congreve on behalf of Moore, who "lent" him £50. On the day of the election Marshall had Charles Atkins arrested for debt, but the bailiff released him in order to vote for Moore.

For the thirty years 1724-1754 the struggle continued with varying fortunes. The local freemen ignoring the Moore corporation, regularly elected an opposition mayor, and certified his election to the Lord Lieutenant. Many of these certificates endorsed "not approved" may still be seen at the Record Office. In one dated 1736, and signed by George Mathew, Robert Marshall, Jeremiah Morgan, Thomas Christmas, George Lester, Thomas Jones and others appears the curious *morceau.*

"The persons who have severally exercised the office of Mayor of the said Corporation in order to support themselves in the usurpation of the said office, have contracted great debts and affixed the Corporate Seale to Bonds for securing the same, and have made freehold leases and other leases for long terms of years of the lands belonging to the said Corporation, reserving a very inconsiderable rent and receiving large fines, and have actually mortgaged or threaten to mortgage, the whole revenue of the said Corporation."

Sometimes however, they succeeded in the law courts in ousting the Moore mayor. In 1731 by judgment of the King's Bench, James Castell was ousted. The Moore party appealed to the corresponding court at Westminster, but the English court upheld the decision. A writ of error to reverse the judgment was subsequently brought into parliament but was never prosecuted.

Through some unexplained accident the opposition in 1747, obtained a majority in the council and elected Jeremiah Morgan, goldsmith, as mayor. The 19th April, 1748, a meeting of the burgesses and freemen was called at the Tholsel. The Moore freemen being mostly non-resident the local party carried the following by-laws.

Be it enacted and ordained that no person shall be capable of being elected or to be elected into the office of a free burgess of the said town or borough of Clonmel, who shall not have been an inhabitant of the said town or borough, and actually resident within the same, at least 12 calendar months next, preceding such election and also subject to the payment of the taxes and impositions charged and chargeable on the said town and borough.

Be it enacted and ordained that no person or persons, shall be capable of being elected into the respective offices of Mayor or Bailiff of the said town or borough of Clonmel, who shall not respectively have been an inhabitant and inhabitants of the said town and borough at the time of his or their election, and respectively been actually resident within the said town and borough at least twelve calendar months next preceding such election, and also subject to the payment of taxes and impositions charged and chargeable on the said town and borough.

Be it enacted and ordained that to avoid popular confusion, all elections of mayor, bailiffs, free burgesses and freemen shall hereafter be made by the twenty free burgesses of the said town and borough of Clonmel and ten select freemen, or by the majority of them, and that no other person or member of the said Corporation shall be capable of giving or have a right to give, any vote or suffrage in any such election and Be it further

enacted and ordained that the ten select freemen shall be William Bagwell Esq. Thomas Morgan Esq. William Rial, gent. Theobald Manderville, gent. Hercules Morgan Goldsmith, Alexander Castell, gent. Richard Thomas, Peruke maker, Thomas Bagwell, merchant, Edward Parsons, stay maker, and William Dixon merchant, and the said ten select freemen are hereby constituted and appointed to be, with the said twenty free burgesses, persons capable of consenting to and voting in all elections of mayor, bailiffs free burgesses and commonalty or freemen, and to continue such select freemen during their good behaviour. And be it further enacted that upon the death or amotion of any of the said free burgesses or select freemen, the remaining free burgesses and select freemen or a majority of them, shall within twenty-one days next after, proceed to the election of free burgesses or select freemen or of a free burgess or select freeman as the case shall be, giving such notice of the election of a select freeman or freemen as by law they are required to give of the election of a free burgess, and so as often as the case shall happen. And be it forthwith enacted and ordained that no person shall be capable of being elected a select freeman who has not been an inhabitant and actually resident in the said town or borough for at least twelve calendar months next preceding such election, and subject to the payment of all taxes and impositions charged and chargeable on the said town or borough any bye law to the contrary notwithstanding.

Then the Roll of the mayor, bailiffs free burgesses and commonalty being called over the above bye laws were carried in the affirmative by a great majority.

But the Moore party had no intention of submitting to these by-laws. On the election of the succeeding mayor, 24th June, 1748, they mustered in force. Morgan, who was in a minority of eight to eleven in the council, declared Robert Shaw elected by a majority of the select freemen. The other party nominated Thomas Luther and succeeded in obtaining a judgment of "ouster" against Shaw on the grounds of his Non-conformity *(x)*. The following year, however, Richard Going, the Moore nominee, was ousted in turn, and Morgan became mayor for a second term. The former by-laws were now defined and extended.

At an Assembly of the mayor, bailiffs, free burgesses and commonalty of the Town and Borough of Clonmel, held in the Courthouse the 21 day of December 1750, it was enacted and ordained among other things, as follows.

Whereas on the 19th day of April 1748, the right, trust, franchise and privilege of electing a mayor, bailiffs, free burgesses and commons was by an ordinance and bye law then duly enacted, vested in twenty free burgesses and ten select freemen exclusive of the whole body corporate and every particular part and member thereof, which bye laws have been found extremely beneficial and advantageous by abolishing and virtually destroying a usage before that time claimed by the common council of nominating three persons to be in election for mayor, and four or six to be in election for bailiffs annually, which usage had occasioned very great disputes and contests and had endangered the dissolution of the corporation. And Whereas many other powers, trusts, rights, franchises privileges and authorities particularly as well of electing a chamberlain and town clerk, and also of presenting to the Church and Living of the parish of Clonmel, and of joining in the appointment of a schoolmaster, as of amoving and disfranchising the mayor, bailiffs, free burgesses and commonalty and the ministerial officers and

(x) The prostitution of religion to party purposes throughout this period is well exemplified in the case of Shaw. At the hearing of the case (Clonmel Assizes, 29th August, 1749) he met his opponents by showing that within the three statutory months of his installation as mayor he had at the church of Rathronan immediately after divine service and sermon received the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the usage of the Church of Ireland. Also at the Quarter Sessions of the Peace for Co. Tipperary between 9 and 12 a.m. he took the several oaths required by the Act to Prevent the further Growth of Popery.

servants of the Corporation for just and reasonable cause, are, and each of them is either by charter or by individual power vested in the whole corporate body, the assembling of which corporate body on the occasions aforesaid may be attended with the danger of popular confusion and tumult for prevention whereof Be it enacted and ordained,

That all powers, trusts, rights franchises privileges and authorities and each and every of them which are by charter or incidentally vested in the whole body politick shall from henceforth for ever hereafter be used exercised enjoyed and executed by the twenty free burgesses and ten select freemen exclusive of every other part or parts member or members of the said corporation, who shall not in any sort interfere or intermeddle in the use, exercise, enjoyment or execution of any of the rights now or heretofore vested in the said free burgesses and select freemen, or do any act or acts relative thereto, or give any vote or suffrage whatsoever relating to the execution of them or any of them, any act, ordinance, byelaws, usage or claim to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

For the next two years the new legislation was tacitly accepted, and in 1753 William Kellet was elected mayor in accordance therewith. In April, 1754, a vacancy was created in the borough by the promotion of Robert Marshall to a judgeship of Common Pleas. On the announcement of Guy Moore as candidate, Kellet at once threw in his weight with the Moores and summoned a meeting to repeal the by-laws passed in 1748-50. As strong opposition from the resident freemen was anticipated, he made out a Freemen's Roll of his own "without any regard," says a contemporary, "to the freemen on the books." The by-laws were repealed and a new law passed which deprived the commonalty of every right they possessed, and transferred the whole powers of the corporation at large to the common council alone.

"Whereas the common Council of the corporation by constant usage, have elected freemen and accepted the resignation of officers and members thereof, and in general have transacted all business of the whole community, and have exercised that right till the intervention by some late irregular and illegal proceedings; And Whereas it will tend greatly to the peace and quiet of the corporation and prevent tumult and popular confusion, that the rights of the common council should be declared and established. Be it enacted and ordained that all public business of or concerning the corporation, shall be transacted and ordered by the common council of the said town and borough, and that the said common council shall have power and are hereby empowered to elect freemen to accept resignations of officers and members of the said corporation, and to do all corporate acts for the benefit and advantage of the said town or borough."

Two days later, 12th June, 1754, the mayor and council created twenty four new freemen for the purpose of the election. But a strong rival candidate was found in William Bagwell, the son of a prosperous local merchant. A petition against Moore's return was lodged with the House of Commons. Opposing council fought for weeks together and incidentally discussed the local history of the preceding half century. At length on a vote, 106 members were for Moore, 106 for Bagwell, and the speaker by a casting vote declared Bagwell elected 20th October, 1755. It was however the last

struggle for municipal freedom. Within two years Bagwell died, Guy Moore succeeded and henceforward the Moore supremacy in Clonmel was unchallenged. In a report on the "State of Borough Representation" 1783, appears the following summary, "Clonmel, a large and populous town; electors a mayor, recorder, town clerk, nineteen burgesses and seventy-two freemen mostly non-residents. Patrons, Lord Mountcashel and some of the Moores" *(y)*. What this patronage meant may be gathered from a letter of Mountcashel to one of his creatures, Thomas Power, of "Moore Park," Clonmel.

Dublin May 8th 1792. I am leaving here this morning to go to County Roscommon to pay Lord Kingston a visit, and fear I will not *(sic)* return in time to go to Clonmel 24 June. So you had better take out the Corporation Book. I have however spoken to my brother who will be there then to tell all the burgesses that I wish you to be elected mayor for the ensuing year.

The lord had then barely attained his majority. At nineteen he had represented Clonmel in parliament. He was surpassed however in legislative capacity by his brother who became member for the town on his eighteenth birthday. In the preamble of the Moore patent of nobility, the services of the family to King William are enlarged on. But the valuable consideration is no where set forth that they had two proprietary seats for disposal to the English minister *(z)*.

The corporation of Clonmel as a free institution, had now ceased to exist, a few meetings in the year being held to register the decrees of the Mountcashel family. Unlike however, other patrons, it must be set down to their credit that they did not enrich themselves with the municipal property. During the eighteenth century there is evidence that that property was administered upon the whole honestly and in the public interest. While the D'Ouir Hundred Juries were regularly summoned, the rental was scrutinized, defaulters ordered to be proceeded against, and various recommendations as to leases and the like, made *(aa)*. The following are some of the presentments.

[1710] We present that the Mountain Commons of Clonmell be putt to a Publick Court to the hiest bider before the 12th of March next and to be sett for a tearme not exceeding 31 years and that there may be care taken that the freemen of Clonmell may have their auntient libertyes of graesing, cutting turf and other commonadge as formerly.

We present that there may be Butts Raisd in severall convenient places to preserve the bounds and meares of the said commons, and that they may be kept in repaire by the lesser tenant.

(y) Life of Grattan III., 484.

(z) Authorities for foregoing, "Magistrates Elections, Clonmel" 1700-1800, P.R.O. Journal of Irish House of Commons. Clonmel Corporation Minute Book 1725 *penes* Captain Lindsay. Municipal and Family Papers.

(aa) The rental of the corporate estate for 1710 as appears from the presentment for that year was £184 8s. 0d.

[1714] Mr Hercules Beere [chamberlain] in account returns himself in arrears for the key and bridge and his holdings on the mountain, two and one-half years ending 25 March 1714, £91 6. Whereas he has tendered unto us an Account for which he expects an Allowance wherein we obsearve severall charges for the freemens goods and others, and whereas the not settling and adjusting the same with him is a very great Loss and Detriment to this Corporation, we therefore present that the Maior and Councell doe fortwith take proper methods to adjust and settle the said Mr. Beere's accounts by arbitration or otherwise, so that the Corporation may hereafter know what allowance the said Mr. Beere is Intitled vnto out of his rents upon account of his Demands.

Wee present that a lease be made to Capt. Thomas Batty of Stritches Island for 61 years from the 25 March next at the present rent.

Wee present that a lease be made to Tho. Tuthall Maior of the peece of ground behinde his house which he recovered att his own cost, which ground was out of possession from the corporation 16 years, for 61 years from 25 March next at the present rent.

Whereas Hugh Moore an antient freeman is deprived of his sight and is returned in arrears to this Corporation wee present that not only the arrears be forgiven him but that alsoe no rent be demanded him till he recover his sight.

We present that Mr. Tho. Tothall shall pay no rent for the two ends of the bridge he not enjoying the same, nor for the three quarter of an acre but since the time he hath enjoyed the same.

[1716] We finde and present that there is a list of arrears returned us and that due by solvent persons which are amounting to the sum of nine pounds three shillings and eleven pence which we desire to be fortwith leavyed by distress or otherwise in order to pay what debt is due by the Corporation.

[1724] We find and present that some lands and severall pieces of ground belonginge to this Corporation are vnsett viz. a piece of ground neere two mile bridge formerly tenanted by Coll. Hamerton and land neere Spaw well commonly called the wood that them (*sic*) with the rest may be putt to Cant (*bb*).

Some years later wholesale charges were made of misappropriating the corporate estate, but the evidence is not now forthcoming. There are indeed two transactions of a questionable character. In 1741 the mountain and the greater part of the commons were leased to John Lackey, M.D., at the yearly rent of £60 18s. 6d. for lives renewable for ever. Again in 1774 a fee farm grant of 23 acres at Newtown Anner was made to Sir William Osborne, the rent reserved being 5s. 7d. an acre.

If the corporation took care of their estate they do not seem to have fulfilled any other functions. The condition of the town in point of sanitation was infamous. The householders swept the street in front of their houses at their discretion, the corporation being merely concerned in keeping clear the open sewer which ran along the middle of the street, making its way somehow to the river. Nor was this sewer regularly cleared. In 1716 the D'Ouir Hundred Jury reported :—

Wee finde and present that the scavanger hath neglected his duty for the time past in not carrying off the dirt according to his contract, wee desire that he may for the future be obliged to carry off the same twice a week.

(bb) Presentments, etc., P.R.O.

In 1724 the jury had still to complain.

Wee finde and present that Mr. William Ottenbury be a fitt person to be scavinger to the west parte of this town alsoe Mr. Archibald Owens for the east parte and that their salleryes be not paid them till their performance be approved of by the Councell.

The following gives another picturesque view of old Clonmel :—

[1724] Wee finde and present that John Evans bell man for being Remiss in his office, for not taking care to keepe the streets free from Strange Beggars and from Piggs and particularly for his neglect of takeing care of the Key and Court house for which he receives salleryes undeservedly, wee therefore present that his sallery may be stopt till he improves his Diligence.

Again in 1750 :—

Whereas the Inhabitants of the towne of Clonmel labour under great Evills and Inconveniencies not only from the filth, sudds and Excrements frequently thrown into the streets of this town by leasy and nasty persons, and by the Inhabitants frequently neglecting to sweep before their doors when publick Notice is for that purpose given but also from the great number of Piggs permitted to wander about the said streets to the greate annoyance of the Inhabitants, for prevention whereof be it Enacted and Ordained that if any person or persons whosoever, shall from hence forth throw or leave or cause to be thrown or left, in any of the Streets, Lanes, or Passages of this Town any Sudds, ffilth, Ashes, or Excrements or shall neglect to sweep before their doors in the usual manner after reasonable notice given for that purpose, or shall keepe their Piggs in the streets or permit them to wander therein after due notice given hereof by the Bellman, that every such offender shall for such or any of the above offences forfeit any sum not exceeding fiue shillings to be adjudged by the Mayor of the town for the time being according to the nature of such offence, such forfeiture to be recovered in a summary way by taking summons before the Mayor for the time being and to be disposed off to the Poor of the parish of Clonmel aforesaid any By law or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.

At this period the streets afforded strange smells but equally strange sights and sounds. The shoemaker worked *al fresco*, while the pewterer from his booth made the air ring with sonorous activity. One of the most characteristic street scenes was removed by Act of the Council, 17th April, 1748.

Whereas it has been found by experience, that the exposing of butchers meat to sale in the High street of the said Town of Clonmel is offensive not only to the Inhabitants but to Strangers passing through the said town, and the butchers blocks in the said street are an obstruction to passengers and sometimes an occasion of mischief. To prevent which the Common Council of the said town and borough, encouraged John Power Esq. deceased to erect shambles in the said town in a convenient place and since his decease, the said Common Council of the said town have encouraged Elizabeth the widow and relict of the said John Power to proceed in the said undertaking, which shambles are completely finished at the expense of the said Elizabeth Power, and twenty seven stalls for Butchers Inhabitants are contrived within the said shambles and ten stalls for Butchers Strangers are erected without the said shambles but adjoining thereunto, for which the said several stalls the said Elizabeth Power hath agreed to accept of 17s and 4d yearly being 4d by the week to be paid weekly for each and every stall which is a reasonable and low price for them. To the end therefore that the

Butchers of the said town and borough as well Inhabitants as Strangers, may be obliged to resort to the said shambles and not elsewhere within the said town, which will be a means to preserve order and decency in the streets of the said town and give the mayor of the said town and borough a fairer opportunity of seeing and examining whether the butchers meat designed for the food of the inhabitants be sound and wholesome and dressed in such a manner as the law directs. Be it enacted, etc., every Butcher offending shall forfeit the sum of twenty shillings sterling for the use of the poor of the parish of the said town of Clonmel, to be paid by the chamberlain into the hands of the minister and churchwardens of said parish.

A destructive fire which occurred in 1765 throws further light on corporate ways. The Ryalls opened at their bank a fund to provide the town with a fire engine *(cc)*. The share taken by the Corporation in the business appears in an entry of the following year.

Ordered that four pounds be allowd to the person that shall attend the fire engine belonging to this Corporation, the person to be appointed by the Mayor Bailiffs and Burgesses the Rev. Jos. Moore and as many of the subscribers as please to attend.

How the duties of lighting and paving were fulfilled may be gathered from the proceedings of the House of Commons, 26th February, 1766, when a clause was inserted in a bill to enable (among others) the *vestry* of Clonmel to raise money upon the inhabitants for paving, gravelling or cleaning the streets and lanes, and for fixing up lamps to enlighten (*sic*) such streets and lanes. Under the spur probably of this threatened legislation, the corporation on the following 24th June made a grant of £7 13s. for a new pavement in Bridge Lane, then the most frequented thoroughfare in the town. Henceforward the minute books record the sporadic attempts of the corporation to fulfil one of their elementary duties.

29 September 1768. Ordered that the Bridges, Quay, and Streets of Clonmel be immediately repaired, and that Mr. Hayman do undertake the same, and that if the same be not done to the satisfaction of the Burgesses and Council of this Corporation that the same is to be at the expense of the said repairs and that the Mayor and Baylives of this Corporation be the Judges thereof.

The lighting of the town, however, was undertaken by the vestry. The following—one of many similar entries—appears in the minutes of St. Mary's vestry.

[1783] Ordered that £50 be laid out on the parish and applotted for lighting the lamps for the growing yeare, Only upon such persons as inhabit within the town and suburbs thereof as far as the lamps extend. Messrs. John Bagwell and Edward Howell were appointed to make such applotment.

The corporation in truth had no money for paving or lighting; the balances, after liberal salaries to the officials, were devoted to junketing.

(cc) Dec. 12. "Gave Phineas Riall towards the Fire Engine 3 guineas. Gave Rev. Jos. Moore charity to help the poor whose goods were burnt 5 guineas—William Perry."

Disburst for the Corporation of Clonmell at Bally McAdam June the 5th, 1704.

Ingredients for the Punch	01	3	0
Pd for Beefe	00	6	9
Two quarters of Mutton	00	2	8
Two doz of Chickens	00	2	4
Fireing	00	1	11
Corks	00	0	3
Salt pepper flour Butter	00	0	11
Tobacco and Pipes	00	3	0
Four bottles lost or broke	00	0	8
Pd woman for dressing meat and turning spitt	00	1	6
Bread	00	5	0
For R Bonds horse, ffletchers horse Robert Masons horse Drumers horse	00	6	0
For the Drumer for his former and present service	00	4	0
Four bottles Cyder	00	3	0
Sword Bearers Horse	00	1	6
To the Meares man Tho Moore	00	1	6
To ffran Mullowney and Walter Strapp	00	6	0
	3£	10	0

Ville de Clonmel } By John Wilson Esq Maior of Clonmell.

You are hereby Impowered & authorized to pay vnto Mr Henry Cleere the above sume of Three pounds Tenn Shillings being for the above uses.

Given under my hand and Seale of Mayoralty this 11th of July 1704.

JOHN WILSON MAYOR.

To Mr Her: Beere Chamberlaine of the said Towne.

One department of municipal work deserves notice—the defence of the town. Throughout the first half of the eighteenth century the Whig party lived in constant apprehension of a Jacobite invasion. Their minds were haunted by visions of Popish massacres, old Irish landowners, brass money and French despotism. The corporation of Clonmel took care that the followers of the Pretender should not surprise the town. The Protestant apprentices had saved Derry so also they were the mainstay here.

[1710] We present that Stanley Cranwell, William Cranwell, John Poynts, Stopkeys, William Smith, John Gibs, John Cowly be sworn free of this corporation. We present that the above named persons may each of them give a muskett into the armory of the town such as served their tyme in Towne.

The arrival of the Chevalier Charles Stuart in Scotland realized the worst fears of the Hanoverians. Clonmel however was forearmed. At a meeting of the corporation, 1st January, 1745, it was

"Ordered, In consequence of the rebellion of the Popish Pretender that there be immediately an inspection made into all the walls castles, gates and fortifications of this town in order immediately to fortify and repair the same and put the same in a position of defence at the expense of the Corporation and that they do forthwith report the same to this Council that the Corporation may immediately lay in a sufficient fund for carrying on the said work with all speed and that the Mayor as soon as such estimate be given in, do immediately call a Council for this purpose."

Though the population increased steadily from 1700 onward, the trade of Clonmel remained merely local. The country around was still a prairie. Joseph Barrett, at Abbey, John Perry, Knocklofty, Stephen Moore, Chancellorstown, John Carleton, Darlinghill, John Bagwell, Kilmore, and several others, occupied upwards of a thousand acres each. In 1699 for example. Benjamin Vaughan held the lands of Ballyboe, Ballinvoher, Ballyvaughan, Killurney, Ballyknockan, Cloughcorrigeen, Ballyglasheen and others, his stock numbering between 3,000 and 4,000 sheep. Of cattle there were only 18 cows and 18 plough bullocks. Though the staple product, wool, declined in value from 14s. 6d. a stone in 1700 to 6s. in 1728, the huge grazing farms still obtained, the sheep walks being partly turned to pastures for black cattle. John Carleton, of Darlinghill, died in 1730. His executors' accounts show 5,130 sheep, valued at £2,320; 147 rams, £427; and 535 head of black cattle, £1,188 *(dd)*. Enormous though these figures are, the cattle ranches of Tipperary in 1776, as described by Young, dwarf them into insignificance.

Farms are generally large commonly 3 or 4000 acres and rise up to 10,000 of which quantity there is one farm, this is Mr. Macarthy's of Spring House near Tipperary and is I suppose the most considerable one in the world. Here are some of the particulars of it.

9,000 acres in all—£10,000 rent—8,000 sheep—2,000 lambs—530 bullocks—80 fat cows—£20,000 value of stock—200 yearlings—200 two-year olds—200 three-year olds—80 plough bullocks—180 horses, mares, and foals—150 to 200 labourers—200 acres tillage *(ee)*.

I had heard much of the late Mr. Keating's farm of Garrinlea as the largest that ever was; his son gave me the following particulars of it.

£10,000 a year rent, 13,800 Irish acres, 3,000 head of black cattle, 16,300 sheep, 300 horses, 500 couple of ducks, 300 turkies, 90 hogsheads of cyder a year. He had most of the ground from Golden to Clonmel *(ff)*.

Owing to the sparsity of population the condition of the working classes throughout this period, compares favourably upon the whole with the state of things revealed a century later by the Commission of 1834. A working man's wages in the neighbourhood of Clonmel in 1700 was 5d. a day, an artizan's being 11d.; a bushel of wheat cost 3s. 3d., of peas 3s., a barrel of oats 2s., a

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(dd) For a notice of Vaughan see "A Tipperary Farmer and Waterford Trader of Two Centuries Ago." Waterford Archæological Journal VIII., 32. Executors' accounts, Robert Marshall, John Perry and Richard Clutterbook, M.S.

(ee) "Sept. 20, 1775. I have spent some days most agreeably at Mr. Macarty's of Springhouse where hospitality was displayed in its best manner, divested of those qualities which of old tarnished the lustre of that virtue in Ireland. There was no constraint in the article of wine nor indeed in any other. There was as much ease as in the house of an English Duke. This ancient family have seen much of the world. The eldest daughter is married to a colonel in the [German] Imperial service, who is also an officer of state at court. The eldest son whom I met at the assembly is an officer in the same service and Miss Macarty is but lately returned from visiting her sister. Here we were at meals even on Sunday regaled with the bag-pipe which to my uncultivated ear is not an instrument so unpleasant as the lovers of Italian music represent it."—Philosophical Survey of South of Ireland. Campbell, Dublin, 1776, p. 141.

(ff) Tour in Ireland, 1776-9. Arthur Young I., pp. 390-1.

chicken 1d., a lamb 1s., a ewe 2s., a wether 4s., a fat cow 22s *(gg)*. But employment was not constant, and wages were rarely paid in cash. The grazier allotted a plot of land for potatoes and grass for the cow—at this time every labourer being possessed of one cow or sometimes more. In seasons when the potato crop partly failed there was acute distress, verging occasionally on famine. The years 1708, 1709, 1727 and the three following ones, so great was the scarcity, it was proposed to make a certain proportion of tillage compulsory by law, that the population should not be absolutely dependent on the potato. Of the awful famine of 1739-1740 no local details are obtainable beyond the fact that a subscription list for the relief of the poor was opened in Clonmel. Some measure of the scourge is afforded by an occurrence of the year 1741. In the autumn of that year the people banded themselves together to prevent the corn grown in the country, such as it was, being exported. They stopped the boats at Carrick. The military escort of horse and foot fired on the crowd. Five were killed, eighteen wounded, and a proclamation was issued by the Lords Justices offering a large reward for the apprehension of those who escaped. In 1755 the potato crop again failing, the poor were reduced to terrible straits during the winter and following spring. They asked for bread and received a—bullet.

Clonmel 12 May 1756.

Sir—As there have been lately severall Riotts and Tumults committed in this town in the night time by at least Two or Three hundred persons or Mobb under pretence of stopping of corn from being taken out of Town and have broake open severall houses and windows and took away severall Baggs of Oat Meal and God knows what may be the consequences if not prevented and as the Civill force cannot be able to quell such Riotters if they are suffered to go on without the aid of the Military Power I thought it my duty to acquaint you hereof in order that you may Lay the same before His Grace the Lord Lieut and Privy Council of this Kingdom that they may doe therein what in their great wisdom they may think convenient.

I am Sir your most humble servt,

John Hayman Mayor *(hh)*.

But apart from periodical famine, the state of the labourers and working people generally, grew worse as the century advanced. The disproportion between wages and prices steadily increased. In 1762 in the district of Clonmel a labourer had 5d. a day, a mason, carpenter, and slater 13d., a cooper 15d., a harness maker 18d. On the other hand wheat was 11d. a stone, potatoes 3s. 3d. a barrel, oats 8s. a barrel, a load of turf 13d., a barrel of coal 3s., a yard of frieze 13d., a yard of flannel 8½d. Occasionally prices were higher still; in 1766 for example a barrel of potatoes cost 7s. 7d., and a

(gg) Commonplace Book of Benjamin Vaughan, *pencs* Captain Vaughan Arbuckle.
(hh) Mayor of Clonmel to Chief Secretary, Civil Corresp., Miscell. C. 23, No. 1287, P.R.O.

stone of wheat 14d. But this is not all; the cottier being paid not in money but by the truck system, i.e., a patch for potatoes and grass for his cow, these were set at the highest grazier's estimate. Now as a wether in 1766 was value for 18s. 6d., a three year old bullock £5 8s., and a fat bullock £6 5s., the cabin and garden were let at £3, and the grass £2 yearly *(ii)*.

The result is described in a letter of a visitor to Tipperary in September 1775. "The manner in which the poor of this country live I cannot help calling beastly. For upon the same floor and frequently without any partition are lodged the husband and wife, the multitudinous brood of children, all huddled together upon straw or rushes with the cow, the calf, the pig and the horse, if they are rich enough to have one" *(jj)*. The middle class farmer and the moderate capitalist scarcely existed; the country being divided between the grazing monopolists on the one hand and the semi-pauper population on the other. As neither of these were calculable factors in trade and commerce, Clonmel at the time was as somnolent as a backwood settlement. One had often to send out of town for a pound of green tea or Bohea. "Ratteens," friezes or coarse linen might be bought from John Ferris or Ely Blackmore, but when William Perry desired to adorn himself peacock-like in his broad-cloth coat, velvet vest, doeskin breeches and three corner gold lace hat, a special journey to Cork had to be made. In the town which half a century later, saw the magnificent cabinet work of Graham, it was hardly possible to procure a chair. Timber and other building materials

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(ii) Perry Papers, c.f. Arthur Young, Tour I., pp. 36-40. While the bulk of the population were becoming poorer, it is curious to note the graziers passing into the ranks of the gentry. During the period 1760-1800 parks were enclosed and planted, and mansions built at Knocklofty, Woodroff, Barne, Marlfield, Kilmore, Newtown Anner, etc. William Perry—to take an example—succeeded to Woodroff estate in 1759 on the death of his uncle. In earlier life he had been in trade in Cork with his father Samuel, as exporter of tallow and ox guts. Bringing his mercantile training to the management of his estate, he kept a set of letter-books, ledgers, and petty cash books. Between the years 1760-1764 he erected the house. Bricks were burned locally at a cost of 4/- per 1000 "common," and 7/6 "stock." Culm was bought at 2/- a barrel, and lime cost 2½d. a barrel, slates 12/- per 1000. Four marble mantel pieces bought from Colles of Kilkenny £15. 'Fourpenny' nails 2/6 per 1000, 'Twopenny' nails, 10/10, a stock lock 3/3, a padlock 2/8½. There were 10 hearths in the house for which a yearly tax of 2/- each was paid. The furniture was made by John Walsh of Waterford. "Chinese side board Table £4-11, 'Chinese card Table £2-5-6, 10 chairs £9, 'Coope with 2 tops with casters £1-2-9. The dinner service was procured from Liverpool "2 large Square Dishes 10/-, 2 Dishes 5/-, 2 great middle dishes 4/-, 4 main middle dishes 6/-, 4 dozen superfine plates £1-4, 3 sallet bowles 6/-, 1 large drainer 2/6. A barrell of coal cost 3/-. Tallow was sent to Dunville of Clonmel who made it into candles at the rate of 1d. per lb. and soap at ½d. More instructive however are the wardrobe items; gray 'ratteen' cost 3/- a yard, linnen 2/4, ruffles £1-5-3, cloth for coat 20/- a yard, velvet for vest 12/-, gold lace for hat cost 17/4, pair of shoes 6/6, of buckles for ditto 4/8½, of stockings 6/-, of gloves 5/5, a pair of 'britches' £1-6, a 'bagg wigg' 18/6, a 'cutt wigg 11/4½. Scarcely less curious are the prices paid for the cellar and pantry stock, Rump and sirloin 2½ per lb, butter 25/6 per cwt., cheese 2½ per lb, a salmon 1/10, a pair of turkeys 10d, hive of honey 10/-, green tea 12/- per lb., Bohea tea 6/6, powdered sugar 10½d, 'double refined' loaf sugar 15d., salt 5/- per stone, tobacco 1/- a pound, malt 10/- per barrel, wine £17 per hogshead, whiskey 10d per quart, brandy 17d. From other accounts we learn that the county cess for Iffa and Offa East at the Spring assizes 1762 was 8/11¼ per 100 acres, the vestry charges for New Chapel and Derrygrath parishes 6/5 and 6/8¾ per 100 acres respectively.

(jj) Philosophical Survey of South of Ireland, Campbell, Dublin, 1776.

were supplied by Messrs. Penrose of Waterford, though one William Bagwell carried on business in a small way on the quay *(kk)*. Such was Clonmel in the middle of the eighteenth century. But two events happened about this time which gave it a new life, multiplied its population four-fold, and won for it an honoured place in the empire of commerce.

The first of these was the improvement in the navigation of the Suir. In 1755 some traders of Clonmel, local gentry, and a few merchants of Waterford petitioned the Irish House of Commons, pointing out that the deepening of the river for navigation, would not only enrich the counties adjacent but be of considerable benefit to the nation at large.

The present produce of the county of Tipperary consists of black cattle, sheep, butter, rape seed, and corn of most kinds; the butter is sent from Clonmel by boat to Waterford where it is exported; the corn is carried partly to the same port by water and partly to Cork by land carriage; some of the rape seed is much used by the oil mills of the country but a great part is usually carried to Waterford for exportation to Holland. The carriage of those commodities from Clonmel is at present attended with great expense and many difficulties upon account of rocks which in some places run across the river at one of which the water falls several feet so that the boats often strike thereon and receive great damage, sometimes even sink and the goods lost; and in other parts by large stones, banks of grass and the like which so far obstruct the river that the boats cannot carry especially in summer time above one third of the burthen that the water would allow them were all those obstacles removed. The usual expense of hauling a boat formerly from Carrick to Clonmel was from twelve shillings to one pound but of late the men who are employed in that work by repeated combinations have advanced their wages to such a degree that it frequently amounts to forty shillings exclusive of boatmen's wages which are sixteen shillings the trip. If those rocks were blown up the large banks of gravel taken away and a regular channel made with a small gravel road on one side of the river, as granted by Act of Parliament, for horses to draw instead of men, the expense will be reduced to about one third of what was at present required and then a boat instead of being two days upon her passage from Carrick may be brought up in six or eight hours. The freight of goods from Waterford to Clonmel which is from six shillings and eight pence to ten shillings the ton will then be reduced to three or four shillings at most; and butter which pays in summer time six pence per cask will then be carried for less than two pence. Among the many advantages that will accrue to the nation by this improvement of inland navigation that of tillage will be the most considerable the corn of the county Tipperary being esteemed a good deal better than what is produced in many other parts of the kingdom, then wheat will be carried from Clonmel to Waterford in covered boats at small expense and thence shipped to Dublin, Cork or other parts of the kingdom and the Tipperary farmers' produce who paid from 2s. 6d. to 3s. 6d. a barrel for the large quantities they send to Cork will then be carried for one half which will tend greatly to the encouragement of tillage in this country. We therefore pray your House to take the said navigation into consideration and to do therein as to you shall seem meet.

The following year, 1756, a parliamentary grant of £1,500 was passed for "making the river Shure navigable from Carrick on Shure to Clonmell."

(kk) This was not William M.P. in 1756 but an "odious approximation" as Charles Lamb would say. He was tenant to William Perry who writes 21st May, 1766 to Mr. John Lawton of Cork "Our uncle Bagwell just now spoke to me to know if I could lend him 150£ which he wants to complete his building in Clonmell. I should be much better pleased to let him have it than most I know as he has a very pritty thing now in Clonmell worth I believe 7 or 800£ and is the most punctuall man that can be in paying me his rent."

But like most of the undertakings of the time, the money seems, in great part at least, to have found its way into other channels than the river. In 1761 a committee of the Commons consisting of Sir William Osborne, John Bagwell and others, was appointed to report on the work, to ascertain what portion of the funds was unapplied, and in whose hands these funds were. At length, five years later, the channel was sufficiently deepened and the rocks removed to permit the free passage of boats of ten tons. A quarter of a century subsequent, the matter became again urgent. On February 15th, 1790, the corporation of Clonmel together with the traders and manufacturers petitioned the Commons.

> The town of Clonmel for a considerable time past has been growing in commerce and manufactures, and if encouraged is likely to become a place of extensive trade; its situation on the banks of the Suir a large navigable river in the heart of a most fertile country, has essentially contributed to render the said town a very eligible mart for all kinds of grain, which are purchased and sent from thence to Dublin by the Grand Canal and coastways, also to a variety of foreign markets both in a manufactured and unmanufactured state, and in such great abundance, that the said town and its environs may without any exaggeration be considered one of the greatest, if not the best corn market in the kingdom from which not only Clonmel and the county of Tipperary but the neighbouring counties and the kingdom in general derive material advantage; the tow path or trackway of the said river which is absolutely necessary for the purpose of navigation has been by floods and various causes rendered nearly impassable in many places for the horses to haul up the boats. Your suppliants therefore humbly pray that the Grand Jury of the County of Tipperary may be enabled to present from time to time such sums as shall appear necessary for the improvement of the said tow path or track way (*ll*).

Nothing, however, was done until the following year, when on a similar petition the Solicitor General and Stephen Moore were ordered to prepare a bill to empower grand juries to make presentments for the purpose.

The other event which contributed to the prosperity of the town was the foundation of the milling industry, intimately connected as it was, with the breaking up of the cattle ranches and the introduction of tillage. In 1757 Edmund Sexten Perry, afterwards Speaker of the Irish Commons, carried through a Bill which granted bounties on the land carriage of corn to Dublin. For every five hundred-weight of flour brought to that market, a premium of three pence per mile (deducting the first ten miles) was granted; for every five hundred of wheat and barley, three halfpence, and of oats one penny. Whatever may be thought of the economic soundness of this measure, its effects on the agriculture of the country were important and wide-spread. In 1759 there were brought to Dublin from Co. Tipperary 1,103 quarters of corn and meal, the bounty earned being £276 4s. 4d., but there is no mention

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(ll) Parliamentary Records, P.R.O.

of flour. Seven years later we find 1,502 cwts. of flour from Tipperary, sent for the most part from the mills of Dalton and Coughlan of Carrick, and Doherty of Moorstown. In 1769 the earliest of the local millers appears in the Dublin market—William Ryan of Abbey, who sent 45 cwt. This year, however, was nearing completion at Marlfield a mill on a scale that had never been seen before. Stephen Moore seems to have inherited all the energy and enterprise of his great-grandfather, Richard of the Commonwealth period. His career—banker, grazier, miller, agriculturist—stands out in sharp contrast with those of the squalid squires of Tipperary at the time. Arthur Young who visited Marlfield in 1776 gives the following details :—

His mill was built seven years ago and cost £15000; the wages of the millers including candles, coals, soap tallow, etc £700 or £800 a year; it contains nine stones for wheat and four for oatmeal; it has a very complete apparatus for sifting, cleaning etc. and granaries of uncommon magnitude holding 10000 barrels; began to be worked with only 3,000 barrels of wheat in a year, which has risen gradually to 20,000 barrels in 1776 a very strong proof of the great increase of tillage in the neighbourhood. Very much of it is between Clonmel and Cashel, in which tract there was formerly more sheep in one parish than now in three; also much in the Cork road to Clogheen but no mountain heath ground improved. The change has been from sheep to bullocks. He has a prospect of doing yet more and at the same time other mills have been erected that grind much, perhaps the whole is not short of 40,000 barrels. The farmers do not bring their wheat from a greater distance than sixteen miles. Mr. Moore finds it necessary to kiln-dry all. I mentioned to him the bad colour of all the wheat in his own and every other mill in Ireland; he attributed it only to wet harvests. He sends his flour to Dublin on the bounty, which rather more than pays the expense of carriage 6d. per cwt. Never exports on his own account but sends a little to Waterford. It goes to Dublin in cars which take each eight to ten cwt. that is from four to five bags. He used to pay 3s. a cwt. in winter and 3s. 6d. in summer for 84 miles but now the price is 2s. 6d. in summer and 3s. in winter. Mr. Moore tried English broad wheeled wagons with high priced strong horses but they did not answer at all: he has found the cars to carry much greater loads.

Mr. Moore contracts for biscuit, which he bakes in large quantities and bread for the whole town of Clonmell. He has eight ovens going for biscuit. Starch he also makes large quantities of. Adjoining his flour mill he has erected a rape mill for making oil; the seed is all raised in the neighbourhood. The cake sells at 48s. a ton and is exported, some to Holland but most to England for manure (*mm*).

From the 24th June, 1771, to 24th June, 1772, Moore sent to Dublin 13,842 cwts. of flour, receiving a bounty of £2,838 15s. 4d.; the following year the quantity was 13,207, and the bounty £2,705 8s. 11d. The slight decrease was probably due to the Quaker opposition. In that year John Grubb opened the Anner Mills, sending to Dublin 5,428 cwts., the bounty paid being £1,094 15s. 11d. After some keen competition, a working arrangement was come to between Moore and Grubb. An imaginary line was drawn through the Main Guard, north and south. All farmers west of this line had perforce

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(mm) Tour in Ireland I., pp. 395-6. Unfortunately, it may be added, Moore a few years subsequent met the fate which often befalls over-speculation, the bankruptcy court.

to sell their corn to Moore, all east, to Grubb *(nn)*. On the collapse of Moore some years later, the milling trade was largely monopolized by the Quakers. About 1778 a member of that body, Simmons Sparrow, the son of a local baker, who had owned a modest mill at Tubberaheena, opened the huge Suir Island mills, and soon occupied the premier position *(oo)*. He was followed in the same locality by the firm of Robert Grubb & Co. In November, 1781, Edward Collins obtained a lease from the corporation of the old corporation mill on Little Island, and erected thereon new mills at a cost of £12,000. He had previously taken over the Marlfield mills from the assigns of Stephen Moore *(pp)*. Three years later, in 1784, Thomas Morton exchanged his trade of distiller for that of corn miller, and took the Manor mills from James Keyes on a lease for lives renewable, at a rent of nearly £100 a year. About the same period John Bagwell purchased the lease of Marlfield, and carried on extensive corn milling and biscuit making there. Within the next thirty years a network of corn mills was spread over the country until every river was dammed and every mountain stream pent up *(qq)*. When in 1797 it was proposed to abolish the system of bounties, the milling industry was so firmly established, that it stood in no need of public subsidies. "The principal millers," said Lord Clare, "in the neighbourhood of Clonmell, a part of the kingdom from which there is a considerable influx of corn to the city, do not complain of the bill; on the contrary many have declared that they will not suffer any loss from it" *(rr)*.

Besides flour milling there were at this period a number of minor industries. In 1785 Clonmel counted fourteen manufacturers of tobacco who paid to the revenue for that year 2d. per 5 lbs. on 16,499 lbs., and 8d. per 5 lbs. on 5,931 lbs. The tanning of leather had also been carried on for a considerable time by the enterprising quakers, Peter Banfield, Thomas and Samuel Rigg. The woollen manufacture was inconsiderable. "The poor

(nn) Information *penes* Mr. B. Clibborn, a descendant of Grubb.

(oo) He built Oaklands house, and was succeeded by his son Richard, who died in 1810.

(pp) Flour sent to Dublin by land carriage from 24th June, 1781, to 24th June, 1782. Anner, John Grubb, 4,534 cwts., bounty £566 15s. Clonmel, Simmons Sparrow, 6,527 cwts., £869 12s. 4d. Clonmel, Robert Grubb & Co., 1,318 cwts., £174 10s. 8d. Marlfield, Edward Collins, 6,234 cwts., £831 2s.

(qq) It was not without much searching of heart the landowners saw the sheep and black cattle disappear, and the pastures broken by the plough. As a preliminary the farms had to be sub-divided. "I did not expect after what you were pleased to express to me last Feb. that you would have cottierd out my Grounds in the manner you have which must be attended with constant disagreeable matter to me. I therefore shall insist on the covenants in the lease being performed."—W. Perry to Maurice Lonergan, 5th April, 1780. "In consequence of Liberty given me by Wm. Perry Esq. to plough a field of 8 or 9 acres of the lands of Newcastle which by his lease to the late Joseph Cooke was reserved from being ploughed under a certain Penalty I do hereby engage to manure the said field with Roach Lime at the rate of 100 barrels to each and every acre at the least and that after three crops have been taken off I will lay down the same for grass or in default I will pay the Penalty specified. 15 March 1787, Thomas Kearney."—Perry Papers.

(rr) Annals of Agriculture xxix., p. 157.

Catholicks in the South of Ireland," notes the observant Young, "spin wool very generally but the purchasers of their labour and the whole worsted trade is in the hands of the Quakers of Clonmel, Carrick, etc." *(ss)*. These exported the wool in yarn to Bristol or Norwich, and after paying freight, landing duties and the rest, reaped a handsome profit, having had the wool spun at the living wage of two pence a day *(tt)*. An industry which dates from this period and which after many vicissitudes still exists, is brewing. During the eighteenth century people made their own beer as well as baked their own bread, and among the household expenditure will be found items for the purchase of hops and the malting of barley *(uu)*. Tea was still a luxury only obtainable by the wealthy, and instead milk, small beer and cider were drunk. In 1785 there were in Clonmel 128 maltsters, the number of malt houses being 191. The following year the first malt tax was levied in Ireland, 1d. per bushel, with the result that the consumption of beer declined and spirits increased. A considerable amount of whiskey was distilled by Thomas Morton, James Daniel, David Malcomson and others, and sold at the price of 3s. 4d. a gallon, the duty being only 1s. 4¼d. The state of the brewing industry may be conjectured from such advertisements in the local newspapers as "Just landed at Michael Luther's Stores on the Quay, Clonmel, 150 Tierces best London porter which he will sell at Waterford prices free of charges, 17 March 1792" *(vv)*. During the years 1791-1794 the decline in brewing and the excessive use of low-priced spirituous liquors, were much discussed in the Irish parliament, and at length a resolution was come to withdrawing the tax on beer. The effects were immediately felt. The following year, 1795, the firm of Thomas and Samuel Morton began the erection of the brewery and stores in Morton Street (long known as Brewery Lane) on a scale equal to the Cork and Dublin breweries. They were followed three years later by Messrs. Greer and Murphy in Dowd's Lane and Nelson Street, where the industry carried on by the representatives of the family, still flourishes after the lapse of a century.

Many of the Clonmel business folk at this period accumulated considerable fortunes, and their families passed into the ranks of the county gentry and thus became permanently associated with the locality. The following, being the earliest list of the traders of the town, may be therefore of sufficient interest for insertion here.

(ss) Tour II., p. 65.

(tt) Ibid I., p. 299. In June, 1763, William Perry of Woodroff sold John Ferris of Clonmel 1001½ stones of wool at 11s. per stone, the amount being £550 16s. 6d.

(uu) 1766 Ap. 4—Pd. the miller at Abbey for grinding 2½ bar malt before and 2 now 3s. 4d. Oct. 3—Pd. Jos. Kendrick for 3 lb. hops at 2s. 8d.—8s.—Perry Papers.

(vv) Clonmel Gazette.

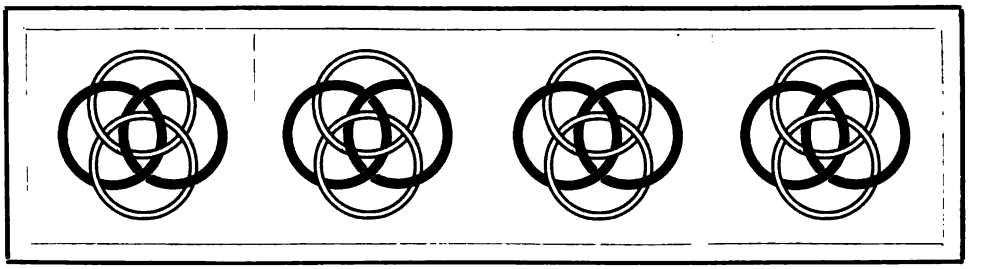
DIRECTORY OF CLONMELL, 1787 *(ww)*.

Bankers, William & Phineas Riall, their hours of attendance from 10 to 2 o'clock. Their holidays Christmas Easter and Whitsun holidays only.
Bagwell John Esq, proprietor of the Mills at Marlfield and Corn Merchant.
Baldwin James Esq proprietor of the rape mills near Clonmel.
Behilly Thomas, grocer, Main Street.
Bell Henry dealer in Spirits, Hawk Street.
Boardman Hannah, clothier and worsted manufacturer, Irishtown.
Bradford Joseph, Cutler Main Street.
Brennock Bartholomew, chandler & soap boiler, Main St.
Brown Catherine, Mercer, Main St.
Bryan Denis, Glover hosier, Main St.
Butler John Hardware Merchant, Main St.
Cantwell Thomas, victualler & tanner Irishtown.
Carey Rev. Richard, free school Church lane.
Carey William, leather Cutter Main St.
Castell John, Tanner Main St.
Chaytor Thomas, Boarding School Barrack St.
Close Richard; Linen & Woollen-draper & proprietor of bleach-green Main St.
Cole George, Attorney at law Church-lane.
Collett Francis, Sadler Hawke St.
„ John, Grocer & tanner Main St.
„ Benjamin. druggist & apothecary Main St.
„ Stephen, Sadlier cap & whip maker „
„ Robert, „ Main St.
Collins Edward, Printer & Wine Merchant Barrack St.
Commin Philip, Merchant dealer in hardware & ironmonger Main St.
Commin Richard, Woollen draper Main St.
Constable Robert, Surgeon & apothecary Barrack St.
Corbett Mary, Grocer Main St.
Craven J, Baker „
Crotty John Woollen draper Irish Town.
Daniel James, Clotheir Abbey St.
„ John, Shoemaker & leather cutter Main St.
Davis Samuel, Clotheir Main St.
„ Richard, „ Powerstown near Clonmel.
„ Simon, Shoe maker Hawk St.
Denmead Adam & Henry, ironmonger white Smith & Auctioneers, Hawk St.
Dillon Walter, Leather cutter Main St.
Dudley & Mason, Hardware merchants Main St.
„ Jonathan, M.D. Barrack St.
„ Robert, Miller & Corn Merchant Suir Mills.
Dumville Henry, Soap boiler & Chandlier Main St.
„ John, Grocer & Spirit Merchant Watergate St.
„ James, Soap boiler & Chandlier Main St.
Dunn Philip, Coach maker Hawk St.
Dunn Thomas, turner „
Dwyer Edmund, distiller Suir Island.
„ „ Confectioner Main St.
„ William, Dealer in Spirits Hawk St.
English Edmond, Attorney at Law & Notary Public Watergate St.
Fell Richard, Painter & Glazier Main St.
Fennessy Thomas, Nursery & Seedsman Irish town.
Fitzpatrick Richard, Brewer Irish town.

(ww) Small 8vo., the imprint unfortunately wanting, *penes* J. E. Grubb, Esq., Carrick-on-Suir.

Fitzgerald Richard, Grocer Main St.
Flood Michael, Apothecary ,,
Godwin Eliza, Boarding School Meeting House Lane.
Going Stephen, Chandlier Irish town.
Gordon Thomas, Merchant Brewer tanner Suir Island.
Gorman William, Grocer Main St.
Green George, M.D. ,,
Gregory Robert, White Smith Irish town.
Grubb Joseph, Merchant & Clothier Barrack St.
,, Samuel, Butter & Corn Merchant Main St.
,, John & Joseph, Grocers Main St.
,, Thos. & Samuel, Millers & Corn Merchants Suir Island.
,, Grubb & Beeby, Clothiers & Merchants Main St.
,, Sarah, Miller & Corn dealer Anner Mills.
,, George, Clothier Hawk St.
Hackett Valentine, Baker Bridge Lane.
Harris Richard, M.D. Obstich Professor Barrack St.
Harvey John, Sadler Hawk St.
,, Theophilus, Boot & Shoe Maker Hawk St.
Hayman Rebecca, Grocer Main St.
,, Samuel, Attorney at law & Notary Public Church Lane.
Hayden Thomas, tanner Irishtown
Hickman Wray, Clothier Abbey St.
Hill John, Silver Smith Barrack St.
Hines Francis, Pewterer & Brass founder Main St.
Holliday Mary, Milliner Main St.
Hope Thomas, Slater Hawk St.
Howell Edward & John, Millers & Corn Merchants Corporations Mills Suir Island.
,, Edward, Sadler, Main St.
Hynes Peter, Boot & Shoe maker Main St.
Jones Richard, Clothier & tanner Suir Island.
Kearney Michael, Ironmonger Main St.
,, Elinor, Grocer Main St.
,, Andrew, Baker ,,
,, Catherine, Grocer ,,
Keating Walter, Grocer Ironmonger Main St.
,, John, Baker Hawke St.
Kelly Wm, Linen & Woollen draper Main St.
Kendrick Joseph, Grocer Main St.
Kelly John, Spirit merchant & porter room Main St.
Kennedy Ralph, Sadler & Cap Maker Main St.
Keily Patrick, tanner Irish town.
Keily John, Linen draper Main St.
,, Jeremiah, Soap Boiler & chandlier Main St.
Kingdom Wm, Clothier Hawke St.
Leary Ann, Boot & Shoe maker Main St.
Lee Arthur, Surveyor of excise Church Lane.
Legg John, Boot & Shoe maker Hawke St.
Lester George & Richard, Painters & Glaziers Hawke St.
Lewis Michael, Sadlier & bridle cutter Main St.
Lloyd Mary, Mercer Main St.
Lonergan Stephen, Grocer ,,
Lowe Philip, Vintner Bear Inn Main St.
Lord Thomas, Printer Market St.
Lucas Thomas, Surgeon & Apothecary Barrack St.
McCheane Jeremiah, Weigh master & Butter merchant quay.
,, Mary, Grocer Irishtown.
McKenna Edmond, Wine Merchant Main St.

Malone James, Woollen Draper & tobacco-nist Main St.
Morgan Philip, Gun Maker Main St.
Morton Thomas, distiller Barrack St.
„ James, Miller & Corn Merchant Bridge.
Murphy John, Soap Boiler & tobacconists Main St.
„ Bridget, Linen draper haberdasher Main St.
„ Thomas, Grocer Main St.
„ Francis, Boot & Shoe maker Main St.
Neagle Patrick, Surgeon Main St.
O'Neill Cornelius, Grocer & linen draper Main St.
Pearson William, Attorney at law Barrack Street.
Pedder Benjamin, Clothier & dyer Main St.
Phelan James, Linen & Woollen draper Main St.
Quin John, hardware Barrack St.
Rigg Samuel, tanner Irishtown.
Rivers Richard, Merchant Brewer and tanner Main St.
Rodolphus Rumbold, Auctioneer Church Lane.
Ryan Widon & Son, Vintners Globe Inn and livery stables East gate.
Ryan Cavan, linen draper Main Street.
Ryan Eliza, linen draper Main street.
Sargent Richard, clothier Irishtown.
Shaw Thomas, woolen draper timber merchant and postmaster office Main Street.
Shaw Moses, grocer Bridge Lane.
Sparrow Simmons, corn merchant Suir Island.
Stockdale and Malcomson, linen drapers and grocers, Main Street.
Taylor John, hosier and linen draper Main Street
Taylor Thomas, corn merchant Irishtown.
Taylor Samuel, Baker and grocer Main Street.
Taylor William, woolen draper and Taylor Irishtown.
Thompson William, goldsmith and watchmaker Barrack Street.
Thompson John, leather cutter Irishtown.
Vaughan John, Staffordshire warehouse Watergate St.
Villers Robert, grocer Main Street.
Wallace John, clerk and receiver of customs and excise office Watergate St.
Wall John, glass and china man Main Street.
Walsh Michael, grocer Main Street.
Walsh Elinor, haberdasher Main Street.
Walsh David, white smith Hawk St.
Weston Thomas, attorney-at-law Watergate Street.
Weston John, salt and lime works Raheen near Clonmel.
White Henry, haberdasher Main Street.
White James, haberdasher and merchant Main Street.
White Agnes, Tobacconist Irishtown.
Whitton Elizabeth, tallow chandler Irishtown.
Wilkinson Robert, sadler Main Street.
Wood Joseph, merchant Main Street.
Wood Josiah, corn merchant Main Street.
Airy Phineas, gent. East gate near Clonmel.



CHAPTER IX.

CLONMEL IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY (Continued).

IF the picture of Clonmel in the eighteenth century, growing in trade and population, is a pleasing one, there were certain aspects of social and municipal life which are not pleasant to contemplate nor easy to write about dispassionately. The penal code has not yet had an historian; perhaps its very atrocity and preterhuman completeness of cruel detail, have given rise to the assumption that it never found its way outside the statute book *(xx)*. Unfortunately, however, the slightest original research among the records of the time—property evidences, documents connected with the civil administration, domestic correspondence—reveals not merely its multiplex operations, but discovers everywhere the spirit of which it was only the legal embodiment. And therefore, as will be observed, the local authorities so far from mitigating the rigours of the code, often gave it a special force and edge in the execution.

In 1697 the Act of William III., c. 26, was passed. By section 1, all popish archbishops, bishops, vicars, deans, Jesuits, monks and friars were ordered out of the kingdom by 1st of May, 1698. Section 2 forbade anyone harbouring or concealing them under a penalty of £20 for the first offence. If convicted a third time the penalty was forfeiture of all goods and chattels and of freehold estate for life. Proclamation was made forthwith. In vain, however; few if any departed, and so the Catholic bishop of Waterford, Dr. Pierce, together with the

(xx) The best account of the Penal Laws in their operation, is to be found in Lecky's Ireland in the 18th Century. But one chapter in a four volume book is quite disproportionate. The Cromwellian Settlement and the Penal Code have shaped the whole course of Irish history in modern times.

regular clergy were all seized and imprisoned in Waterford gaol. There they were kept for more than a year pending their transportation as provided by statute. In 1698 shipping was obtained and twenty-six were put on board for France. It was high treason to return, but—

Quid leges, sine moribus
Vanæ proficiunt?

Benedict Sall, Francis Doyle and others, we learn from the Franciscan records, were a few years later, again in Clonmel.

Meanwhile certain persons were noticed in the country, strongly suspected to be Jesuits, regular priests and agents of the Pretender—so correspondents reported to Secretaries Southwell and Dawson. Accordingly Parliament set to work again. "Whereas two acts lately made for banishing all regulars of the popish clergy out of this kingdom and to prevent popish priests from coming into the same, maybe wholly eluded unless the government be truly informed of the number of such dangerous persons as still remain among us for remedy whereof be it enacted," etc. Priests were to repair to the next quarter sessions of the peace to be held in their several counties, and there furnish the Clerk of the Crown with such particulars of their age, abode, place of ordination and the like as would enable them to be subsequently identified. Pursuant to the Act, at the quarter sessions for Tipperary held at Nenagh, 11th July, 1704, a register of the priests of the county, sixty-two in number, was made. In that list were Edward Comerford, Doctor of the Sorbonne, and Dr. Tonnery, the parish priest of Clonmel—men who had defended theses and carried off the highest honours at foreign universities—or others of ancient lineage as James Butler of the Ormond family, parish priest of Kilcash, and Eustace Brown of Emly, kinsman of Lord Kenmare. Or again, Luke White, son of John White, Mayor of Clonmel during the Cromwellian siege, who having eaten the bitter bread of exile fifty years before, might now in his last days have been left in peace *(yy)*. The sinister object of the statute came out five years later. The Act 8 Ann, cap. 3, sect. 23, enacted "All popish priests who have been registered in pursuance of the former act *for registering the popish clergy* shall take the oath of abjuration before the 25th day of March, 1710, in one of the four courts at Dublin, or at some quarter sessions when such popish priests have been registered, and upon neglect or refusal, and after the 25th day of March celebrating mass or officiating as a popish priest, such popish priest shall incur such penalties as a popish regular clergyman convict by the laws of

(yy) A List of the Names of the Popish Priests, &c. Dublin: Printed by Andrew Crook, Printer to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, 1705.

this realm is liable unto." The priests had now three alternatives—to desert their flocks and flee the country, to abjure their faith, or lastly, to face the penalties of high treason. They chose the third course. Forthwith in company with the hunted sons of the former Irish landowners, they were proclaimed at the assizes tories and rebels out upon their keeping, or again rewards were offered for their apprehension ranging from £50 to £20 according to their ecclesiastical status. But though the degraded Parliament resolved that "the prosecuting and informing against papists was an honourable service," *(zz)* it is to the credit of the friendly Protestants of the neighbourhood that no one would inform. A professional spy soon arrived in the town.

Clonmell ye 10th of Jany 1712.

May it please yr Excellencies.

I have been disappointed in serving ye Govmt in ye County of Wexford by ye ill management of some of ye Justices of ye Peace there as it shall appeare before yr Excellencies in Council in a very short time; in ye meane time there is extraordinary good service to be done in this towne by takeing of severall persons of greate note of ye Popish clergy lately come from France and Rome, more particular Thomas Ennis [Rev. Thomas Hennessy, S.J.] who goes under the name of a Popish bishop,: he acts here after the Rules of a Cardinall: on the sixth of this inst. called twelfth day, he was in a Bishops habit with a mighter [mitre] upon his head and all other extream rich Robes belonging to that order, he celebrated high mass in ye Mass house without the West gate of this towne, where he had a vast company of people which showed him as much Reverence as if he had been ye Pope by kissing his hands, and ye very ground whereon he trod, all which I was an eye witness off. There is another person here who takes upon him ye title of a Bishop, he goes by ye name of Mr. Bourk but his right name is Salt, [Rev. B. Sall, O.S.F.] There is also another whose name is Father Adams, he is turned father Confessor in particular to ye women and is manageing a way to put upp a private Nunnery, all those I have seen officiate. I must take leave to assure yr Excellencies they are very dangerous persons. Thomas Ennis has of late years been a great spy in ye Court of England, They all go by contrary names: one them is ye Titulate bishop of Derry who has been already taken by the Lords Justices and Council but was Rescued out of ye Custody of Capt Michael Cole as his Grace ye Archbishop of Dublin and Mr. Justice Cook can inform yr Excellencies, and give better satisfaction of the truth hereof. I think it fitt to give you the names of the persons who entertains them privately in their howses viz. Richard Stritch and Patrick Morony Merchts, James Sherlocke apothecary and one Tonory, these are ye persons who entertains them and in whose howses their goods and papers are now concealed. I also think it requisite to give yr Excellencies an Account of severall of ye persons who have heard and saw them Officiate as aforesaid, viz. Thomas Pursell, Francis Morony, Nicholas White, Michael Davan Merchts, John Maugher, William Morony, Patrick ffitz Patrick, James Sherlock apothecary, Richard Stritch and Patrick Morony Merchants, James Tonnory, these are ye names of ye most materiall persons who to my certaine knowledge, have been hearing them. I desire they may (if yr Excellencies thinks fitt) be examined upon Oath of what they knowe concerning ye persons aforesaid. I am credibly informed there are some Protestants in this town who are largely bribed by those disaffected persons for winking at their actions. I have this night been in private with Major

(zz) Commons Journal III., p. 319.

Cuthbert Wilkinson Collector of Clonmell, with whom I advised concerning this matter, his advice to me was to apply myself to yr Excellencies for an order not only to ye Civill magestrates but alsoe to ye Commanding officer of ye troops of this Barracks, to take with him as many men as maybe sufficient for apprehending these men without which (there being so vast a number of Popish mobb in this towne) it cannot possibly be done: and withall humbly begg (if yr Excellencies thinks convenient) to mention particularly in that order Thomas Batty and Robert Hamerton Esquires Justices of ye Peace for this County to act in this affair as yr Excellencies shall thinke fitt, and that the order and letters maybe enclosed to ye Collector who is a Gentleman that I find would be very ready to serve ye Government if he were in Commission of Peace and I humbly desire that no letter or order may be writt directly to ye Mayor of ye Town, or to any other person except those who are nominated above for some good reasons which shall hereafter appeare before yr Excellencies and in so doing I doubt not but ye service will be compleated to yr Excellencies satisfaction. I humbly beg there may be directions given that I may be safely protected in ye Execution hereof, or otherwise I shall be knoct in ye head. I would have directed this to yr Excellencies but fearing there should be any notice taken thereof in ye Post Office here, have given it to Major Wilkinson to inclose to Sir Thomas Southwell. I must further beg leave to acquaint yr Excellencies that there is great disorder on foot in this town I am afraid to explain myself fully before I can before yr Excellencies. Had I any person here who is a stranger in this place in whom I could trust, I could putt him in a way to see those people Officiating in their habits for there is no one here I dare have discovered my self and design to, but ye Collector and one Richard Scott who is officer of Excise in ye town of Clonmel, who makes it his business in his walk to take a vew of those people as well as ye howses wherein they lodge. I humbly beg when they are apprehended that they may not be allowed to have any conference with each other. I alsoe humbly beg (if yr Excellencies thinks fitt to write to ye Mayor of ye town) that it may be enclosed to ye Collector with order not to be delivered to ye Mayor till I think fitt. With all humility and obedience I beg leave to subscribe my selfe yr Excellencies most obedient humble servt.

EDWARD TYRRELL *(a)*.

By the same post Tyrrell sent a letter to the Protestant Archbishop of Dublin. "I have writt to their Excellencies ye Lords Just. under a cover in Major Cutberth Wilkinsons packett, Collector of Clonmell, directed to Sir Thomas Southwell, wherein I have given them an account at large of a Cardinall that now is in this towne from ye Pope lately come over as also of some other Bishops and Popish clergy that are now in private meetings and among them there is ye titulate Popish Bishop of Derry whose name is Edmund Cane but goes here by ye name of Addams. I doe remember that yr Grace was in ye Councill about three years agoe, when an order passed for apprehending ye said Cane and directions being sent to Capt. Michael Cole Justice of Peace in this county who apprehended ye said Cane but was Rescued from ye said Justice, in short I must assure yr Grace there is about nine hundred of those sort of persons landed in this kingdom what without doubt is not come upon any good design" *(b)*.

(a) Endorsed To their Excellencies ye Lds Justices of Ireland.—Civil Correspondence, Miscellaneous, P.R.O. Dublin.

(b) Ibidem.

Wilkinson probably soon found that in his effort to obtain the Commission of the Peace, Tyrrell could be of little assistance. The issue of the matter we learn therefore from the following :—

Clonmel January 21, 1712.

Sir—I receaved yours of the 17th. By direction of theyr Excellencies ye Lords Justices and Councell and inclosed in it a copy of a letter from Edward Tyrrell to theyr Excellencies ye 10th instant from this town setting forth he could discover severall Popish Bishops and Regulars that were then in Clonmell. Pursuant to directions, on receipt of the Letter I immediately inquired of Major Wilkinson, ye Collector, and Mr. Scott, the Excise officer, what they knew of this matter and finde Tyrell was in this town for a boute a fortnight until last Saturdav having notice given him by Major Wilkinson that he was advised not to have any further commerce with him, he immediately went out of this town as he pretended towards Corke which is all I can hear of this matter only that from a greater concours of papists then usuall, resorting this town of late, I believe there have been some such persons here of the Romish Clergy as above mentioned. But for the present I think they are dispersed, not from any apprehension of being discovered by Tyrell but severall of the chief of the papist inhabitants of this town happening att this time to be summoned to take the oathes, theyr clergy have taken ye alarme and are absconded.

I am Sir
Your most humble servt,
THO. BATTY *(c)*.

The priest hunting continued at intervals through the first half of the eighteenth century. It was particularly active about 1715 and 1745, when the Hanoverian succession was threatened by the Jacobites. Early in 1714 reports began to reach the Executive that the magistrates of Tipperary were not as efficient as they might be, in executing the popery laws. The Chief Secretary, Dawson, complained to the High Sheriff, John White. White wrote from Cappagh 2nd June, 1714.

Inclosed I send you a letter which I received from severall of the Justices of the peace of this county, which they desired may be layd before their Excellencies the Lords Justices, with full assurance that they will strictly putt the laws in Execution against all Popish priests and all other persons whatsoever who shall refuse to abjure the pretender and will not be ameanable to the laws. I persume I may in a short time give their Excellencies a good account of the proceedings of all the Justices of the peace of this County, most of whom have assured me that they will in their respective Barronys, putt the laws in Execution according to their Excellencies Directions, against all persons obnoxious to the laws *(d)*.

Nine days later the justices met at Cashel in long consultation, and White assured Dawson the best results would follow from the meeting *(e)*. And he was as good as his word.

Tipperary June 23, 1714.

Sir—In obedience to the directions which we received from his Grace the Duke of Shrewsbury Lord Lieutenant of the Kingdom and Counsell by their letter of the 28

(c) Endorsed to James Dawson Esqr, att her Maties Castle, Dublin.—Civil Correspondence, 4 Q 11, 1, P.R.O.
(d) Civil Correspondence P.R.O.
(e) White to Dawson, Cappagh, 12th June, 1714—Ibid.

of May last, we summoned the principal popish inhabitants of the Barony of Clanwilliam to appear before us at Tipperary on the 22 inst. on purpose to inquire into the matter contained in the said letter, but our summons not being regarded by them, we were forct to have recourse for information to the meaner sort of people by whom we found that Thomas Grace and David Hedderman popish priests (and not qualified by law to exercise their function) have of late Sellebrated Mass in the Parishes of Tipperary, Latten and Stonell, for which we issued warrants against them. As to the other matter which we were directed to inquire into, we cant yet receive satisfactory information by reason that those who are privie to them, refuse to appear to give information concerning them but we desire you will assure their Excellencies the Lords Justices, that we will use all proper means to discover whatsoever has been practiced to preiudice her Matie and the peace of her kingdom. We must observe to you, that we summoned some new converts whose conduct and behaviour gave us grounds to feare they were not sincere Protestants, with purpose to tender the abjuration oath but they also refused to appear, for which reason we have Issud warrants against them. We purpose soon to meet again on this occasion and you shall be informed of our proceedings that you may give their Excellencies account of the same.

We are Sir, Your humble servants

JAS DAWSON
IONA ASHE
WILLIAM BARKER
MATHEW BUNBURY *(f)*.

After the Jacobite collapse of 1715, the priests for some years enjoyed comparative peace. One of the two in Clonmel, a Jesuit named Gorman, wrote in 1725 :—" Father Hennessy and I have charge of the whole of Clonmel and its neighbourhood for a league out. We have to attend sick calls constantly by day and often by night. We instruct, each of us, after the Gospel of his Mass on all Sundays and holidays, and we chant vespers in our own fashion, after which we expound the Christian doctrine ; and it does us good to see how eagerly the people attend. I can say with truth that as I write, there are eight Catholics in this district to one heretic. With all our labours and sufferings we have excellent health, thank God, and are not wanting in the necessaries of life. At the end of this month Parliament will meet and only God knows what will become of us, but His holy will be done" *(g)*. Sometimes however as when word went abroad that a Protestant had changed his religion and become Catholic, there was an outburst *(h)*.

County of Tipperary to wit. At a General Assizes and General Gaol Delivery held at Clonmel in and for the County of Tipperary the 16 day of March 1750.

We the Grand Jury at said Assizes in lawful manner Sworn and charged, Present John Hally late of Killerke in the County of Tipperary, popish priest, who stands

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(f) Civil Correspondence P.R.O.

(g) Spanish Original, Rev. Thomas Gorman to Rev. John Harrison, Clonmel, 13th August, 1725—Archives, Irish College, Salamanca.

(h) " If any persons shall seduce persuade or procure any person that shall profess the Protestant religion to forsake the same, and to profess the popish religion, or reconcile them to the church of Rome, persons so seducing as also every Protestant who shall be so perverted and reconciled to Popery shall for the said offences being thereof convicted incur the penalty of *premunire*. 2 Ann, c. 6, s. 1.

indicted as of record remaining in the Crown Office of said County, for that he contemptuously and unlawfully did endeavour to seduce and pervert Charles Moore, a professed Protestant of the Church of Ireland as by Law established, from his said profession, and Excite and abett him, the said Charles Moore, to receive and embrace the form and Ceremonies of the Church of Rome, for which he hath not yet received Tryal, as by the Clerk of the Crown certified to be a Torie, robber and rapparee of the popish religion, out in Arms, and on his keeping and not ameanable to Law, and we pray your Lordships he may be represented as such to their Excellencies the Lords Justices and Council of this kingdom to be forthwith proclaimed.

Thomas Maude, Danl. Gahan, Jonathan Lovett, Stephen Moore, U. Barker, Hugh Massey, Kingsmell Pennefather, John Roe, Math. Bunbury, Francis Sadleir, Thomas Luther, Francis Despard, Richard Pennefather, Samuel Waller, Phanuell Cooke, Minchin Carden, John Lapp Judkin, John Jephson, William Pennefather, Laurence Clutterbuck, John Bayly, Tho. Damer, Nathaniel Taylor *(i)*.

If the clergy were regarded as vermin and hunted as such, the penal code attacked the Catholic laity with perhaps still greater ferocity. For at the worst, the priest was only put in prison or transported, but the unhappy layman was pauperized and degraded. He could not farm land, for his interest in it could not go beyond thirty-one years *(j)*, neither could he trade, for his merchandize was taxed by tolls and guild dues from which his Protestant neighbour was free *(k)*. If he had money, he could not lend it on mortgage or buy property, for then the first Protestant—scheming attorney or other—who discovered the transaction, filed a bill in chancery and claimed the whole *(l)*. Had he children, he could not educate them at home, for the popish schoolmaster was on the same footing as the popish priest *(m)*, nor abroad, under penalty of outlawry and forfeiture of his goods and chattels *(n)*; and if he died leaving them minors, the Court appointed Protestant guardians who brought them up to hate his creed *(o)*.

The few Catholic gentlemen who survived the Cromwellian and Williamite confiscations were particularly obnoxious to the law. Socially ostracized, they were denied even the solace of outdoor sport. They could not hunt, for any Protestant who discovered them in possession of a horse above the value of £5, tendered that sum, mounted the horse and rode away *(p)*. They could not shoot, for they were disarmed themselves, and neither Protestant servant nor Protestant neighbour could keep arms for them under the severest penalties *(q)*. A few, indeed, by special grace were privileged. On 30th March, 1705, Col. Thomas Butler of Kilcash, Thomas

(i) I doe hereby certify that the above Original Presentment was made by the Grand Jury of the County of Tipperary at the Assizes and General Gaol Delivery held at Clonmel in and for the County of Tipperary the 16 day of March 1750 which I certifye the 22 day of April 1751—John Quinlan, D.C.—Presentments, Co. Tipperary, P.R.O.

(j) 2 Ann, Cap. 6, sect. 8.

(k) Municipal by-laws, e.g. Clonmel 1713, *infra*.

(l) 8 Ann, cap. 3, secs. 28 and 31. Also Howard's Cases, p. 294, etc.

(m) 7 William III., cap. 4, sec. 9. 8 Ann, cap. 4, sec. 16.

(n) 7 William III., cap. 4, sec. 1.

(o) 2 Ann, c. 6, s. 5.

(p) 7 Wm. III., cap. 5, sec. 9.

(q) 7 Wm. III., cap. 5, sec. 3.

Dwyer of Bellacomnisk, John Kennedy of Polenonnan, Nicholas Purcell of Loughmoe, and Thomas Travers of Burgess, were licensed to carry a gun, a case of pistols and a sword. Eight years later James Hakett of Lisvea, Michael Kearney of Clonbroganlin, Denis Meagher of Cloneen, Nicholas Morris of Latteragh, and John Ryan of Inch were added to the list. But some were too dangerous (to their bigoted neighbours perhaps) to be entrusted with guns. Col. James Butler of Kilmoyler, Charles McCarthy of Rehill, George Mathew of Thurles, and George Mathew of Thomastown, had permission to wear a sword merely *(r)*. Even with those privileged, the licence was occasionally suspended. By proclamation of August 7th, 1714, they were ordered to surrender their arms to the nearest Justice of Peace, John White, High Sheriff of Tipperary, writes that he has distributed the proclamations to the following Tipperary justices—James Harrison, Henry Pritty, Thomas Drysdale, Charles Langley, Esqrs.; John Hickey, Clk.; Mathew Bumbury, John Creaghton, William Waller, Richard Lewis, Edward Imens, Oliver Grace, John Carleton, William Latham, John Marshall, Esqrs.; the Mayor of Clonmel and the Sovereign of Fethard *(s)*. What must have been the feelings of Colonel Thomas Butler of Kilcash, grand-nephew of the great Duke of Ormond, as he handed over his sword, his pistols and his gun to Richard Whitehand, the Protestant shoemaker Mayor of Clonmel, or of George Mathew of Thomastown, who in desperation, took the sacrament in the Established Church at Golden to save his horses from a Protestant trader who one day in William Street, Cashel, tendered the legal five pounds *(t)*. No wonder if some such as Lord Cahir and Sir Redmond Everard fled from the scene and lived and died in voluntary exile abroad.

Though there was no public statute excluding the Catholics as such, from the corporation, yet in practice from the Revolution onward they ceased to have any civic rights. But they did not go down without a struggle.

Whereas differences have arisen between Francis Morony, Derby Fensy, John Meagher, Nicholas Stritch, Nicholas Purcell and Michael Davum all inhabitants of the town of Clonmel in the behalf of themselves and the rest of the Roman Catholicks of the said Town on the one parte, the Mayor and bailiffs of the said Town in behalf of themselves and the common Council of the other parte, concerning the assessing, apploting and leavying severall sumes of money from the said Roman Catholicks in and of the said Town under pretence or colour of incidents and chargcs for reliefe, and whereas both parties under a Rule of the Court of Regalities of Tipperary submitted to the arbitration of us the undersigned, Sir Theobald Butler and Nathaniel Lucas Counsellors at Law, it appeared vnto us that the present dispute was concerneing a certain sum of money to be raised upon the inhabitants of the said town of Clonmel in generall for purchaseing from his grace the Duke of Ormond a lease for lives renewable for ever at the rent of seaven pounds per annum and a yeares rent for a fine for each renewall of a peece of ground on which the Barrackes have been built within the said Towne for quartereing

(r) Proclamations 1705-1713, P.R.O.
(s) White to Dawson, Cappagh, 10th April, 1715—P.R.O. *(t)* Local tradition.

souldiers for the time being in the said Town, for keeping the towne clocke and for the paing for the judges lodging in the said town of Clonmell and the said rent and fines for renewall, and the interest for the amount of the said purchase money which was borrowed, and it appearing to us that the said Corporation had no ground of theyre owne within the said town that they could give for building the said barrackes upon, and that the building thereof keeping the said Clocke and providing lodgings for the Judges as hath been vsually done whether for the safety, convenicnce and advantage of all the inhabitants of the said town and that the said Roman Catholick inhabitants of the said town did partake of the benefitt of it, yet it hath not appeared to us that there was any legall authoritie to levey the same without consent, and all the said parties on both sides being willing to have the said money raised, the same being for the generall good of the said town so as the same might be equally indifferently applotted and assessed upon all the inhabitants in proportion to each persons substance and abilitie. Wee the said arbitrators by consent of all the said parties on both sides do therefore order and award that the purchase money payed or to be payed for the said ground, whereupon the said barrackes is built and the interest thereof till the same be payed together with the said rent of seaven pounds per annum and fines for renewalls regard being had to the expenses at law, be equally indifferently assessed upon all the inhabitants of the said town for the purposes aforesaid, and Wee do further order and award that no other money whatsoever under the notion of incidents, charges or otherwise shall be levyed without the consent of the inhabitants of the said town but what shall be grounded upon and warranted by lawe or by some Act or Acts of Parliament and unto the intent to take away all grounds of complaint condeming partiallitie or inequallitie in assessing or applotting the said present summes of money as aforesaid, or concerning the assessment or applottment of any other sum hereafter to be levyed by consent or otherwise as well upon the Protestants as upon the Roman Catholick inhabitants of the said town, and for settleing a good correspondence between them in that particular. Wee do further order and award that in as much as by antient usage in the said town all such assessments and applottments have been made by twelve men of the said town, that the same shall be hereafter made by twelve of the most knowing, able and indifferent persons of the said town whereof six shall be of the most knowing, able and indifferent of the Protestants and the other six of the most knowing, able and indifferent of the Roman Catholicks or the major part or number of them to be indifferently chosen by the mayor and bailiffs of the said town for the time being, and that they do from time to time make all such applottments and assessments equally and indifferently upon every one of the inhabitants of the said town apportionatlie according to his substance and abilitie, and Wee do further order and award by like consent that the persons hereafter named be the twelve persons for assessing and applotting the said town for the purposes aforesaid, that is to say (Protestants Capt. Thomas Batty, Hercules Beere, Phillip Carleton, Henry Cleare, Phineas Ryell and John Moore gentlemen). (Roman Catholickes Francis Marony, John Meagher, Richard Stritch, Nicholas Purcell, Thomas Pursell and Richard Daniell). And we do further award that the said Corporation shall out of their Revenue pay the scavenger for keeping clean the said town of Clonmel without putting the inhabitants at any time hereafter to the charge thereof, shall spend the same to the best advantage and that the yearly rent arising to them thereout shall be applied to the case of the inhabitants of the said town in proportion to so much of such incidental charge as any of them should otherwise be obliged to pay according to the true intent hereof, all which we make and publish as our award in the premisses under our hands and seales the 24 day of September 1703.

THEOBALD BUTLER. *Seal.*

NATHANIEL LUCAS. *Seal.*

It is declared that in all assessments or applottments to be made according to this award, all the assessors hereinbefore named and all others hereafter to be named, shall be duely summoned to attend at a certain time and place in order to make such assessments and that the applottments shall be made according to the order of the major parte of those that will appear to make the same *(u)*.

This Magna Charta of the Catholics which secured that there should be no taxation without representation, was the work of Sir Toby Butler the ablest lawyer of his day. But like the celebrated Articles of Limerick, of which he was also the draughtsman, the terms of it were never kept. The corporation devised another system of taxing the Catholics, steady, silent and absolutely effective, which was clothed with legal forms and could not be directly impeached. This was to exclude them from the freedom and thereby compel them as outsiders to pay tolls and quay dues on all goods and merchandize they brought into the town. In 1713 a by-law for the purpose was passed. This by-law is instructive on another account; it shows that in persecuting ingenuity the Corporation of Clonmel could surpass the Parliament itself. For it was only in 1733 (7 Geo. II., c. 6) and 1746 (19 Geo. II., c. 1, s. 4, 7) that parliament became cognizant of a "constructive papist," i.e., a Protestant who had married a Catholic wife. Now "a Protestant of this class was in the eye of the law a more odious Papist (to use the language of the Court) than a real and actual Papist by profession and principle" *(v)*.

At a generall Assembly of the Town and Borough of Clonmell at the Tholsel thereof before the Mayor, Bailiffs ffree Burgesses and Commons of the said Borough the 5th Day of June 1713.

. . . . It is ordered that no Person or Persons hereafter shall be sworn free of this Borough without taking the Oath of Abjuration and the other Oaths, and that no Papist or person professing the Popish Religion, be admitted on any Pretence or Account whatsoever free. We also present order and enact that no Protestant who shall intermarry with any Papist, or woman professing the Popish Religion, shall be admitted free unless such woman conforms herself to the Church of Ireland as by Law established within a year and a day after such Intermarriage.

What the tolls levied on the goods of the Catholic non-freemen at the gates, the bridge and the quay, were in amount, we have no means of knowing as no schedule of the period exists *(w)*. They were denounced as an intolerable burthen even at the dawn of municipal reform. At the Commission of 1833 a Catholic trader stated that they meant to him a sum of 150 guineas *(x)*. They certainly were not lighter during the penal times. But

(u) Chancery Rolls of the Palatine of Tipperary—P.R.O.

(v) Rives *v.* Roderick. Cases on the Laws against the Further Growth of Popery. Howard, Dublin 1766.

(w) In 1763 "Quayage" on 10 barrels of coal was 6d., on 60 deals 8d.—Perry Papers.

(x) "I am a native of this town, and have carried on business a great number of years. I was promised my freedom by Mountcashel and was handed over to Bagwell who gave me only fine promises while he gave my neighbours Davy Malcomson, Tommy Hughes and Jemmy Douglas their freedom. They had corn stores near mine, but they had no tolls to pay while I was mulcted every way out of 150 guineas."—Evidence of Daniel O'Brien. Report of Commission, Clonmel, 1833.

however oppressive they were, it might be pleaded in extenuation that they were in part devoted to public purposes. Such a claim could not be made for two other taxes imposed upon Catholic traders. These were "Intrusion Money" and "Quarterage."

From 1681 down, the traders and artizans of the town were divided into three guilds or corporations—the Merchants, the Cordwainers and the Brewers. Each had a house or guild hall, elected its master (or mayor, as he was sometimes called) and assembled regularly to discuss trade matters. By the charter of incorporation no one who was not a member of these guilds "could have, occupy, or in any wise retail, sell or buy any merchandizes, mercimonies or wares of what kind or sort soever," or exercise any trade or handicraft within the town or burgagery. Further, "none but reputable persons and these being Protestants" were admitted as members, though other Protestants could follow their trade without hindrance. In law, therefore, no Catholic shopkeeper or artisan had a right to be in Clonmel; if he was there, he was a trespasser in a strictly Protestant preserve, and was fined accordingly. When he entered the town or opened shop, he paid "Intrusion Money," from five shillings to half a guinea and upwards, according to his capacity; if he remained he paid every quarter a tax called "Quarterage," from 6d. to 3s. This state of things continued for nearly a century, but at length the worm began to turn. The decision in the case Mahony *v.* Streete, Mayor of Cork, in which damages were obtained against the Mayor for imprisonment on account of quarterage, put heart into the Catholics. In 1764 an agitation against the payment of the tax was begun in Clonmel, and the corporation feeling insecure petitioned parliament, 25th January, 1766.

That Papists were admitted [into the guilds] on condition of good Behaviour and on their paying a small sum quarterly according to their different circumstances for the support of the necessary charges attending the said Companies; which contributions these Quarter Brothers did from time to time voluntarily agree to, and promise in writing to pay, and have continued to perform for upwards of ninety years past, whereby the Companies have been enabled during that period to relieve the necessities of sundry of their reduced Brethren, bury their dead, relieve their sick, cloath and pay the servants of their respective Companies, provide proper Ensigns and Regalias, support the Dignity of the Fraternity and many other necessary purposes without which the different Companies could not possibly subsist. That within these two or three years last past, and particularly since these deluded insurgents called White Boys have intruded themselves in this County, sundry of these Quarter Brothers countenanced by those miscreants, under the specious pretence of Redressing Grievances have refused to pay said Quarterage, alledging that such demand is not warranted by law, and being thereupon distrained according to the antient Bye laws and common usage of said Corporation, they have given every vexatious opposition that Art, Malice or Ingenuity could devise to the great Disquiet of the Peace and Good Harmony of the said Town and the Protestant Interest thereof. Wherefore etc. *(y)*.

(y) Parliamentary Records, P.R.O.

The Catholic party sent a counter petition the following month.

The petition of the Merchants Traders Manufacturers and Artists [artisans] Inhabitants of Clonmel

Humbly Sheweth. That your Petitioners, peaceful and loyal subjects, have been repeatedly and most severely distressed of late in their persons and circumstances because they endeavoured by legal means to decline the payment of arbitrary Fines and of an annual tax called Quarterage, imposed upon and exacted from them as the price of exercising their respective employments and arts, by the different guilds established in the said town. That your Petitioners endeavoured to decline the payment of these Fines and this tax, because they have been advised that the exaction of them cannot be warranted by law and is moreover contrary to the spirit of the happy Constitution of this Kingdom, besides that they apprehend it manifestly tends to the discouragement of the Trade of the said Town and neighbourhood. That your Petitioners in order to avoid, as much as in them lay, all vexatious suits and contentions have frequently and earnestly applied to have this matter amicably referred to the decision of Counsel learned in the law by whose judgeing your Petitioners were satisfied to abide, but the guilds always rejected every application of this sort. That these Fines and tax having been hitherto levied in a manner the most oppressive, and afterwards squandered away for the most part as your Petitioners have good reason to think in feasting and excess, no purpose of public or private advantage has been in reality answered by them, on the contrary they have been made instrumental to encourage a spirit of idleness and dissipation subversive of industry, and have fomented heats and animosities prejudicial to the peace of the inhabitants of the said town. That your Petitioners relying in the wisdom and justice of Parliament, feel the greatest satisfaction in being informed by the votes of your House with regard to a Petition of the Mayor, Bailiffs, Free Burgesses and Commonalty of the Borough of Clonmel, that your House has been pleased to take cognizance of this matter, and your Petitioners cheerfully and submissively wait for such determination upon the legality of these fines and the tax called Quarterage, as the House shall think proper to make. And praying your House to take the premisses into consideration, and to permit your Petitioners to support their case by Counsel and grant them such relief as to your House shall seem meet. (Signed) Patrick Kearney, Samuel White, Patrick Seealie, Thomas White, William Browne, Michael Wall, Andrew Keany, Thomas Bohelly, James Kearney *(z)*.

Some of the quarterage was spent in this way:—

"Clonmell July 1. [1767.] This day being the Anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne fought by King William of ever glorious and immortal memory, the morning was ushered in with ringing of Bells, the Ensigns or Standards of the different Companies of this Corporation were displayed from the Tholsel, and the Mayor, Bailiffs, Burgesses, Freemen and Gentlemen of the different Corporations with Orange Cockades, proceeded at Six o'Clock in the Morning to perambulate the Liberties and Franchises according to antient custom; and the Evening concluded with Bonfires, Illuminations and other publick Demonstrations of Joy" *(aa)*.

For upwards of ten years the struggle against intrusion money and quarterage was carried on, sometimes in Clonmel, sometimes in the House of Commons *(bb)*. Meanwhile a great change had come over parliament;

(z) Endorsed. Presented by Mr. Robert FitzGerald, Veneris, 28 Feby., 1766.—Parliamentary Records, P.R.O.

(aa) Public Register or *Freeman's Journal*, July 4th—7th, 1767.

(bb) Among the Parliamentary Records there are two further petitions from the Corporation, one in 1768, the other in 1774. At foot of the former are the signatures 'Thomas Shaw Master of Merchants,' 'Theophilus Henry Master of Cordwainers,' 'John McCheane Maior of Brewers.' The seal of the merchants is circular, argent, a bee within a border, wavy. Inscription, "The Merchants Seal of Clonmel." The seal of the cordwainers is oval, argent, 3 hammers, 2 and 1. Crest, an esquire's helmet under a hammer. The brewers' seal is a *mash* of the two former, one being impressed on the other.

the American colonies were in revolt; the message "No taxation without representation" had gone forth; the Irish administration therefore was advised by Chatham to concede some measure of toleration, and the project of legalizing quarterage was abandoned.

But tolls, quay-dues, intrusion money and quarterage, were not the only form of oppression which the Catholic traders underwent. The Gavelling Act and the Discovery Act have attracted much notice, but it may be questioned whether any part of the penal code contributed so much to impoverish and degrade the people at large as the sections of the Acts of William and Anne which made education a felony. Throughout the greater part of the eighteenth century no Catholic could teach school in Clonmel under the penalty of transportation for the first offence, and high treason for the second *(cc)*. Towards the end a Catholic by application to the Protestant bishop, having satisfied him he was a person of good morals and the like, could obtain licence to teach from the Consistory Court *(dd)*. We get glimpses of the law in operation from such reports as that of James Castell, Mayor of Clonmel in 1731, to the Committee of the Irish House of Lords.

> There is but one Private Popish Schoolmaster, as I can finde in the said Towne, whose name is Cornelius Lynch, and goes from house to house to instruct Popish children *(ee)*.

At a later period when there was greater connivance, some three or four "philomaths" were located in different parts of the town, but so utterly destitute were the Catholics of any regular system of education, that a list of seven schools in 1820 does not contain a single Catholic one *(ff)*.

To such Catholics, however, as were willing to barter their religion, the doors of knowledge were flung wide open. By indenture dated 7th May, 1685, Richard Moore of Clonmel, and Stephen Moore of Hoar Abbey conveyed to Charles Alcock and Thomas Batty, their heirs and assigns, the lands of Clonbough and Tulla mac James, 683ac. 2r. 11p. for the purpose of erecting and maintaining "a Free School for the education and teaching of all the Protestant freemen's children of the town of Clonmel gratis." Power of appointing and removing the master or masters was vested in James, Duke of Ormond, Richard and Stephen Moore and their heirs, together with the

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(cc) "Whatsoever person of the popish religion shall publickly teach school, or shall instruct youth in learning in any private house, or shall be entertained to instruct youth as usher, undermaster, or assistant by any protestant schoolmaster, he shall be esteemed to be a popish regular clergyman, and be prosecuted as such, and incur such penalties and forfeitures as any popish regular convict is liable unto by the laws."—8 Ann. c. 3, sec. 16.

(dd) Among the papers of a parish priest of Carrick, Dr. Connolly, still remembered there, was found such licence granted to him by R. Hobson, Surrogate of Waterford.

(ee) Parliamentary Returns, P.R.O.

(ff) Piggott's Directory, Manchester, 1820.

Mayor of Clonmel for the time being. The Free School was built close to St. Mary's Church, and its primary intent being to benefit the children of the free burgesses and commonalty of the town, it came to be known as the Corporation School *(gg)*. While the Free School held out temptations to the better-class Catholics, there was another school which openly and professedly proselytized the helpless and destitute poor. This was the Charter School. In the first fervour of the movement to bring the blessings of the Gospel within reach of "the poor creatures, our fellow-subjects," as Boulter termed

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(gg) In later times, as in earlier, the Free School earned an evil reputation for proselytism. The Revv. Samuel O'Sullivan, Mortimer O'Sullivan, William Phelan, William A. Butler—to name only a few—changed their creed there, preliminary to obtaining scholarships in Trinity College, Dublin.

The history of the school as far as it can be gleaned may be set down here. The earliest head master appears to have been Andrew Coulter; his tomb which may still be seen in St. Mary's Church, bears the following inscription :—Hic Jacet Corpus ANDREÆ COULTER, nuper schol. et Bach. Clonmeliensis Qui obiit 20 Julii Anno Domino 1706. Et anno 63 Aetatis Suæ. In 1733 John Hayman, a native of Youghal, was master. That year Sir Thomas Prendergast and Guy Moore were candidates for the borough in a parliamentary election when Hayman acted as the returning officer. In the petition against Moore's return, it was proved that Hayman had spoken and canvassed for Moore, that he had been tutor to Moore's children, and though not worth £50, he had offered that sum to be spent in Flahavan's public-house on condition of Flahavan's voting for Moore. The next master to whom there is reference, was Rev. J. D. Harwood. In the Corporation Minute Book, 29th May, 1755, is the memorandum : "It appears by affidavit of the Rev. John Dalton Harwood schoolmaster of this town since the 25 of March last before the Mayor of this Corporation that he layd out and expended on new buildings made in addition to the Schoole house the sum of one hundred and twelve pounds and seven pence half penny stg. to the great advantage of the said schoole. In consideration therefore in case he dyes or be removed from said schoole that he or his Executors be allowed the three fourths of the above sum so expended in said building by the person or persons that shall hereafter be made or inducted into said schoole, next after his Decease or Remuvall and that a Deede may be made under the Common Seale of said Corporation to the said Rev. John Dalton Harwood to the purpose to secure the payment thereof."

Harwood appears to have been followed by Rev. Richard Carey, under whom the school obtained its greatest measure of success. In 1816 on application from the Commissioners of Education to the Lord Chancellor, the endowments and government of the school were vested in the Commissioners, on the grounds of mismanagement. The old school (which occupied the site of the present Protestant Parochial Schools) having become ruinous, the site, 1r. 28p., was exchanged (Feb. 28th, 1824) with William Bagwell for the present one which contains 3r. 28p. A sum of £4,600 was then raised on the endowments for the purpose of erecting new buildings, the last instalment of which was repaid only in November, 1905. These were built to accommodate 118 pupils with apartments for 36 boarders. Rev. Robert Bell was at this period appointed head master by William Bagwell, who as patron exercised all corporate rights. Bell was followed about 1850 by Rev. Thomas Kettlewell. The Endowed Schools' Commission in March, 1856, found 29 on the roll, the education given satisfactory, but the general management deplorable; the house did not contain a solitary boarder. On the death of Kettlewell in 1874 the Rev. Mr. Hutchinson was appointed, and the school was for some years fairly successful. Rev. Mervyn Kennedy succeeded August 1st, 1882, by the nomination of Stephen Earl of Mountcashell, and John Marquess of Ormonde. A commission under the Educational Endowments' Act which sat in 1889 found that the school was £943 in debt, and 18th March, 1890, a new scheme for its government was approved of by the Lord Lieutenant in Council. By this scheme the interest of the corporation in the school was ignored, and a governing body created of seventeen persons exclusively Protestant. Furthermore, as an instance of how a strict trust may be stretched, the endowment which Richard Moore gave to the freemen of the town being Protestants, was shared with those whom he would style in the language of the time "sectaries and phanatiques," namely, Presbyterians, Methodists and Quakers. The head masters since have been W. R. Hatte appointed 8th September, 1897, died 10th April, 1901; R. H. Ashmore appointed 20th May, 1901, resigned August, 1903; J. H. McClelland appointed 2nd October, 1903.

Among the distinguished personages who received their early education at the Clonmel Free School were John Marshall, Chief Justice, John Scott, Earl of Clonmel, Archdeacon Lee, S.F.T.C.D., Dr. Leahy, Archbishop of Cashel, W. C. Taylor, William Archer Butler, Richard Baron Pennefather, Edward Pennefather, Chief Justice.

them, bishops and country gentlemen, parliaments and lords lieutenant, vied with one another in founding schools and granting endowments. On 23rd April, 1747, Sir Charles Moore of Powerstown granted 39 acres a little to the east of the town, at a rent of £11 a-year. Subscriptions were collected, and a large school built at a cost of £900. A rent-charge of £75 on 711 acres, was subsequently bequeathed by John Dawson. For a time there was some success. In 1766 forty children of Catholic parents were instructed "in English and arithmetic, in husbandry and housewifery, in the Scriptures and the principles of the Protestant established religion," being provided with diet and lodging. But the enthusiasm died out; the undisguised souperism of the scheme disgusted the more rational Protestants, and when Howard, the philanthropist, visited the Clonmel Charter School, it was already *in extremis.*

Clonmel School June 12th 1787, twenty nine boys.—House dirty:—Wanted beds and bedding.—In the infirmary only two bedsteads and a little dirty straw and lumber. Pantry empty:—children half starved and almost naked.—Usher no allowance:—the master said, he paid one, as he was too old to teach. Allowance for soap and candles only £5. On application to the local committee for allowance for necessaries the answer was "the Society is too poor; they cannot afford it." The last report in the book was June 1st, 1785.

Howard's visit was not without effect.

May 5th 1788, 27 Boys. I found this school in much better order; the bed rooms were clean.—By hearing several of the boys read, I was convinced that proper attention is *now* paid to that important part of their education.—The Society's clothes are so very bad, that if the boys be not clothed again before Christmas they must be almost naked *(hh)*.

The Charter School dragged on its wretched existence until 1823 when it was closed, the endowments amounting to £163 a year being transferred to the Protestant Parochial School.

It has been said that the surest way to make a religious body flourish is to persecute it *(ii)*. This statement, however, has limitations which are obvious to every student of history. When the Catholics of Clonmel emerged from the penal times, they were reduced to utter impotence, social and commercial. Old men, not long deceased, used recall a time when there was not in the town a trader of that religion who could sell by wholesale a ton of coal or a stone of sugar *(jj)*. And furthermore, the effects of the penal code were by no means confined to the material ones. The spirit of the people was completely broken, and as citizens they had lost all self respect. In

(hh) An Account of the Principal Lazarettos, etc., London, 1791.

(ii) Sanguis martyrum, semen ecclesiæ.—Tertullian.

(jj) The Directory of 1787, *supra*, may be consulted, but it is to be noted that several names, apparently Catholic, were not so, e.g., Comins, Daniel, Keating, Murphy, White.

1790 the Earl of Westmoreland, lord lieutenant, visited the town; the Catholics headed by Dr. Egan, bishop of the diocese, presented an address—their first articulate utterance since James II. had entered Clonmel a century before. It is to be remembered that this address was written two years after the proclamation of the Rights of Man, and fifteen after the American Declaration of Independence—written too at a time when they were denied the elementary rights of freemen.

To his Excellency John Earl of Westmoreland Lord Lieutenant General and General Governor of Ireland.

The Humble Address of the Roman Catholics of Clonmel.

May it please your Excellency,

The Roman Catholics of Clonmel at the same time that they share in the joy universally diffused through all ranks of people here by your Excellency's presence, cannot but consider themselves peculiarily happy in being admitted to avail themselves of so precious an opportunity to express their unalterable allegiance to the Person and Government of the best of Sovereigns and to express it at the feet of his Majesty's immediate representative, his Excellency the Earl of Westmoreland—a representative whom they feel most endeared to them as well from his Majesty's confidence in him, as from his own distinguished public and private virtues and his beneficient applauded administration.

Permit it to be added, May it please your Excellency, on their part that earnest as far as can depend on them to promote your Excellency's well known generous intentions for the prosperity and happiness of this nation, and coinciding with the fellow subjects of their communion throughout the kingdom, in inviolable attachment to his Majesty's Royal Person, Family and Government in a demeanour peaceful and duly submissive to the laws, they have nothing more at heart than thus to contribute by the mite of their best exertions, to render your Excellency's rule over this country, smooth, successful and honorable whilst they hope by such conduct, springing in them from principle, and cherished in them by inclination, to insure a continuance of that protection which they gratefully acknowledge to have hitherto enjoyed under the auspices of your Excellency.

May the visit with which your Excellency honours this town be as satisfactory to yourself and to the Countess of Westmoreland as it is grateful to the Publick at large and to the Roman Catholics of Clonmell in particular.

For and in the name of the Roman Catholics of Clonmell.

WM. EGAN.

Clonmell Oct. 20 1790.

While the penal code reduced the great mass of the people to serfdom, its effects on the gentry who executed it were even worse; it brutalized them. Administering laws which made plunder a virtue; set up as pashas who might practice every abuse of power and heap on the people every indignity without limit or question, it is no wonder if they often lost that self-restraint, that forbearance, that poise and balance of mind which separates the civilized man from the savage. "The habits of the Irish gentry," says Goldwin Smith, "grew beyond measure brutal and reckless, and the coarseness of their debaucheries would have disgusted the crew of Comus. Their drunkenness, their blasphemy, their ferocious duelling, left the squires of England far behind. If there was a grotesque side to their vices which

mingles laughter with our reprobation, this did not render the influence less pestilent to the community of which the malice of destiny had made them the social chiefs. Fortunately their profligacy was sure in the end to work its own cure; and in the background of their swinish and uproarious drinking bouts, the Encumbered Estates' Act rises to our view" *(kk)*. And the gentry of Tipperary were not better than their class. The great mansions and parks which are scattered through the county, still witness to their extravagance if they do not always to their taste. They played the role of "fine old Irish gentlemen," and convinced the world that they were not avaricious by squandering, and that they were not cowards by fighting *(ll)*. Their drinking habits were best left to the charities of history. In the last generation stories were told how in a drunken frenzy, one gambled away an estate by the townland; another having won a parliamentary election, celebrated the victory in a bacchanalian orgie with his supporters, the member himself dying of *delirium tremens* shortly after *(mm)*. A third invited his mortgagee to dine and blacked the face of his drunken guest, but the mortgagee had his revenge by foreclosing the mortgage and levelling the house *(nn)*. Another obtained a knighthood by wild buffoonery at a saturnalia in honour of the lord lieutenant, who visiting Tipperary did as Tipperary did *(oo)*. Even the punctilious William Perry excused his neglect of correspondence on the ground he had been celebrating the "Old Glorious," while William Bagwell in his leases inserted as consideration for renewal "six bottles of right good french clarett" *(pp)*.

In the great Irish characteristic of fighting, the Tipperary gentry earned special distinction. "Tipperary and Galway," writes Sir Jonah Barrington, "were the ablest schools of the duelling science. Galway was most scientific

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(kk) Irish History and Irish Character, Oxford, 1862, p. 140; c.f., Madden's "Resolutions Proper for the Gentlemen of Ireland," Dublin, 1744. Young's Tour *passim*, Historical MSS., 15 Rep., Pt. vii., pp. 312-332. "Ireland 90 Years Ago," Sir Jonah Barrington's Personal Sketches, etc., etc.

(ll) "Backwardness will be attributed to the man who does not fight upon every trifling occasion as avarice is objected to him who does not ruin himself by fashionable extravagance." Charlemont Papers, Hist. MSS. 12, Rep. x., p. 108.

(mm) Related by the late John Bagwell, M.P., of a kinsman, one of the Bagwells of Kilmore.

(nn) This elegant episode was told by one of the Grubbs who was guest with Osborne, the mortgagee, at Kilmore on the occasion.

(oo) Sir Richard Jones, who long lived in a large house on the quay near the present brewery. The honour, however, was recalled the following day, but it was too late, for Lady Jones had already communicated with her friends.

(pp) "The agreeable company of your nephew, Will Newman and some other friends to drink the Old Glorious prevented my acknowledging your letter."—W. G. Carleton, 13 Feb. 1760. "Six bottles of right good french clarett and a rump of beef as a renewal fine on the fall of each life."—Lease of Burgagery, Bagwell to Domville, 18th Oct., 1755. But it must not be supposed that the Irish squirearchy sinned alone. The great Pitt and his pot companion, Viscount Melville, often edified parliament; a wag of the time wrote—

Can't see the Speaker Will, can you?
Don't see the Speaker, Mel? I see two.

The Irish drinking bout only was more bestial.

at the sword. Tipperary most practical and prized at the pistol." This skill in the use of arms came of a long course of breeding. At an earlier period they proclaimed at assizes the old Irish landowners still haunting the country to be "Tories and Rapparees," and forthwith shot them at discretion *(qq)*. When the enemy were shot or fled, they found excuses for pistoling one another. The case of Stephen Moore who consistently "removed" the opponents of his family interest, has been already referred to, but the curious memorial of his career deserves fuller notice.

HERE LYES THE BODY
OF JAMES SLATTERIE
THE SECOND SON OF
M^R JOHN SLATTERIE
WHO WAS KI[LL]ED
BY JOHN MANDEVILLE
THE XIV DAY OF MAY
1710 IN THE 24TH
YEAR OF HIS AGE
AND JOHN SLATTERIE
CO[UNCELLOR] AT LAW
A MEM[BER] OF [PA]RL[MT]
WHO WAS KIL[L]E[D]
BY STEPHEN MOOR
Y^E 13 OF N^R 1726

Mandeville and his second in the duel, James St. John, who were Catholics, fearing legal penalties petitioned the Duke of Ormond and received a pardon 12th September following *(rr)*. Many indeed of these fights were embittered by religious feeling. At the election for Tipperary

(qq) For example :—"We hear from the County of Tipperary that John Sergeant shot one Dunlee a noted and proclaimed Tory as he was crossing the road."—*Dublin Evening Post*, May 18th, 1734.

(rr) Palatine Rolls, P.R.O. The tomb lies close to the ruined church of Kilgrant. It consists of a horizontal slab some seven feet by four, resting on a base of masonry. An attempt to obliterate the inscription is indicated by the portions of the words in brackets. Three other members of the family are named in a part of the inscription carried round the edge.

consequent on the death of George II., the opposing conducting agents were Thomas Prendergast of Ballylomasna, and Daniel Gahan of Coolquil. Feeling ran high, and Gahan challenged Prendergast's right to act or even to vote at all, on the grounds his wife was a papist, being one of the Keating family. Both parties adjourned to the Green behind the courthouse; Prendergast was shot dead and Gahan escaped from the infuriated crowd only by mounting a horse and riding boldly across the river. But in truth, the Tipperary gentry were ready to fight in any cause or none; everyone had, at some time, to defend "his honour." Lord Llandaff, Hely-Hutchinson, Lord Clonmel (to name only a few) were all "out." Even John Bagwell, brought up by the Harpers in Cork, a strict Dissenter, had to qualify with a few scalps at his belt for admission into the savage tribe. He was "out" three times *(ss)*.

Sir Jonah Barrington gives the code of honour *in extenso*, and with unconscious satire, lawyer that he was, reports cases illustrative of its working.

The practice of Duelling and Points of Honour settled at Clonmell Summer Assizes 1777 by the Gentlemen Delegates of Tipperary, Galway, Mayo, Sligo and Roscommon and prescribed for general adoption throughout Ireland.

RULES.

1.—The first offence requires the first apology though the retort may have been more offensive than the insult. Example. A tells B he is impertinent, &c. B retorts that he lies; yet A must make the first apology, and then after one fire B may explain away the retort by subsequent apology.

2.—But if the parties would rather fight on, then after two shots each, but in no case before B may explain first and A apologise afterwards.

3.—If a doubt exists who gave the first offence, the decision rests with the seconds; if they can't agree the matter must proceed to two shots or to a hit if the challenger require it.

4.—When the lie direct is the first offence, the aggressor must either beg pardon, exchange two shots previous to apology, or three shots followed by an explanation, or fire on till a severe hit be received by one party or the other.

5.—As a blow is strictly prohibited amongst gentlemen, no verbal apology can be received; the alternatives therefore are the offender handing a cane to the injured party to be used on his own back, at the same time begging pardon; firing on until one or both is disabled, or exchanging three shots and then asking pardon.

(ss) The last notable Tipperary gentleman who seems to have engaged in an "affair of honour" was Richard Butler, second and last Earl of Glengall. In the twenties, a publication flourished in London called *The Age*. It gave special prominence to the scandals of the upper classes, and being well informed and the names hardly disguised by hyphens, society was much fluttered. Lord Glengall publicly charged Lord William Lennox with being the writer of some particularly venomous paragraphs. In reply to a demand for an explanation, Glengall affirmed the truth of the accusation, and a meeting was the result. The duel was fought at Cowes Castle, August, 1826, Colonel Anson being second to Glengall, and Lieutenant Gordon of the Blues to Lennox. According to the *Hampshire Telegraph* "an exchange of shots took place without doing any person injury; the seconds then declared that enough had been done by both parties, and the principals left the ground without explanation." The *Times* report, however, states that after the shots Lord Lennox declared himself satisfied.

6.—If A gives B the lie and B retorts by a blow, being the two greatest offences no reconciliation can take place till after two discharges each or a severe hit; after which B may ask A's pardon humbly for the blow and then A may explain simply for the lie. N.B.—Challenges for undivulged causes may be reconciled on the ground after one shot.

7.—But no apology can be received in any case after the parties have actually taken their ground without exchange of fires.

8.—In the above case no challenger is obliged to divulge his cause of challenge, if private, unless required by the challenger to do so before the meeting.

9.—All imputations of cheating at play, races, &c., to be considered equivalent to a blow, but may be reconciled after one shot on admitting their falsehood and begging pardon publicly.

10.—Any insult to a lady under a gentleman's protection to be considered as by one degree a greater offence than if given to the gentleman personally.

11.—Offences originating from the support of ladies' reputation to be considered as less unjustifiable than any others of the same class.

12.—In simple unpremeditated *recontres* with the small sword the rule is first draw, first sheathe; unless blood be drawn then both sheathe and proceed to investigation.

13.—No dumb-shooting or firing in the air admissible in any case; children's play must be dishonourable on one side or the other and is accordingly prohibited.

14.—Seconds to be of equal rank in society with the principals they attend, inasmuch as a second may either choose or chance to become a principal and inequality is indispensable.

15.—Challenges are never to be delivered at night unless the party to be challenged intend leaving the place of offence before morning; for it is desirable to avoid all hot-headed proceedings.

16.—The challenged has the right to choose his own weapon, unless the challenger gives his honour he is no swordsman, after which however he cannot decline any second species of weapon proposed by the challenged.

17.—The challenged chooses his ground; the challenger chooses his distance; the seconds fix the time and terms of firing.

18.—The seconds load in presence of each other unless they give their mutual honours they have charged smooth and single, which should be held sufficient.

19.—Firing may be regulated—first by signal; secondly by word of command; or thirdly at pleasure. In the latter case the parties may fire at their reasonable leisure but second presents and rests are strictly prohibited.

20.—In all cases a miss fire is equivalent to a shot, and a snap or a non-cock is to be considered as a miss-fire.

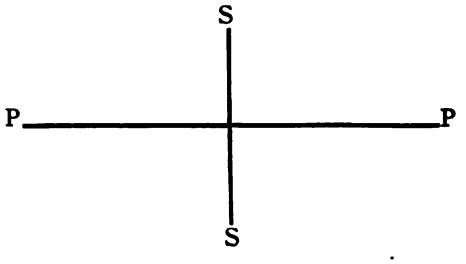
21.—Seconds are bound to attempt a reconciliation before the meeting takes place, or after sufficient firing or hits as specified.

22.—Any wound sufficient to agitate the nerves and necessarily make the hand shake, must end the business for that day.

23.—If the cause of meeting be such that no apology can or will be received, the challenged takes his ground and calls on the challenger to proceed as he chooses; in such cases firing at pleasure is the usual practice.

24.—In slight cases the second hands his principal but one pistol, but in gross cases two, holding another case ready-charged in reserve.

25.—When seconds disagree and resolve to exchange shots themselves, it must be at the same time and at right angles with their principals, thus:—



If with swords, side by side with five paces interval.

N.B.—All matters and doubts not herein mentioned will be explained and cleared up by application to the committee who meet alternately at Clonmell and Galway, at the quarter sessions, for that purpose.

CROW RYAN, *President.*
JAMES KEOGH, } *Secretaries (tt).*
AMBY BODKIN, }

This grotesquely scientific barbarism could in the end only work its own destruction. Duelling became partly a profession, partly a pretence. But it took some time before the public could see the comic side of such fights as—

Clonmel June 1. Last Tuesday morning a duel was fought in a field near Springhouse between Alexander English of Springfield Esq. and Robert Bradshaw of Alleen Esq. Each fired a case of pistols, and a ball from one of Mr. Bradshaw's shots grased the right thigh of Mr. English without doing any injury, each gentleman behaving with becoming valour. The second to Mr. English, James Thornill of Tipperary Esq. To Mr. Bradshaw Edward Croker of Bruff in the county of Limerick *(uu).*

Perhaps the most noteworthy of the local duellists was "Counsellor" Walsh. David Walsh was the representative of a family settled near Clonmel, probably from the time of King John; the townlands "Mooretown-walsh," "Croanwalsh," and others record their territorial importance. His great grandfather, John Walsh, at the Cromwellian period was Ormond's law adviser, and therefore succeeded in recovering considerable part of the estates. In 1780 "the Counsellor" was returned to parliament for Fethard in the O'Callaghan-Ponsonby interest. At the bar Walsh's leadership was acknowledged; in parliament he seemed destined to achieve equal fame. During the debate consequent on the Declaration of Irish Independence he showed a sagacity and foresight which his leader, Grattan, unfortunately lacked. A contemporary has sketched the episode: "Mr. David Walshe, an able pertinacious lawyer, courageous and not conciliating, had a clear head, a suspicious, perverse mind, and a temper that never would outstretch itself to meet pacific objects. He debated well but was too intemperate to acquire or maintain a general popularity. His speech on this memorable night concluded with these remarkable expressions:—

"I repeat it that until England declares unequivocally by an Act of her own Legislature, that she had no right in any instance to make laws to bind Ireland, the usurped power of English legislation never can be considered by us as relinquished. We want not the concessions of England to restore us our liberties. If we are true to ourselves, we possess the fortitude, we possess the will, and thank God we possess the power to assert our rights as men and accomplish our independence as a nation" *(vv).*

(tt) Personal Sketches and Recollections of His Own Times.—Glasgow Edition, pp. 261-5.
(uu) Freeman's Journal, June, 1775.
(vv) Rise and Fall of the Irish Nation, Barrington, p. 108.

Walsh lived in an atmosphere of gunpowder, though several of his duels were of the opera-bouffe order :—

We hear from Clonmell that a dispute having arose last week between Captain Byron of the army and Mr. Walsh of that town, they resolved on deciding it by a Duel at an appointed Place in the country where they accordingly met and each Gentleman discharged a Pistol. One was hit on the Instep which broke the buckle in his shoe, and the other had a Ball passed through his skirt and coat pocket on which the Seconds interfered afresh and happily prevented further ill consequences by reconciling the parties (*ww*).

His encounter with the celebrated Curran was equally wonderful.

Curran, when a stripling unknown to fame provoked a quarrel in the Circuit Court of Clonmel with Walsh, the mob favourite of the day, and they went out accompanied by the whole court, except the judge and jury. They were taken to a field well enclosed with hedges, and placed in opposite corners just as if they had been a pair of bulls turned into a paddock. The whole population from the outside of the fence eagerly watched and encouraged their mutual advances. They both fired and missed : "lame and impotent conclusion," provocative of derisive cheers amid the echoes of which the combatants re-entered the court to receive the ironical congratulations of their long-robed brethren. The affair had occupied three quarters of an hour (*xx*).

After many a fight, the end of the old fire-eater came with a fearful and pathetic fitness. Broken in fortune and character, he lived for many years in the fine mansion at the corner of Mary and Peter streets.. One evening in 1802, the sole retainer who shared the house with him, returned, unable to obtain the necessaries of life. A few minutes later Walsh's career closed. The pistol with which he had paid the mistaken debt of honour to others, rendered a like service to himself *(yy)*.

Towards the end of the century the gentry began to raise their eyes above the level of the table or the saddle. The volunteer movement, and the agitation for parliamentary independence, were inspiring ideals. For the first time the Cromwellian landowners appear in Irish history with that dignity which the passion for a cause confers. The earliest volunteer corps raised in Tipperary was a company formed on May 1st, 1776, by Sir Cornelius Maude, together with a troop of horse under Captain Benjamin Bunbury. Not until three years later, June 4th, 1779, the "Clonmel Independents" were formed.

(ww) Freeman's Journal, June 14, 1764.

(xx) Bentley's Magazine, June, 1853.

(yy) Duelling was not altogether confined to the gentry, nor its pernicious influence limited by social rank. The Catholic archbishop of Cashel, as well as the bishops of Waterford, had repeatedly to warn the people against the practice. "Spectators are severely punished by the church because by their presence they countenance that horrid crime and thereby excite the passions of the unhappy duellists and encourage them to murder each other. A person who is mortally wounded in a duel even though he may repent and be absolved, is to be denied Christian burial. Moreover, the following persons incur ex-communication, viz. :—He who sends a message verbal or written, for fighting a duel ; the bearer of said message ; and the person who accepts or receives it, although there should be no duel."—Statutes of Archbishop Bray, p. 104. It is probable, too, that the example of their "betters" gave not a little encouragement to faction fighting.

They consisted of two companies, one light battalion, the uniform being scarlet coat with black facings and white buttons, white vest and breeches. The following was the staff:—

Colonel,	Richard Moore.
Major,	John Watson.
Captains,	Thomas Gordon.
	George Miles.
Lieutenants,	William Lloyde.
	George Robbins.
	John Jones.
	Terence McGrath.
	Hugh Meagher,
Adjutant,	John Kelly.
Chaplain,	Nicholas Milly O'Doyle.
Surgeon,	Robert Constable.
Secretary,	Thomas Morton.

Still more picturesque was the troop of horse formed 6th January, 1781, known as the "Clogheen Union." The uniform was scarlet, faced light blue; edged silver lace, white buttons, silver epaulets, white jackets edged red. The furniture was goat skin turned red; the staff—

Colonel,	Cornelius O'Callaghan.
Captain,	Thomas Clutterbuck.
Lieutenant,	James Butler.
Adjutant,	Thomas Vowell.
Surgeon,	John Foliot.
Chaplain and Secretary	Charles Tuckey.

The "Carrick Union" and "Caher Union" companies were almost entirely Catholic. The former was enrolled September, 1779; the latter January, 1781; their respective staffs being—

Carrick.

Colonel,	George Earl Tyrone.
Major,	William Alcock.
Captain,	Edward M. Mandevil.
Lieutenants	Richard O'Donnell.
	William Smyth.
Ensign,	Richard Sauce.
Adjutant,	William Smyth.

Cahir.

Colonel,	Hon. Pierce Butler.
Captain,	William Hayes.
Lieutenants,	Richard Nagle.
	Jeremiah Hayes.
Ensign,	Pierce Butler *(zz)*.

(zz) "Munster Volunteer Registry, by Richard Kenna of Curraghmore Rangers, Light Dragoons." The 'Hon. Pierce Butler' became in 1786 10th Baron Cahir, and the last of the ancient line. Lieutenant Richard Nagle was his kinsman. Kate Nagle, sister of Richard, was the theme of Lysaght's poem—"Lovely Kate of Garnavilla."

The "first Munster Volunteer review was held in a field on the banks of the river near Clonmel" on 10th July, 1782. The *Hibernian Magazine* of the date contains a somewhat eccentric report of the proceedings.

The artillery and infantry assembled on the Grand Parade and marched thence to the ground. Tipperary artillery Captain Clement Sadlier, 2 field pieces on the right, Cashel ditto on the left. Infantry, Ormond Union 4 companies, Major William Barker. Waterford First Royal Dragoons 3 companies. Ormond Independents 4 companies, Colonel Daniel Toler. Cashel Volunteers 4 companies, Colonel Richard Pennefather. Limerick Independents 4 companies, Lieutenant-Colonel John Prendergast. Iverk Volunteers 1 company, Colonel Richard Cox. Fethard Volunteers 2 companies, Lieut.-Colonel Mathew Jacob. Carrick Union 1 company, Colonel the Rt. Hon. Earl Tyrone, K.S.P. Clonmel Independents 2 companies, Colonel Richard Moore. Callan Union 1 company, Captain Richard Elliot. Tipperary Volunteers 1 company, Captain D. G. Russell.

Twenty-one rounds of artillery on the flank greeted the General Henry Prittie on his arrival at 12 o'clock. He was met by Lord Le Poer, Colonel of 3rd Ulster Volunteers, etc., etc. The evolutions were performed to the entire satisfaction and applause of the General and the most numerous and splendid concourse of people ever seen in this part of the kingdom. The General, his aides-de-camp, the Earl of Tyrone, Lord Le Poer with other gentlemen were sumptuously entertained at dinner by Colonel Moore and the Clonmel Independents at the Court House.

With the spread of the military spirit, the sentiment of nationality which had been dormant since the days of Swift awoke again; the strangely unfamiliar words "liberty" and "independence" began to be heard once more in the mouths of country gentlemen and traders in towns. It is instructive to note the growth of national opinion in Tipperary.

[1780.] A most respectable and numerous meeting of freeholders was held in Clonmel on 30 March presided over by Lord Kingsborough, as the High Sheriff did not attend. Sir Edward Newenham moved several spirited resolutions which were seconded by John Bagwell of Belgrove, Counsellor FitzGerald, John Bagwell of Kilmore, Daniel Toler, Mr. Frazer, and others. These gentlemen showed that unless parliament secured the independence of the kingdom there was no security for the late commercial advantages *(a)*.

Two years later mere political logic gave way to open defiance of England; the artillery on the flank and the infantry in the centre, had not thundered in vain :—

We the Grand Jury of the County of Tipperary at Spring Assizes 1782 assembled, think the duty we owe to our country and ourselves, calls upon us thus to declare—

That the King, Lords and Commons of Ireland, are the only power competent to make laws to bind this kingdom, and that every attempt by any other body of men to exercise this right is unconstitutional and a grievance.

FRANCIS MATHEW, Sheriff.

But though the "other body of men" for the time being bowed to the inevitable, yet British statesmen henceforth from Portland to Pitt, only sought an opportunity to undermine the parliamentary fabric raised by Grattan.

(a) Hibernian Magazine, p. 229.

Judicious doles from the pension fund, and an open traffic in peerages, corrupted the members. The grudging concession of the limited franchise, of the right to serve as jurors and purchase land, did not satisfy the Catholics while it exasperated the extreme Protestants—the staunchest supporters, perhaps, of parliamentary independence. Finally, the excesses of the French revolution added to the alarm of the one, while they extinguished in the other all hope of constitutional reform. To this train of combustibles the spark was laid by the Presbyterians who formed the body known as the United Irishmen. Frankly republican, they sympathised with the French and opened negociations for a French invasion of Ireland *(b)*. The British Government, now in panic, let loose on the country hordes of soldiery and merciless yeomanry to explode the disaffection before the French could arrive. Picketing, flogging, half-hanging, pitch capping, went on throughout a great part of Ireland. In Tipperary the *agent provocateur* selected by Lord Camden, was Thomas Judkin Fitzgerald, High Sheriff of the county.

Fitzgerald who lived at Lisheen, near Cashel, belonged to the half savage, petty gentry, denounced by Young and the writers of the time as the plague of the country. His real name was Uniacke, but his father and grandfather having made marriages of convenience, adopted the names Judkin and Fitzgerald. A fitter instrument could not have been chosen. Week after week Fitzgerald and his Hessian troop scoured the country. Peasants suspected of being "croppies" were lodged in gaol. On market days a number of them were brought forth, stripped half naked and tied to a car; they were then drawn from the Main Guard to the West Gate and back, two soldiers one at either side flogging them alternately *(c)*. Nor were his victims confined to the humbler class. One of the best known traders in Carrick, a man named Doyle, was flogged in the hope of extracting some information about the croppies, but he had none to give. Similarly Jeremiah McGrath, the innkeeper of Clogheen. At a sessions in Cashel under the Insurrection Act, three tenants of Lord Landaff were tried by over a dozen yeomanry magistrates and acquitted. A few days later Fitzgerald arriving there, ordered Mr. Smithwick and Mr. Butler, of Ballycarron, to bring them back under the penalty of being flogged themselves; the unhappy men were brought back and flogged. The sheriff imprisoned Mr. Denis O'Meagher, of Kilmoyler, with his father and uncle, and Mr. Smithwick, at that time a man of eighty; the Hon. Francis Hutchinson, however, procured their release.

(b) These parties are described under religious names as the most convenient classification. Their *raison d'être* was not religion but other motives, political, social and racial.

(c) Thirty years since, a woman then in extreme old age who witnessed this, several Saturdays from a window in the Main Street, gave the revolting particulars to the writer.

Fitzgerald boasted in Clonmel one day that he would have a papist of large fortune, a deputy governor of the county, either flogged or hanged. John Lalor, of Cranagh, being the person pointed at, accompanied by Hutchinson immediately proceeded to Clogheen where Fitzgerald was engaged in flogging. The sheriff denied that the threat was intended for Lalor, but Colonel John Bagwell, who was a close friend of Lalor's, at once set out for Dublin. There he learned from Cooke, the Under Secretary, that Fitzgerald had actually applied for a warrant to arrest Lalor *(d)*. If, indeed, the conduct of this miscreant had not been investigated by juries of his own class, we should reject the evidence as simply incredible. The principal merchant in Carrick-on-Suir at this period was Mathew Scott. His personal character and his numerous acts of charity and benevolence to the poor of that town were sworn to by Charles Wall of Coolnamuck, Richard Sause, the banker of Carrick, Rev. James Smyth, Protestant rector, Captain Lorenzo H. Jephson and others. In April, 1798, it was testified that he placed at the disposal of Captain Jephson 1,000 barrels of oats to be sold to the poor at a low price, and at the same time raised a large sum of money to carry on the ratteen manufacture for the purpose of giving employment. But anyone who sympathized with the poor and the down trodden in those days was a marked man. On the 22nd June, 1798, the High Sheriff with a party of Hessian and yeomen cavalry came to Carrick *(e)*. Scott was put under arrest, being charged by the sheriff with sending pikes to Ross concealed in oats. In vain did the unhappy man protest that he had never sent a barrel of oats to Ross with pikes or otherwise; in vain did the gentry of the town and neighbourhood assure the sheriff of his loyalty and undertake to bail him in the sum of £100,000. He was brought to Clonmel and lodged in gaol. Three days later General St. John, commanding in the district, sent Hackett, the mayor of Clonmel, to intimate to Scott that he should be released on finding bail.

(d) On the occasion of their visit to Clogheen Fitzgerald flogged McGrath *supra*. Hutchinson described the episode: "I was myself present when similar acts were committed by Mr. Fitzgerald. In the town of Clogheen there was a man of some property and good character who kept an inn; and this man was brought out of his house by Mr. Fitzgerald, tied up to a ladder and whipped. When he had received some lashes Mr. Fitzgerald asked him 'Who swore you?' The man answered he never was sworn. After a few more stripes the question was repeated and received with a similar answer. The remedy was resumed for the supposed obstinacy with this additional suggestion, 'If you do not confess I'll cut you to death.' The man unable to bear the torture any longer then did name a person who, he said, had sworn him; but the moment he was cut down he said to Lord Cahir, 'The man never swore me, but he [Fitzgerald] would cut me to death if I did not accuse somebody, and to save my life I told the lie.'"—Proceedings in House of Commons on petition of T. J. Fitzgerald, p. 38.

(e) On this occasion he arrested Timothy Lynch, a chandler and a yeoman of Captain Jephson's corps, "for having the low forehead of a rebel," and imprisoned him in Clonmel. He struck with his sword Laurence Keating walking in the street, and bade him "as a damned rascal kneel down and take off his hat to the High Sheriff," etc., etc.—all put in evidence.

The latter declined, but appealed to the general for immediate trial by court martial. The High Sheriff being summoned from Cashel, made the excuse that two of his witnesses had absconded, and Scott despairing of a trial entered into bonds for £20,000, and was released after twelve days' imprisonment.

At the Clonmel summer assizes, 1799, in the case of Scott *v.* Fitzgerald for £5,000 damages, the defence set up by the sheriff was that he had acted on the information of one Stephen Devanny. On cross examination it came out that the sheriff had taken Devanny with him from Clonmel gaol in order to point out rebels in Carrick. Furthermore, Devanny was at the time undergoing sentence for perjury *(f)*.

More remarkable still were the facts elicited in the case Wright *v.* Fitzgerald at the Assizes, March 14th, 1799. This was an action for £1,000 damages brought by Mr. Bernard Wright, a teacher of French, against Thomas Judkin Fitzgerald, late high sheriff.

"William Nicholson Esq. deposed that he knew both plaintiff and defendant. That plaintiff hearing the high sheriff had expressed an intention of arresting him (plaintiff), was accompanied by witness to the high sheriff. Witness told the latter Wright had come to surrender himself, on which the high sheriff said to Wright 'Fall on your knees and receive your sentence for you are a rebel, and you have been a principal in the rebellion; you have to receive five hundred lashes and then to be shot.' Witness endeavoured in vain to convince the high sheriff of Wright's innocence whom he had known from his childhood and had always known to be a loyal man."

"Solomon Watson, a Quaker, affirmed that he had known defendant having flogged some labourers on account of the kind of waistcoats they wore. He had known defendant knock down an old man in the street for not taking off his hat to him. On 29 May, 1798, the high sheriff told witness he was going to whip a set of rebels. Saw Wright brought to the ladder under a guard; had his hands to his face, seemed to be praying; saw him on his knees at the ladder. Defendant pulled off Wright's hat, stamped on it, dragged him by the hair, struck him with his sword and kicked him; blood flowed; and then dragged him to the ladder; selected some strong men and cried 'Tie up citizen Wright.' Wright begged to have a clergyman but his request was refused; then the flogging began. Defendant ordered first fifty lashes. He pulled a paper written in French out of his pocket, gave it to Major Riall as furnishing his reasons for flogging Wright *(g)*. Major Riall read the paper and returned it. Defendant then ordered fifty lashes more, after which he asked how many lashes Wright had received, being answered he said 'Cut the waistband of the rascal's breeches, and give him fifty there.' The lashes were inflicted severely; defendant then asked for a rope; was angry there was no rope; desired a rope to be got ready, while he went to the general for an order to hang him. Defendant went down the street towards the general's lodgings. When he returned he ordered Wright back to jail, saying he would flog him again the next day.

(f) Mathew Scott Merchant Pltff., Thomas Judkin Fitzgerald Defend. Clonmel Assizes, 1 Aug., 1799.

(g) In the debate in the Commons on this case Hon. Mr. Yelverton read the letter of which the translation ran: "Sir, I am extremely sorry I cannot wait on you at the hour appointed being unavoidably obliged to attend Sir Laurence Parsons. Yours, Baron Clues. To B. Wright, Esq."

"Major Riall being examined, deposed that the high sheriff produced two papers, one of which being in French he (the high sheriff) did not understand, but gave it to him to read as containing matter that furnished ground for the flogging. Witness read the paper, and returned it saying it was no wise treasonable; that it was from a French gentleman, the Baron de Clues, making an excuse for not keeping an appointment, being obliged to wait on Sir Laurence Parsons. Wright however was flogged after witness had explained the nature of the letter to the high sheriff. Next day witness accompanied the high sheriff to see Wright in gaol. Saw him kneeling on his bed, while they were speaking to him, being unable to lie down with soreness. Witness further deposed that he knew of three innocent persons flogged one of whom was Wright.

"The Rev. T. Prior, Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, deposed that he had known Bernard Wright from his earliest youth, and that he had always conducted himself as an orderly, loyal, and moral man.

"The high sheriff in an animated speech of two hours defended the practice of flogging as a means of discovering treasonable secrets; that he had flogged a man named Nipper, alias Dwyer, who confessed that Wright was a secretary of the United Irishmen, and this information he could not get before the flogging."

The jury found a verdict for Wright with £500 damages. On 6th April following, Fitzgerald petitioned the House of Commons "to be indemnified for certain acts done by him in the suppression of the late rebellion." The government mustered their followers, and carried through an Act of Indemnity in accordance with the prayer of the petitioner. But the judges, to their honour, refused an application in the Exchequer to set aside the Clonmel verdict. Fitzgerald, however, was at no loss; he had done the government business efficiently. In the House of Commons "Mr. Secretary Cooke bore testimony to the national services performed by the petitioner," and on August 5th, 1801, the King was graciously pleased to confer the dignity of Baronet on Thomas Judkin Fitzgerald, Esq., of Lisheen *(h)*.

Throughout it must be borne in mind that there was not at any time the least attempt at insurrection in Tipperary. When the Wexford conflagration was at its height, Dr. Bray, the Catholic archbishop of Cashel, wrote to Dr. Moylan of Cork—"I am happy to understand the County Cork is so tranquil. This county is perfectly so" *(i)*.

(h) Report of Trial, Wright *v.* Fitzgerald, Clonmel Assizes. Proceedings on petition of Thomas J. Fitzgerald to the House of Commons. T. Clarke Luby, who from his family and local connexion must have had excellent opportunities of knowing the Fitzgeralds, has given an extraordinary account of the end of the family. "It is almost unnecessary to add that the memory of this wretch is embalmed in the traditional hatred of the people in Tipperary; so much so that a few years ago when his grandson, under the pressure of some private misfortunes, committed suicide by tying a heavy stone round his neck and drowning himself, the rage of the peasantry would hardly suffer his remains to receive human not to say Christian burial. It was with the utmost difficulty that the unfortunate man's body finally found a grave. It appears Sir Thomas's son also met with a violent death, and his great grandson hanged himself by accident, showing how his great grandfather used to hang the "croppies."—Life of O'Connell, p. 148.

(i) Bray to Moylan, 7th July, 1798, Renehan Papers, p. 374. In the light of all this, the "98 Memorial" set up in front of the Town Hall, looks as grotesque from an historic as it is from an esthetic stand-point.

The country was now prostrate, held down by a force of 140,000 men. One section of the Protestant national party had joined the insurgents; the other section had united with government in crushing them. The opportune time, therefore, had arrived for the English minister to carry out his design of a legislative union. In June, 1799, Lord Castlereagh made urgent appeals to Dr. Bray to procure discreetly, Catholic signatures in favour of the Union in Tipperary and Waterford. But the archbishop was not so easily caught; he assured his lordship that he, as a Catholic bishop, had little influence. The Union might prove to be a useful measure, but bishops injure their own character and the cause of religion by interfering against the wishes of the people *(j)*. Cornwallis, the viceroy, came at the same time to Marlfield to visit the Bagwells, three of whom were members of parliament. He made John Bagwell, the father, some offers but the bargain was not struck, for Bagwell held out for higher terms *(k)*. However, after much effort, some opinion in favour of the Union was manufactured. Lord Clare, through his notorious niece the baroness of Cahir, obtained a petition from that town for the Union. Hely-Hutchinson gave his support and influence on the promise of the Earldom of Donoughmore *(l)*. Agar, Protestant archbishop of Cashel, secured his son-in-law, Hawarden, in consideration of further promotion, ecclesiastical and civil *(m)*. But the overwhelming majority, Protestant and Catholic, were opposed to the measure. Tipperary County sent a strong petition, among the signatures being Lords Lismore, Clonbrock, Mountcashel and Maxwell, Sir Thomas Osborne, Hon. John Hussey, C. B. Ponsonby, William Bagwell, W. H. Armstrong. John Bagwell wrote to Cornwallis that "the principal part of the freeholders of the county of Tipperary have signed resolutions against the Union." Public opinion, therefore, had to be suppressed. What took place in Clonmel is instructive and characteristic.

CLONMEL.

Feb. 2, 1799.

A considerable number of the principal inhabitants of this town, deeming it proper to meet and express their sentiments on the important subject of a Legislative Union between this country and Great Britain, signed a requisition to the Mayor for that purpose which was complied with, and Thursday, January 31st, was appointed by the Mayor for the meeting and published in the Clonmel Journal, but on the day preceding, a notice was inserted that no meeting could take place—in consequence of which the Mayor was waited on by several gentlemen to assign his reason for such a notice, when he informed them that the general officer commanding the district, came to him and desired that no such meeting should take place, and that if it was *attempted he would disperse it with a military force.* [Italics in original.]

(j) Renehan Papers, p. 375.
(k) Cornwallis Correspondence.
(l) Created 29th December, 1800.
(m) Agar was created Viscount Somerton 21st December, 1800. Archbishop of Dublin, 7th December, 1801.

We therefore the undersigned inhabitants of the town, feeling it inconsistent with the duty we owe our country and ourselves, to remain silent at this momentous crisis, do by individual signature to the resolutions declare them to be our sentiments.

That though the project of a Legislative Union of this country with Great Britain has for the present been defeated by the wisdom and independence of that Parliament, which such a measure was intended to abolish, we consider it our duty equally with that of the kingdom at large thus publicly to declare our sentiments, as we have reason to apprehend such an attempt may in a future desperate moment be revived.

That this kingdom has rapidly advanced in prosperity since the establishment of an Independent Legislature in the year 1782—and that the town of Clonmel has shared largely in the general improvement.

That the advantages promised by the advocates of this measure are dubious and speculative, and that even were they ascertained and positive, we would not consent to purchase them by a surrender of our liberties and constitution.

Signed by 109 of the principal inhabitants among whom were the following gentlemen constituting the Bankers of the town—William Riall, Charles Riall, P. Riall (*n*).

But patriotic appeals to the national well-being had little effect on a Parliament whose only interest in the country was of the kind the shark takes in his prey. One of the members for Clonmel, Stephen Moore of Sapperton, of the numerous Mountcashel progeny, had his eye on a postmastership, a lucrative office at the time. The other member, Thomas Newenham, a strong anti-unionist, conveniently retired for a barrister, John Dennis, who was more open to the persuasive gifts of Under Secretary Cooke. Lord Mathew, the senior county member, sprung from a family sympathizing with the common people and secretly sharing their religion, consistently opposed the union. The attitude of the Bagwells is curiously illuminative. John Bagwell was junior member for the county; his two sons, John and William, were members for the boroughs of Cashel and Rathcormack respectively. All three were at first opposed to the union. After the visit of Cornwallis to Marlfield, the viceroy was able to assure the Duke of Portland that Bagwell would give "unqualified support to the union," and he adds significantly "the objects he solicited were promised." But in the slippery diplomacy of the time, Bagwell soon learned the difference between performance and promise, and so in the final division, 6th February, 1800, the three Bagwells once more voted against the union. In the "Original Black List" of Sir Jonah Barrington, the episode is thus set down :—

Names.	*Observations.*
John Bagwell, sen.	Changed *twice*; got half the patronage of Tipperary; his son a Dean, etc., etc.
John Bagwell, jun.	Changed *twice*; got the Tipperary Regiment, etc.
William Bagwell	His brother; *changed sides twice*; concluded as a Unionist (*o*).

(*n*) Rights of the Imperial Crown of Ireland, George Barnes, Dublin, 1803, p. 110. "The military commander who prevented the meeting is Sir Charles Asqill, Bart., condemned to be hung in America and whose life was saved by the intercession of the late Queen of France."

(*o*) Rise and Fall of the Irish Nation, Appendix. This was the price of the qualified support.

Thus in a morass of corruption disappeared Grattan's Parliament, the solitary attempt made by the Cromwellian squires in 250 years of power to fulfil their responsibilities.

At this point the topographical changes in the town during the previous century and a half may be conveniently noted. From the Cromwellian settlement in 1654 onward, the population steadily, if slowly, increased; the thousand or so enumerated in the census of 1660, had multiplied five fold in 1766. That year owing to an outbreak of persecuting spirit, Parliament ordered a return to be made of the number and proportion of Protestants and Catholics. The vicar of St. Mary's reported:—

A Relation of the number of families in the parish of Clonmel in the Diocese of Lismore and separate counties of Tipperary and Waterford by Rev. Joseph Moore, Vicar thereof.

Number of Protestant Families 320
Number of Popish Families 1126
2 Reputed Popish Priests.
2 Reputed Fryars (*p*).

Taking a family average of five, and allowing for the country portions of the parish, the town population would be about 5,000. With the growth of population, wealth increased in fair proportion, and the town wore a tolerably decent aspect. Travellers who had passed through the congeries of hovels that most Irish towns then were, had nothing but praise for Clonmel. Clarendon, Lord Lieutenant, describes it in 1686 as "a very pretty town;" a French authority in 1744 as "a fairly strong town, and passably good-looking and prosperous" *(q)*. Smith, the historian of Waterford, was equally impressed though his language is somewhat equivocal. "The town has a handsome appearance from this side of the water." More enthusiastic by nature than the philosophic Smith was John Wesley, who came to preach in May, 1756. "The pleasantest town beyond all comparison, which I have yet seen in Ireland." Luckome, a tourist who visited Clonmel just before its expansion under the milling industry, gives interesting details. "It consists of four cross streets, formerly fortified with a square wall. The streets lead to each of the gates. The portcullises of some of the gates are remaining though useless. There is a very spacious bridge over the Suire, just out of the gate to the right, of twenty arches. The market house, the only uniform building I saw in the whole town, is indeed very neatly built mostly of marble in the best taste, but lessens the passage of the Main Street." De Burgo in 1762 is lavish of praise: "A beautiful and opulent town, a well-known emporium of trade, whose two fairs on 5 May and 5 November are very largely attended."

(p) Parliamentary Returns, P.R.O. *(q)* Grand Dictionnaire, Moreri.

Perhaps not a little of the prosperous air which the town assumed was due to the fact that many of the local gentry resided within the walls. Among the Clonmel wills are those of Moores, Alcocks, Beeres, Hamertons, Dennisons, Meades, Salmons, and, at a later period, Biggs, Bagwells, Gordons, Kellets, Markhams, Luthers, Walshes.

The changes which the street nomenclature underwent, are indicative of the politico-religious ascendancy of the period. "Our Ladie Street" became "Church Lane." "Lough Street," for some years after the Cromwellian assault called "Breech Street," and subsequently from the gaol erected there "Jail Street," was named in 1798 "Johnson Street," in compliment to Sir Henry Johnson, Colonel of the 5th Foot, who defeated the insurgents at Ross *(r)*. In the same year the the ancient "Boat Street" was designated "Duncan Street," to commemorate the victory over the Dutch fleet of Admiral Duncan, Lord Camperdown. Previously another British admiral, Edward Hawke, had given his name to the old "Sheelane Street," and after Trafalgar it was only fitting that the name of Nelson should find a habitat; the thoroughfare by the barrack and the new courthouse became therefore "Nelson Street." And not only was there cultus paid to the admirals and generals, but the lords lieutenant of the day were duly enshrined. "New Jail Street" was styled "Richmond Street" on the visit of the duke of that name to the town in 1808. Similarly "Banfield's Buildings," reminiscent of honourable and successful industry, became "Anglesey Street."

Luckome greatly admired the "uniformity" of the market house, "being neatly built, mostly of marble in the best taste." The reader will with difficulty recognize the old Main Guard building under this literary raiment. But though the marble existed only in the writer's fancy, the fabric itself was not unpicturesque. The ground storey in which the present shops are constructed, was once an open arcade. Five semi-circular arches supported by massive cylindrical columns formed the west front, and two of a similar character, the north. When the sun was high, and the arcade afforded strong contrasts of light and shadow with groups of *lazzaroni* lying about, faint memories of Venice were doubtless recalled to the classical tourist. Nor was the building altogether wanting in historic associations. In 1662 the Ormonds after the lapse of two generations were again lords of the Palatinate. To house therefore the local Chancery, Common Pleas and courts of criminal jurisdiction with becoming dignity, no less a person than Sir Christopher

(r) Johnson was a brave man, but an incapable general. Cornwallis did not share in the enthusiasm for him of the Clonmel loyalists. His estimate of Johnson is summed up in the one word "blockhead."

roof-line, the two-storied houses with dormer windows in the attic, the occasional gable projecting on the street, the neglected footways, the open sewers, were all seen even by the grandfathers of men still living. Perhaps the most distinctive feature were the shop signs. These were fixed over the doors flush with the wall, or more commonly, were suspended from a projecting crane. Like everything else at the period, they were characteristically English—"The Sun" of the House of York, "The Swan" of that of Lancaster, "The Royal Oak" of Charles II., "The Spread Eagle" of the Crusaders, "Shakespeare's Head" where Thomas Gordon sold State Lottery tickets. Then there were "The Plough," "The Bear," "The Yellow Bottle," "The Letters," "The Wheat Sheaf," "The Anchor," "The Bell," and one or two with Irish names as "The Shamrock" and "The Rock of Cashel."

About 1750 the principal inns appear to have been the "Spread Eagle" at the end of the *cul de sac* adjoining the West Gate, subsequently known as Grubb's Court, and the "Bear" in Braham's Lane, off the High Street. Later on we find "the Great Globe and the Little Globe, nearly joining on the left hand side of Dublin Street as you come from the metropolis, and the Ormond Inn in Johnson's Street, all very respectable Houses." And clubs were not quite unknown. "The Commercial Buildings or Coffee House stands in the Main Street near the old Court House. It is a new, large and well-built edifice, but no way remarkable. It is supported by an annual subscription of two guineas from each member; military Gentlemen and Strangers are admitted gratis" *(s)*.

The post office appears to have made several peregrinations through the town according to the domicile of the master appointed at each vacancy. In 1787 it was carried on by Thomas Shaw in Main Street, "woolen draper, timber merchant and post master office" (*sic*). As a by-occupation the post naturally was often neglected. In December, 1759, for example, William Perry asks Carleton, the Cork banker, to acknowledge remittances, "as our post office in Clonmell has at times been negligent I should be glad to hear of their being got to hand." Sometimes, however, the non-arrival of the mails was due to another cause—the Knights of the Road intercepted them *(t)*. But the postal service on its side had complaints to make. The privilege of franking which belonged to members of the legislature was largely availed of by the general public, and nowhere more than in Clonmel. An Inspector

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(s) Mason Survey, P.R.O.

(t) For example—1742. Proclamation for apprehending and convicting the Persons concerned in robbing the Post Boy and Post Mail in the Road from Cashel to Clonmel.

of Franks who visited the town in 1773 found that out of 1,035 franked letters only 509 were genuine, and there was no remedy; Lees, the secretary, could not prevail on the grand jury to find a bill.

A public building which, at the period. attracted more notice than the post office was the County Gaol. This stood in Lough Street, directly opposite to the present SS. Peter and Paul's church. It was erected towards the close of the seventeenth century, and was, according to Sir Richard Cox, the strongest prison in Ireland at the time *(u)*. This character, however, it failed to maintain, for the newspapers regularly contain notices of the escape of prisoners.

[1767] Clonmel, July 15.—About one o'clock yesterday morning six men and a woman made their escape from our Jail by knocking down the woman, her son and servant maid who kept the Jail and forcing from them the key of the Hatch Door, and had it not been for the vigilance of Capt. Moore, our worthy chief magistrate, all the Felons who were confined in other apartments would likewise have effected their escape (*v*).

So frequent, indeed, were the escapes, that in 1772 the high sheriff, Chidley Moore, applied to the Dublin authorities for a military guard. Even then the gaol was sometimes broken. In 1776 Hayes who was awaiting trial for the murder of Ambrose Power of Barretstown, escaped. For this, Slattery and Cole, the gaolers, were tried the following assizes and imprisoned. Yet on July 5th the next year eight more prisoners were at large. The description of the gaol given by Howard, the philanthropist, reveals perhaps a more extraordinary state of things.

CLONMELL GAOL [1787.] The six dungeons very dirty. A large dunghill in the yard. A military guard as in most of the prisons in Ireland, consisting of twelve men under the command of a sergeant and corporal. Some of them were playing at tennis in the prison yard. Such diversions as occasion riot and confusion should in these places be strictly prohibited. Several prisoners died here [of typhus] a little before the April assize 1787. At my last visit I found that men and women debtors were confined in the same room. Though the dungeons were crowded yet at night some of the wives and children of the felons continued with them. Few of the men were in irons and the savage custom of putting irons on women is practised only in England. A new gaol for this county is now building.

1787 June 12. Debtors 10. Felons, etc. 51.
1788 May 5. Debtors 19. Felons, etc. 62 (*w*).

The new gaol was built on the site of the present constabulary barrack in Richmond Street. A description of it while it was yet new has come down to us.

(u) Smith MSS., R.I.A.
(v) The Public Register.
(w) An account of the Principal Lazarettos, etc. London, 1791.

It is in form of a Greek I I with a large yard in the centre and is surrounded with a very high wall. Notwithstanding the strength of this prison many have effected their escape out of it within these twelve years. Until of late the cells were most uncomfortable situations, especially in winter, the windows having no other barrier against the inclemency of the weather than whatever little wisp of straw the prisoners could stuff between the bars. The Rev. Mr. Stephenson and Robert Grubb Esq. (to whom the unfortunate people confined from time to time in the gaol are much indebted) took particular care to have these windows glazed with the addition of wooden shutters (*x*).

No executions took place within the gaol; the culprits were drawn on a car to Gibbet Hill, or Gallows Hill, as it is now called. Occasionally, as in the case of Father Sheehy, they were hanged in the street in front of the gaol *(y)*. The bodies were usually handed over to the relatives, and instances are on record in which persons executed were restored to life. Edmund Grady was tried for rape at the spring assizes, 1776, and hanged on the 27th April. He was duly carried away for interment, but the spinal column not having been broken he revived during the wake. After some time he was recaptured and brought up again for sentence at the next spring assizes, with the result:

Clonmel May 5 [1777.] Edmund Grady who was hanged last year and came to life again was on Saturday executed in the street facing the jail door. The sheriff gave previous directions to the hangman not to attempt cutting Grady down until such time as he gave orders, and accordingly he hung over an hour and five minutes (*z*).

Besides the gallows and the gaol there was, for venial offences, the pillory. This was erected outside the east gate, and doubtless was regularly furnished with its quota of victims, male and female. The corporation appears to have been responsible for its maintenance.

Vill, de Clonmel, ff. At a Council held 6 December, 1695, before John Moore, Mayor.

Ordered. That the Stocks in the Suburbs be viewed and repaired by the Bailiffs. . . . . .

At a Meeting of the Corporation, 24 June, 1755.

Ordered. That the new stocks made for the use of the Corporation be payd for by the Chamberlain.

From the earliest period the markets were held at the "Town Cross." But the inconvenience of exposing for sale in the public street, flesh meat and fish, was long felt. In the seventeenth century shambles were constructed

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(x) Mason Survey, P.R.O.

(y) The last execution on Gallows Hill, of which I have seen a notice, was 29th August, 1785.

(z) *Hibernian Magazine*, May, 1777. The report of these assizes is instructive. "Christopher Loughlin for stealing a pair of candlesticks out of the dwellinghouse of Joseph Grubb of Clonmel, to be executed on Saturday, the third of May next. Patrick Kielly for rescuing a deserter at Cashel to be whipt at Cashel, on Saturday, the 19th of April next and the Wednesday following, being the two market days. John Listoon the elder, being a papist, for concealing fire arms, fined £50 and to be confined twelve months," etc., etc.

in the lane off the High Street, afterwards known as the Blue Anchor. Subsequently they fell into disuse, and from 1650 onward Shambles' Lane was only a name. In 1746 John Power, a former town clerk, leased a piece of ground to the rere of the Tholsel from Samuel Perry at a rent of £5 a year. On this new shambles were erected, and the obliging corporation passed a law prohibiting, under severe penalties, the sale of meat elsewhere than in the shambles. A public service was thus rendered, and Power was enabled to lay the foundations of a county family—the Powers of Kilfane *(aa)*. By the end of the eighteenth century, these shambles began to get out of repair and new ones were built in the lane to the north of Hawke Street. "Within a few years a very fine and extensive shambles was erected by John Bagwell, Esq., from whom it is rented by the Butchers; the old shambles was, indeed, a scandalous one" *(bb)*. About 1790, when the old Jail in Lough Street was pulled down, the site was converted into a potato and vegetable market. This continued for some thirty years until the market in New Street was opened.

The markets were subject to the control of an important functionary called the borough weighmaster. By the Act 4 Ann, c. 14, the mayor appointed a weighmaster who was sworn "justly and indifferently to weigh all goods brought unto him between buyer and seller" at a charge of one halfpenny "a draught" under one cwt., and one penny over. The mayor was also to provide a standard balance and weights. The Clonmel Dear Hundred Jury in 1710 prescribed—

> That the sworn way master of Clonmell, may see all goods waid, directed to be waid by him, and pass his own note under his own hand, and no other note may pass but his, or appoynt some protestant to officiate the same, pursuant to the late Act of Parliament.

Besides securing justice to the public in the weight of goods, the quality of certain articles was guaranteed by law. The charter of James I. enacted that—

> Ye said Mayor of ye said town of Clonmel for ye time being and his successors for ever successevely be ye Clerk and Master of ye Say within ye town and Borough aforesaid and ye ffranchises of ye same and have ye assize of Bread, Wine and Beer and ye correction and amendment of ye same from time to time.

And this power the mayor exercised down to a comparatively late period.

(aa) John Power was father of Ambrose Power, of Barretstown, who took an active part against the White Boys and was murdered by them at his own door November 27th, 1775. His great grandson married Harriet Bushe of Kilfane, and was created baronet 15th July, 1836.

(bb) Mason Survey.

ASSIZE OF BREAD.

By order of the Worshipful Richard Moore, Esq., Mayor of Clonmel, the price of flour being 4 li. per Bag, with an allowance to the Baker of 8s. the Wheaten, and 9s. on the Household.

	Wheaten.			*Household.*		
	lb.	oz.	dr.	lb.	oz.	dr.
One penny	0	4	00	00	05	3
Two penny	0	8	00	00	10	6
Four penny	1	00	01	01	05	3
Six penny	1	08	03	02	00	0
Nine penny	2	04	04	03	00	0
Twelve penny	3	01	3	4	00	2

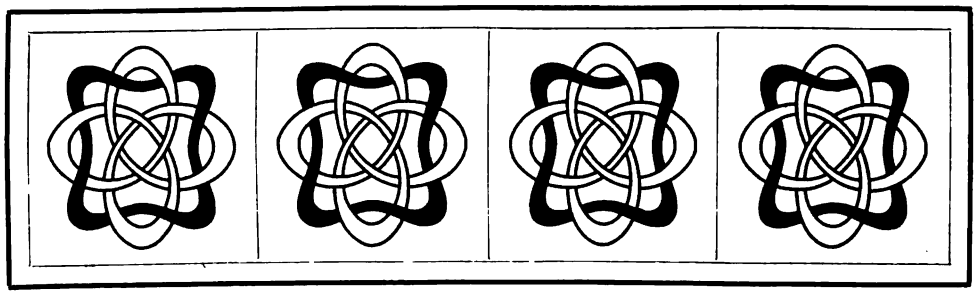
RICHARD MOORE, Mayor.

As the Bakers are allowed 9s. on the Quarter of Household Bread, the Mayor expects that they will bake an equal quantity of the Household and of the Wheaten. He will not suffer any bread to be made, baked or sold except by a Registered Baker and marked with his name.

June 14, 1800 (*cc*).

Perhaps nothing can express better than this the distance that separates us from the eighteenth century.

(*cc*) Clonmel Journal, July 16, 1800.



CHAPTER X.

CLONMEL IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

THE Moore regime in Clonmel came to an end in 1800, and that of the Bagwells began. On the 9th of August of that year, John Bagwell, of Marlfield, purchased from Lords Enniskillen and Desert, as trustees for the Earl of Ormond, "the lordship, manor or reputed manor of the town of Clonmel, and all rights, royalties and franchises appertaining thereto." The grant purported to convey "all the messuages, houses, lands, wastes and waste plots, within the walls of the said town of Clonmel, and all the burgagery land and a parcel entitled Duke's Island in the barony of Upperthird and County of Waterford" *(dd)*.

The Bagwells have been already met with in these pages, but a family which was thus brought into such important relations with the town, and which largely influenced its history for the next fifty years, deserves fuller notice.

In a ledger kept by Phineas Riall, merchant, during the opening years of the eighteenth century, two families of the name occur. The first is "Mr. John Bagwell" who farmed the lands of Ballyboy, and subsequently Ballylehane, near Ardfinnan. He was successful, it would seem, in his occupation of grazier, for in January, 1710, he purchased the fee farm of Rathculliheen, Waterford, on the freemen's roll of which city his name and that of his eldest son, John, are found *(ee)*. The second family mentioned is

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(dd) The conveyance included the advowson of St. Mary's, though that patronage had been vested in the corporation for centuries, and though there was not a particle of evidence to show that the Ormonds ever even claimed it. Reading such documents one is sometimes tempted to vary the dictum of Douglas Jerrold—"Now Barabbas was a conveyancer."

(ee) William Bagwell by deed executed 17th September, 1760, sold these lands for £760 to Simon Newport. I cannot trace this branch of the Bagwells further.

that of "Johnny Bagwell" of Clonmel. He appears to have been a draper or tailor, as under date November, 1707, Riall debits Phanuell Cooke with "£1 1s. 7d. pd. Johnny Bagwell for your coat." The founder of the Marlfield family was, it is certain, John Bagwell, of Clonmel, whose will was proved in 1754, and it may be taken as equally certain that he was son of the "Johnny Bagwell" of Riall's ledger, for we find him also engaged in the drapery trade *(ff)*. But John Bagwell sold woollens to some purpose; he was able to set up one son, John, as a country gentleman at Kilmore where the Bagwells subsequently won a fame akin to notoriety. The other son, William, married Anne, daughter of John Harper, of Cork, partner in the banking firm of Harper and Armstead, and thus laid the foundation of the family fortune. In 1754 William Bagwell, as the nominee of the resident freemen against the Moore party, fought the most memorable parliamentary election in the history of the town. Having unseated Moore on petition, he survived the election only two years, leaving a son, John, who was brought up by the Harpers in Cork.

This John, about 1781, purchased from the assigns of Stephen Moore, in bankruptcy, the fee-farm of Marlfield. He carried on the corn and rape mills there for several years with conspicuous success, and soon became one of the most notable figures in the county. The Nonconformist creed which his family had professed was an obstacle to his social progress, and he soon discarded it. Bagwell had, however, a better qualification for admission into the ranks of the Tipperary gentry, and that was he could stand fire. After three duels, he obtained a considerable measure of social recognition. Having taken an active part in the formation of the Tipperary Militia in 1793, he was rewarded for his exertions by the position of colonel *(gg)*, and subsequently was returned member for Tipperary in the Irish Parliament. Such was the man who now became lord of the manor of Clonmel.

In 1800, also, Bagwell acquired a sort of property in the town—an "incorporeal hereditament" that will be sought for in vain in Blackstone, or the evidence of it, in the Registry of Deeds—namely, the "patronage" of the borough. On the 31st December of that year, the following entry (one of several) appears in the corporation minute book.

(ff) In the executors' accounts of John Carleton, Darlinghill, are the items "Mr. John Bagwell, April 7, 1731. By funerale charges in his way £37 9s. 5d. By mourning for the children £45 15s. 3d." Besides John Bagwell there were in Clonmel at the period Thomas Bagwell, merchant, William Bagwell, timber importer, and Samuel Bagwell, collector of land and assessed taxes.

(gg) The celebrated J. P. Curran one day in Clonmel being asked by a fellow barrister who the veteran riding at the head of the militia regiment was, replied "Marshal *Saxe* with the *flour* of Tipperary at his back."

At a meeting for the purpose of electing five burgesses in the room of the Hon. William Moore, the Hon. and Rev. Robert Moore, the Hon. John Moore, William Folks Moore, and John Robertson resigned.

Ordered that Colonel John Bagwell of Marlfield, Esq., Lieut. Colonel William Bagwell, Richard Bagwell, Lieut. Colonel John Bagwell, Benjamin Bousfield, John Keighly jun., Arthur Gething of Lorintoun, Charles Riall of Clonmel, Edward Crocker of Ballinaguard, and William Pennefather of Darlinghill, Esq., be and are hereby admitted Freemen of this Corporation.

The valuable consideration is not set forth, but the names of the second party to this agreement merit attention. They are John Bagwell, the new patron; his three sons; his son-in-law; his cousin german; his wife's brother-in-law, Croker; Croker's cousin german, Pennefather, together with Benjamin Bousfield and Arthur Gething—poor relations probably; not discoverable in the pedigrees. In this family arrangement there is no appearance on the part of the persons who might be supposed to be principally concerned in the corporation of Clonmel, namely, the resident citizens. Not even the formal legal notice was served on them; and they probably looked on the whole thing as the succession of an Amuruth to an Amurath. Only among certain corporate officials was there a flutter. On the 24th July, 1801, John Burke, chamberlain of the town, wrote to a friend:—

I can hear it whispered that all grounds leased by the late Corporation will be severely investigated *(hh)*.

During this year the Bagwells evidently busied themselves about the spoils, for on 4th June, 1802, Burke again wrote:—

I have reason to think the 24th of this month, will put a period to my agency; it is not to be supposed that the present Corporation can be friendly to me or permit me to hold any place of emolument under them, from my opposition to that party for many years past. My not being a satellite of theirs, but at all times firmly attached to the Earl of Mountcashel and his fast friends, renders me incapable of holding an Employment or even Grounds from them.

They will take all if they can, now is the cry. Every lease is bad and illegally granted by the Old Corporation. From such Grippers, Lord deliver us *(ii)*.

Yet though there was not a ripple on the surface of public opinion, Bagwell did not acquire a more absolute dominion of Marlfield than he did of the corporation—its privileges, parliamentary and municipal, its patronage, and in a sense, its revenues and estates. The sum paid to the Moores is not now discoverable, if it ever will be; there can be no question, however, as to the value received by Bagwell. The Commissioners of Inquiry into Irish Municipal Corporations, held a nine days' session in Clonmel, October 1833. The evidence given, and the report of the Commissioners, form a *memoir pour servir* as instructive as it is unimpeachable. The corporate machinery is thus described by the Commissioners:—

(hh) John Burke to Kingston Power, Kilworth. *(ii)* Same to same.

It is declared by the charter of 6 James I., that the mayor and bailiffs for the time being, and the 17 other free burgesses shall constitute the common council. The election of mayor or bailiffs was to be made by the burgesses and the commonalty, [i.e., the freemen.] Every other power seems to have been given to the mayor, bailiffs, free burgesses and the commonalty. Among these, however, was a power of making bye-laws "for the public good and sound government of the said town or borough"; and by the means of this latter power the commonalty seem to have been deprived of every other. The commonalty can now neither elect the mayor or the bailiffs, or admit a freeman, without the previous nomination of the council; so that for a great number of years every power has been, in fact, exercised by this select body; and this select body again influenced and guided by the patron or head of the corporation.

The nature of the influence and guidance, we learn from the evidence of William Chaytor, the Bagwell mayor.

The Commissioners—Has any one individual the power of appointing a mayor?
Mr. Chaytor—Yes. Mr. Bagwell of Marlfield has the patronage of the Corporation, at least as far back as I can remember; beyond his time I know nothing of it. I should suppose I know it for the last thirty years; and his son and grandson after him. Their recommendation and wishes were always attended to in the Corporation; they were supposed to be the head of the Corporation. I have never known an instance to the contrary to their wishes being attended to in the appointment of mayor, and during a minority, the wishes of their friends, were attended to in like manner.

Not only did the Bagwells appoint the mayor, but on the principle *custodire custodes* they secured the town council and the commonalty also.

Mr. Chaytor—I do not suppose that any person would be proposed to the Council or admitted to freedom without the approbation of Mr. Bagwell, whose influence would procure the admission of any number of freemen he pleased, or procure their rejection.
Mr. Bagwell is as influential in appointing freemen as he is in anything else.

To point the moral, Edward Labarte, town clerk, stated—

From 20th January, 1819, to 28th December, 1832, seven persons admitted to the freedom, namely, Mr. Bagwell and his six cousins. They were all non-resident.

The corporation being thus constituted, the sequel is obvious.

The ruling body seems for many years to have possessed unlimited and irresponsible power over the property of the corporation, a power which it appears to have occasionally exercised very liberally in favour of some of its own members. The consequence is that the rental of the corporation estates, bears now but little proportion to their territorial extent or value.
No. 8 in the rent-roll, is the Spa lands leased to John Bagwell, in July, 1812, for ever, at the rent of £21 present currency.
It appears by the corporation book, that on the 24th of June, 1812, it was ordered that the mayor [Bagwell's brother-in-law] do forthwith execute a lease for ever of the Spa lands in the county of Waterford with all the mills, tenements and timber thereunto belonging, as formerly let to George Cole, Esq., of Clonmel, deceased, and lately in possession of William Baker, of Dublin, Esq., to John Bagwell of Marlfield, in as full and ample a manner, etc., at the yearly rent of twenty guineas to commence rent from the 25th of March last past.

A lease was granted in pursuance of that order, bearing date in July, 1812. The lands demised are situate in the county of Waterford about an English mile from Clonmel, and contain 41ac. 1r. Irish measure. It would seem that this lease was made at an under value.

At the time that this lease was ordered and granted, Mr. Bagwell was patron of the corporation, and also one of the bailiffs and burgesses.

Mr. Bagwell himself, and several of his relatives were present at the council which made that order.

We were referred to another instance of the council's directing a lease to be granted to a member of its body, that is, to Colonel William Bagwell. The order for this lease is dated the 20th January, 1819, viz. :—"Ordered, that the Mayor do forthwith execute a lease for ever to the Right Honourable William Bagwell, of all that and those parts of the corporation lands, in as ample a manner as same were demised to William Craddock by lease bearing date the 23rd of September, 1719, and assigned by James Craddock, representative of said William Craddock to John Hayman, late of Clonmel, gentleman, and as lately occupied by John Daniel and his under tenants, at the yearly rent of £20." This is supposed to be No. 9 in rental. At the time this order was made, Colonel William Bagwell was present, and was then one of the bailiffs, and it would seem that several of his relations and connexions, members of the council, were also present. Colonel William Bagwell went into possession of the lands immediately after the order was made, as Craddock's lease had expired. No lease pursuant to the order, appears to have been executed.

We did not discover any bye-law on the corporation books, regulating the granting of leases, but the entire power of disposing of the corporate property is assumed by the council; we presume under the bye-law of 10th June, 1754.

But the facility of annexing the corporate property was, perhaps, the least valuable part of the Bagwell patronage. For the truth is, that nearly all of the huge estate with which the De Burghs had originally endowed the town, was already appropriated by the Ormonds and other patrons. At a comparatively late period the Bagwells acquired by purchase the burgagery lands, which unquestionably once belonged to the town. When the fact was forgotten, popular rumour traced the title of these lands also to their corporate jobbery.

If the patron did not derive much emolument from the lands, there were certain offices connected with the corporation of a highly valuable character.

The Commissioners—Had the Bagwell family any influence in the election of members of parliament for this borough?

Mr. Chaytor—Yes, they had; they were equally influential till the Reform Bill.

The blessed peace which was vouchsafed to the borough, as the result of this domestic arrangement, we learn from a reply of the town clerk to the Under Secretary of the day :—

Clonmel, 17 March, 1829.

Sir—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 13th instant, and in reply, have to inform you that since the Union there has not been a contest for the representation of the Town and Borough of Clonmel.

I am, Sir, etc.,

EDWARD LABARTE.

To William Gregory, Esq.

The members of parliament for the period were William Bagwell; John Kiely his first cousin; James Hewit Massey-Dawson, and his son-in-law, Eyre Coote—Coote being a stepson of Jane Bagwell.

Besides the mayoralty, to which a salary of £180 was attached, the patron enjoyed the right of presentation to the Protestant living of St. Mary's, about £500 a year, to the weighmastership of the town worth a similar sum, not to mention less lucrative offices, as that of bailiff, and master of the Free School. And so completely were the corporate interests merged in those of the Bagwell family, that the tolls of both were collected and funded together; while the corporate leases were kept in Mr. Bagwell's office, James Douglas being at once sheriff of the town and agent for Mr. Bagwell *(jj)*.

The pocket borough system, however, was nearing the end. Parliamentary reform was coming, and with it inevitably, the reconstruction of municipal corporations on a popular basis. Even in Clonmel one might discern the signs of the times. Two years after Bagwell had secured the patronage of the town, he set about building new shambles. These were completed by 9th of September, 1803, when a by-law was made by the corporation forbidding the sale of butchers' meat elsewhere than in the shambles, under a penalty of twenty shillings, and forfeiture of the meat so exposed for sale. The *Clonmel Gazette* ventured to comment on the 'supreme power' of the patron who

> Obliged the butchers of Clonmel to march with their property from the station where they could exercise their calling at a ninetieth part of the profits' expense, to another where those of them who deal most extensively are compelled to pay a fifteenth, and the less wealthy a tenth. Who also transferred the victuallers of the poor to the costly stalls of those for the affluent.
>
> An inoffensive poor inhabitant who with another rents a small shop in the Main Street, a few weeks since had a quantity of mutton forcibly taken out of his house, notwithstanding the shrieks of his affrighted wife, and Bagwell afterwards sent to him and promised to restore the mutton, if he would take a stall. He has since been threatened with a process of ejectment.

The writer having further charged Bagwell, as Colonel of the Tipperary militia, with witholding the "marching guinea" from some of the recruits, a libel action was the result *(kk)*. Though the paper was ruined, the episode is noteworthy as evidence of the growth of an independent press, and of healthy public opinion.

(jj) Report of Commissioners on Municipal Corporations in Ireland. William Hanna and Maurice King, Sub-Commissioners.—London, 1835. Evidence Taken at the Clonmel Corporation Inquiry. Printed at the *Free Press* Office, Clonmel, 1833.

(kk) Bagwell *v.* Power, Clonmel Assizes, August 11th, 1804.

The corporation, too, evading its legitimate responsibilities, was being superseded by other bodies. The Protestant vestry of St. Mary's fulfilled at the time some of the functions of the corporation.

1804. Mr. Daniel Brien having offered to light about 200 lamps, or such number of lamps as shall appear to the Committee to be necessary, for 110 nights, and to collect the money to be laid in for that purpose, at the rate of £1 4s. per lamp for lighting and collecting same, the Committee first putting the said lamps and iron work in good order.

Ordered. That the Committee do execute a contract with the said Daniel O'Brien on said terms (*ll*).

In 1830, under the Act 9 Geo. IV., c. 82, a statutory body of twenty-one commissioners was created for the purposes of lighting and watching the town. These were elected by the inhabitants generally, and were empowered to levy a tax on all houses and tenements of the value of £5 upwards. The amount levied under the applotment was £753 14s. 8d. *(mm)*.

But the first positive step towards the extinction of the old corporation, was the deprivation of its power to elect the member of parliament *(nn)*. By the Act 2 William IV., the 94 Bagwell nominees gave place to a constituency of 521 householders of £10 valuation, and the following year the first contest in Clonmel as an open borough took place. Though every effort was made to hold the seat by money bribes, and the offer of leases to the more influential, John Bagwell was expelled by a majority of ten votes from the family borough *(oo)*. The same year the Municipal Corporation Inquiry was held, and henceforward the old corporation was regarded by friend and opponent alike, as on its death bed. In 1843 the new corporation created by the Municipal Reform Act came into existence. The first mayor

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(ll) Vestry Book. From the same book the following curious entry is derived:—"1795 31 March. Ordered that the sum of £72 stg. to be laid in and applotted on this parish by the Churchwardens, be paid over to the Treasurer of the County agreeable to the Act of Parliament [for Augmenting the Militia] for the purpose of providing seven men to serve in the militia of this County, as being the number allotted on this parish, and five to fill up vacancies."

(mm) The watching was done by a dozen men who paraded the streets at night and sang out the passing hours. They were clad in great coats and provided with wooden rattles, and probably were more picturesque than useful.

(nn) The mayor, bailiffs, burgesses and freemen, made up the constituency under the old corporation. During the Moore "patronage" the only condition of freedom was friendship for that family, and in point of fact two-thirds of the corporation were non-residents who had no connection with the town. The Bagwell "patronage" was not so absolute; for a Committee of the House of Commons on the petition of Spring Rice against the return of J. P. Vereker for Limerick in 1820, decided that the gratuitous making of non-resident freemen was *ultra vires*. Bagwell's selection of freemen was thereby restricted to residents in Clonmel. Furthermore, the Reform Act confined the elective franchise to persons claiming by right of birth, apprenticeship or marriage, or by statute.

(oo) In the case Strangman *v.* Hackett, Kilkenny Assizes, August, 1835, Smith, K.C., in opening defendant's case stated that £3 per vote was paid by Mr. Bagwell's agents. Two leases are known to the writer to have been granted in consideration of election influence.

selected was John Hackett, who from being a journeyman printer, had by ability, courage, and public spirit, won for himself the foremost place among his fellow citizens. At a time when the whole machinery of the law was in operation against the rights of the common people, he smote amain, week by week in the *Free Press*, tithe proctors, partisan magistrates, and exterminating landlords. Damages amounting to hundreds of pounds were obtained against him in the law courts, but he survived all, and having been the stoutest opponent of the old corporation, he became first mayor of the new *(pp)*.

The half century preceding the repeal of the corn laws in 1845 is the most important in the commercial and industrial history of Clonmel. The population, which at the end of the eighteenth century did not much exceed 10,000, steadily grew each decade until it reached about 1845 some 20,000 *(qq)*. The number of houses in the former period on which house and window taxes were paid, was 1,349; the number in 1841, 2,330. The economic causes which led to this expansion deserve some notice.

The parliamentary bounty on the carriage of corn to Dublin, which gave Irish agriculture its first start, was followed by the Napoleonic wars. These raised the prices of all produce to an unprecedented height, and though the prosperity was largely unreal and measured merely by a paper currency, the stimulus given was for the time, deep-felt and effective. On the 25th January, 1790, for example, flour at the Anner Mills was £2 3s. 9d. a bag; wheat 15d. a stone. Ten years later, July 12th, 1800, the *Clonmel Gazette* lists flour £4 a bag; wheat 3s. 1d. a stone *(rr)*. Though this latter was doubtless a famine price, it is probable that the average for the first twenty years of the century was not much below £2 10s. *(ss)*. As a consequence, a great part of the country was brought under tillage; the kilns which may still be seen on every farm, recall the three-course rotation of the time—potatoes, wheat and oats, followed by liming and manuring. When Napoleon collapsed in 1815, the landed interest who controlled parliament, passed the corn laws, prohibiting the importation of foreign grain. This, coupled with the development of manufactures and growth of population in England, gave Irish agriculture an artificial stimulus for another thirty years. While prices even

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(pp) It is often taken for granted that the penal system disappeared *pari passu* with the penal laws. Mr. Lecky writes of Ireland as late as 1833—"It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that the British Constitution had no existence there."—Leaders of Public Opinion, p. 260.

(qq) In 1821, 13,012; 1831, 15,134; 1841, 20,917.

(rr) It is to be regretted that no files of the old Clonmel newspapers were kept, and therefore it is impossible to give a full study of the extraordinary economic conditions of the time.

(ss) The English price was 98s. 6d. a quarter.—Six Centuries of Work and Wages—Rogers, p. 494.

in short years did not approximate to the average of the former period, yet they afforded an ample margin of profit. The quarter of wheat in the years 1828-1838 averaged, according to the *Dublin Gazette*, 49s. nearly; in London during the same eleven years it was 56s. 9d *(tt)*. Clonmel now became one of the greatest grain markets of the kingdom; for except a comparatively small amount that went by canal to Limerick and Dublin, the whole corn of Tipperary and the neighbouring counties passed through the town. The following returns of corn negociated in Clonmel itself, are taken from the Report of the Select Committee on Irish Agricultural Distress, 1839:—

YEARS	Barrels of Wheat	Barrels of Barley	Barrels of Oats	Barrels of Bere
1826	188,000	47,000	98,300	100
1827	192,200	38,000	86,000	95
1828	191,200	43,000	86,800	105
1829	189,000	44,000	82,000	100
1830	188,190	49,000	90,000	80
1831	189,000	43,000	93,000	120
1832	187,000	36,000	92,000	100
1833	188,000	37,000	101,800	95
1834	188,200	44,000	80,000	85
1835	192,600	38,000	86,800	105

In the earlier years of the century the great bulk of the grain was exported in its unmanufactured state; by degrees the exceptional advantages of cheap labour and abundant water power were availed of; so that about 1840 between sixty and seventy mills were in operation throughout the county. Some of these mills were very large. Shiel, who visited Clonmel in 1828, likened them to cotton factories in Lancashire. "Malcomson's mill," he writes, "is, I believe, the finest in Ireland. I felt dizzy at the play of the machinery. Here half the harvest of the adjoining counties as well as of Tipperary, is powdered under the huge mill stones that I saw wheeling with incalculable rapidity. Honest David showed me, with some touch of the pride of wealth, this great concern. We ascended flight after flight of stairs to a vast height. On reaching one of the loftiest stages of the building, I saw a young man shovelling the flour into a large tube and covered with its particles. 'That is my son,' said David, 'he will teach others by first

(tt) This I calculate from some figures in "Ireland after the Union"—Martin, p. 100, London, 1853. The only Clonmel prices I have met during this period are 1826, 22 Dec., Flour 37s. a bag. Wheat 1s. 6d. a stone. 1832, Nov. 7, Flour 35s. a bag. Wheat 14d. a stone. 1843, 8 July, Flour 31s. a bag. Wheat 15d. a stone.

practising his business himself.'" *(uu)*. The proportion of flour to wheat now exported, we learn from the returns for the year ending April 30th, 1832:—

Hundreds of flour, 230,503.
Barrels of wheat, 28,678.
Barrels of oats, 19,445.
Barrels of barley, 3,878.

The following is a list of the mills of Clonmel and the immediate neighbourhood, with the particulars now ascertainable *(vv)*.

1. POULBUEE: two pairs of stones. This was at first a tucking mill and was converted into a corn mill in 1792 by Edmund Daniel, who in the January of that year obtained from Sir Thomas Osborne a new pepper-corn lease, in exchange for other lands.

2. POULBUEE: two pairs of stones. Originally built by Daniel and worked to a comparatively late period by J. Heneberry.

3. ANNER MILLS: ten pairs of stones. First mill begun by Robert Grubb, 1763; the mills of which the ruins exist, were built by him in 1780; worked by his family and subsequently by the Clibborns, relatives in the female line, until consumed by fire in 1880.

4. REDMONDSTOWN: four pairs of stones. Built about 1775 by Joseph Grubb who obtained a lease of the lands for lives, from Gamaliel Fitzgerald Magrath, 2 November, 1774. They were worked until 1878 when they were burnt.

5. RATHRONAN: four pairs of stones. Originally built by John Thompson, a Quaker, who appears to have soon got into financial difficulties. It was last worked by T. K. O'Mahoney and like so many others, was burnt about 1882.

6. MARLFIELD: thirteen pairs of stones. Built in 1769 by Stephen Moore; rented by Edward Collins from his assigns in 1780, until purchased by John Bagwell. The latter carried on baking and biscuit making with great success, especially during the period of the French and second American wars. Mills converted into a whiskey distillery by the firm of John Stein & Co. about 1817, and the manufacture of whiskey continued until the late fifties, when the business was sold to the Jamesons, of Dublin, who closed the place a few years subsequent.

7. MARLFIELD: four pairs of stones. This mill which was situated close to river is supposed to have been erected also by the Moores. It was worked by persons named Shanahan and Dunn in succession, until about thirty years ago when it was burnt.

8. MANOR: ten pairs of stones. This, the oldest of the Clonmel mills, was re-erected by Samuel Morton about 1785. Business continued by Morton and Thomas Grubb his partner, and subsequently by Thomas Cambridge Grubb. Mill destroyed by fire about 20 years since.

9. HUGHES' MILL: six pairs of stones. Situated on Little Island and built by Thomas Hughes.

10. SUIR ISLAND: eight pairs of stones. This replaced an old mill probably dating from the seventeenth century, which was used for grinding rape seed. Built about 1785 by Robert Samuel Grubb and afterwards owned by Abraham Murray. Starch also was manufactured in considerable quantities.

(uu) Shiel's Sketches, II., p. 356. The extent of these mills we may conjecture from their valuation under the first Poor Law Act. Malcomson's were valued at £750 per annum, the Manor Mills £280, Marlfield Distillery £1,000, the Clonmel Gas Works £300.

(vv) It must not be supposed that they were at all times able to work the full number of pairs of stones, but on the other hand, some of the larger ones worked a night as well as a day stretch.

11. SUIR ISLAND: six pairs of stones. Built by Joseph Thomas Grubb.

12. CHARLES STREET: four pairs of stones. Built by Peter R. Banfield, who however became bankrupt through the collapse of the Ryall's bank in 1820. Milling finally relinquished there in 1855.

13. LITTLE ISLAND: ten pairs of stones. Built in the early years of the century by David Malcomson, adjoined Hughes' mill, and the latter not permitting Malcomson to rest the shafts of the undershot water wheels on the partition walls, the wheels had to be narrowed, with diminished power. The growth of the business we learn from the Agricultural Committee Report of 1836. From 1815 to 1819 Malcomson exported 34,398 cwts. of flour; from 1825-1829, 357,618 cwts. (p. 74). These mills were subsequently converted into a cotton factory, and after the Malcomson collapse in 1876, they were turned to a boot factory by James Myers. They are now the milk factory of Messrs. Dwyer and Cleeve.

14. RICHMOND MILLS: three pairs of stones. Built about 1830 by Thomas Samuel Grubb. Owned by Thomas C. Grubb and D. O'Neill successively.

15. RICHMOND MILLS: six pairs of stones. Built by Thomas Samuel Grubb.

16. RAGWELL MILLS: two pairs of stones. Built about 1850 by Robert Lawton; ceased working about 1878.

17. RAGWELL MILLS: three pairs of stones. Built about 1825 by James Smith, and successively owned by John Ratcliff and Peter R. Banfield. Worked by an overshot wheel fifty feet diameter.

18. NEW STREET MILLS: three pairs of stones. Built as a saw mill by a contractor named Doolan. Oat crushing machinery put in by M. McCarthy about 1877.

19. SPA MILLS: two pairs of stones. Built by John Flynn and last worked by Maurice Dee about 1878.

20. MINELLA MILLS: three pairs of stones. Built by Burrows Close and improved by Peter Banfield; now worked by Phelan Brothers.

21. SUIR VILLE: twelve pairs of stones. Built in 1782 by Robert Dudley. Originally an ironmonger in Dublin Street, Dudley married secondly in 1769 Hannah Jesup, of Woodbridge, and unwisely sank her fortune in building the mill in a place altogether unsuitable. The mill was used in recent years as a woollen factory by Mr. T. Russell.

22. TUBBERAHEENA: two pairs of stones. Built by Simmons Sparrow and occupied subsequently by Thomas Hayden and David Hally. It stood on the site of the present Asylum ball court.

23. SCROUTHEA: one pair of stones. Built as an oaten mill by John Hally and afterwards converted by Richard Crean to a tannery *(ww)*.

Besides the manufacture of flour for export, there was throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, a flourishing butter market. By the Act 2 Geo. I., no cask of butter could be sold on which the tare was not branded, the penalty being forfeiture. Similarly none could be exported. A further Act obliged corporations to appoint public weighmasters, to provide weigh-houses and scales, and also regulated the make of the firkins, and the due packing of the butter. Each firkin should be branded with the weight, gross and net, the name of the market, and the surname of the weighmaster. A qualitative

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(ww) The above mills, except Nos. 10, 12, 14, 15, 18, were all worked by water power. It may be noted here that the grain elevator in universal use down to a late period—the quadrant buckets attached to an endless band—was the invention of a Clonmel millwright. For most of the details about the Clonmel mills I am indebted to Mr. James White, Mr. J. E. Grubb, of Carrick-on-Suir, and Mr. B. Clibborn.

test was also provided; since in case of doubt as to the "merchantable" condition of the butter "two able merchants of the place and two others skilled in such commodities," adjudicated. Subject to such stringent regulations, the butter trade inevitably gathered into certain centres, the names of which were a guarantee of the weight and quality of the article. "Clonmel" butter early obtained recognition, and for a considerable period stood at the top of the English trade lists. The market seems to have attained its greatest popularity about 1820. The returns made to parliament for the seven years following are:—

Years	Firkins Tasted, Weighed and Branded	Empty Firkins Weighed and Branded	Fees
1821	48,884	...	£611 1 0
	...	29,557	123 4 9
			734 5 9
1822	54,296	...	678 14 0
	...	32,278	134 9 10
			813 3 10
1823	36,334	...	454 3 6
	...	21,650	90 4 2
			544 7 8
1824	39,399	...	497 9 9
	...	22,971	95 14 3
			593 4 0
1825	48,676	...	608 9 0
	...	24,276	101 3 0
			709 12 0
1826	37,537	...	469 4 1
	...	17,971	74 17 7
			544 1 8
1827	58,691	...	733 12 9
	...	23,582	93 5 2
			826 17 11

In 1829 the Act 10, Geo. IV., c. 41, repealed the former Acts restricting the sale of butter; merchants now purchased at their stores, and the smaller towns opened markets of their own. Three years later the quantity of butter sold in the Clonmel market had shrunk to 21,559 cwts. The fees paid for

weighing and branding the butter were the private perquisite of the weigh-master, William Chaytor, at this period. Out of them were paid the rent of the weigh-house and the wages of the officials, which amounted to the sum of £167 a year, so that the average netted by Chaytor on the seven years was £513 16s. a year. According to the notions of the time he was considered to have a vested interest in the market; he received as compensation therefore for the four years 1830-1833 the sum of £1,296 16s. 10d. *(xx)*.

The bacon trade reached considerable proportions. Wakefield who visited Clonmel in December 1808, gives the following account:—

There is here an immense establishment for the pickling of bacon. 12,000 hogs are slaughtered per annum. Liverpool salt is used. The warehouse in which it is pickled will hold 100 tons. It is paved with flags and has channels to convey the pickle into a cistern in the centre. The introduction of the English breed has been found very advantageous, there being much less offal which brings only a guinea per cwt. The bacon is not dried here but sent to England in a pickled state, packed up in cloths. The pork merchants are chiefly quakers *(yy)*.

The principal merchants were Henry Joyce, Irishtown; Robert Banfield, New Quay; Murphy & White, Dowd's Lane; Henry Price, Irishtown; Patrick Fennelly, Johnson Street; Robert Grubb, Suir Island. Apart from what was manufactured for home consumption, in the year ending April 30th, 1832, the number of flitches of bacon exported was 63,751, and of lard 2,769 cwts.

The brewing and distilling industries were also in a prosperous condition. In the season 1831-2, for example, 92,000 barrels of barley were purchased in Clonmel, of which less than 4,000 were exported, the rest being used for malting purposes. The brewery of Samuel Morton & Co. had now passed into the hands of Stephen Going, while that of Greer & Murphy, of Nelson Street, was being rebuilt after a disastrous fire which occurred in 1829. The distillery of John Stein & Company at Marlfield employed, in 1838, 150 hands. As the duty paid was only 2s. 8d. per gallon, and the pot-still whiskey produced, enjoyed a good reputation, the business steadily expanded. When, however, between the years 1853 and 1858 the duty was gradually raised from 2s. 8d. to 8s., the Jamesons of Dublin, who had taken over the distillery from Stein, were obliged to close it.

About 1824 the Malcomsons, in addition to their corn mills, set up a cotton factory; in 1833 it afforded employment to about 200 persons. Shiel's notice of it is characteristic:—

We proceeded to a large white building which stands immediately on the bank of the river, and where I heard the rattling of the shuttle as I approached the temple of

(xx) The butter market was built in 1817 by subscriptions, Chaytor contributing £100, and the merchants over £200. The site was granted by the patron of the town, William Bagwell, for the nominal rent of £55 Irish. Municipal Commission Report, 1833. Market Compensation Report, 1828. Evidence given at Inquiry.—Tipperary *Free Press*. The local prices for butter, 1792, 17 March, 64s. per cwt. 1800 12 July, 92s. per cwt. 1826 22 December, 72s. per cwt. 1832 7 November, 83s. per cwt. 1843 8 July, 74s.

(yy) State of Ireland, I., p. 752.

industry accompanied by the author of all the good, of which I had already received intimation from the rapidity with which I heard some hundred looms going through their operations. A vast apartment, lined with looms on either side, occupied by a crowd of little blooming girls, who with the most animated cheerfulness, with health ruddy on their faces, with hands and naked feet plied the respective machines over which they presided *(zz)*.

Besides these principal industries, there were others which are worthy of note. The tanning of leather which had been carried on to a considerable extent in the eighteenth century, was continued by Price, Taylor, Davis, Cashen, Crean, Jones and Keilly, and subsequently by Byrne, Myers, Russell and others. Soap boiling and tallow chandling had passed from Dumville, Phelan and Bond, to Going, Lester, Quinn and Byrne. Steam engines, machinery, pumps, cranes, castings, boilers, pipes and mill brasses, were made on the New Quay by Jacob and Grubb *(a)*. Cutlery and razors of a high character were manufactured by Bradford; tobacco and snuff by Kielly and Quinn. Nor were the arts that minister to luxury wanting. Henry Julian of Dublin Street obtained a reputation for coach building. House furniture of excellent design and conscientious workmanship, was made by Jacob Graham in Duncan Street, while persons desirous to quarter arms had recourse to "Richard Sladen, heraldic painter," in the Irishtown. As photography was unknown, Edward Hayes of Johnston Street, "landscape and miniature," painted portraits from £2 upwards *(b)*. Watches, clocks and silverplate were also made in the town, not as now, merely retailed there. Under the Act 23 & 24, Geo. III., c. 23, which obliged makers and vendors of plate to be registered, the following Clonmel names are found in 1784—John Quinn, William Thompson, John Beauchamp, Cavan Ryan, Robert Cooke; in 1800 James Shee; in 1808 Dennis Madden; and in 1815 Theophilus Harvey. Some of the clocks of Hill, Prossor, Brodrick and Wallace, are still keeping time after the lapse of a century *(c)*.

Perhaps the most interesting feature of commercial Clonmel at this period was its banking system. During the first decade of the eighteenth

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(zz) Sketches II., p. 356.

(a) Much of the work of this firm was creditably artistic. The older lamp posts of the town will repay inspection, while the standards of the benches in St. Mary's Catholic Church might be profitably studied by more recent designers.

(b) A sketch of Hayes' is in the writer's possession; its truth and delicacy is surprising for a painter who made Clonmel his habitat.

(c) The registers of the Dublin goldsmiths contain a few entries: "Robt. Cuffe was apprenticed to Hercules Beer in Clonmell in 1705." Plate was assayed in Dublin in 1725 for "Noah Violas of Clonmel 7 lb. 4 oz.," and "12 lb." the following year. The next goldsmith of whom there is mention is Jeremiah Morgan. The Carleton executors' accounts contain the entry—"1730 November 6. Pd. Jeremiah Morgan for two peeces of Plate for Mr. Jos. Barrett and Mr. Henry Blackmore for their trouble in appraising the Coll's stock,—bespoke by Mrs. Carleton £22 16s. 1½d." Morgan's son Hercules succeeded him; "1762, 18 March Pd. Hercules Morgan for 2 pair of boot strap buckles."—Perry Papers. For the Dublin entries I am indebted to J. R. Garstin, Esq., Castlebellingham.

century the corporation occasionally negociated loans with Phineas Riall, merchant. Riall also advanced money on mortgages of land and houses, and dealt in the bills of Joseph Ball of London, Burton and Harrison of Dublin, Joseph Damer, Elnathan Lumn, and others. A little later John Bagwell, draper in the Main Street, received money for safe keeping; *(d)* he also accepted the bills of Armstead of Cork and Burton of Dublin, and discharged some other functions of a banker *(e)*. In 1754, the year of Bagwell's death, Stephen Moore of Marlfield, and William Markham of New Abbey, set up a bank in Clonmel. These were immediately followed by William and Phineas Riall. The Rialls were Dissenters, and Dissenters in those days monopolized banking *(f)*. Moore and Markham, therefore, soon disappeared, and henceforward for seventy years—with the exception of a brief interval—the banking of the whole district was carried on by the Rialls. The successive partners were William, the founder, and his son Phineas; William and Charles, the sons of Phineas; and finally William, Charles and Arthur. From the beginning the Rialls appear to have done a safe business, and never seem to have spread their paper wholesale after the fashion of the private bankers of the time. Though they advanced large sums—often at low interest—on landed security, *(g)* yet the fact that in the earlier period none of their notes were payable at sight must have carried them through more than one crisis. They survived the crash of 1770, and the subsequent one of 1793, and thus together with a solid reputation, built up a considerable fortune. By the end of the eighteenth century, the partners were possessed of an estate in Clonmel and the neighbourhood estimated to be worth £70,000. During the Napoleonic period the Rialls in common with others, had to face an extraordinary state of things. In 1797 the Banks of England and Ireland suspended cash payments. The metallic currency almost disappeared, and the country was deluged with I O Us, promises to pay, post bills, and all sorts of instruments of credit. The notes paying duty rose from 450,721 in 1800 to 1,457,283 in 1804, and the increased number was almost entirely in notes of £1 and under. Country gentlemen, reputed to be owners of an "estate," and successful shopkeepers, set up for bankers—i.e., palmed off paper on the public. When Bank of Ireland notes came down the country

(d) For example—"I peremtarlly desire ye two hundred pounds of my money that lyes in Mr. Bagwell's hands may be imedeatly called in."—Will of Ellen Cumberfort, 1748, P.R.O.

(e) "1730, Nov. 5, Mr. Richard Carleton To paid him Armstead's bill on Bagwell, £30. Nov. 16. By Burton's bill on Bagwell £50."—Carleton Accounts.

(f) The three Rialls named were three generations. The last married into the Caldwells, Dublin bankers, while the Heywoods, the Liverpool bankers, were his cousins german. His sister Elizabeth was wife of Simon Newport, founder of the Waterford bank.

(g) "Altho' money perhaps may be a little scarce now, yet within these few years it might have been had on Land Security I know at 4½ p.c., very large sums, and perhaps shortly may again."—W. Perry to Simon Newport, 31st May, 1761.

(it had no branches then) the local "banker" exchanged with the holders his notes at a discount of 10 to 25 per cent., and so got them into circulation. These notes varied from £10 to 13d. face value. Sometimes the public got uneasy, and each holder to negociate his note had to endorse it *(h)*. The eleven Irish bankers of 1797 had grown to twenty-nine in 1802, and fifty in 1804. Among the new comers were the Watsons. In 1800 Solomon, John and William Watson opened as a bank, the shop in Johnson Street, three doors from the Main Guard, west side. Related as they were to the Fennells, Hills, Boles and other Tipperary Quakers, the Watsons for a time did a roaring business—in the issue of paper. In the year 1803 they paid stamp duty on 34,400 notes under three guineas, and 1,500 notes under ten pounds. John Watson was replaced in the firm by Robert Banfield. The meteoric career of the bank came to an end about 1809, and it is to be noted that a loan to the Watsons of £700 in August, 1785, was only repaid in January, 1822 *(i)*. Money therefore was not required for carrying on a bank in those days. The Rialls' note issue during the financial orgie probably never fell below £100,000 *(j)*. In 1803 they paid duty on 36,300 notes under three guineas, and 5,300 under £10. But as the various bubble banks passed into the law courts, they appear to have brought their paper currency within reasonable distance of their convertible assets. When the end came the Rialls, alone among the private bankers, went down with honour.

The banks of Roche and Leslie of Cork stopped payment May 25th, 1820. These were followed by Maunsell's of Limerick, May 27th. Within a week four other banks had closed their doors. On 8th June, a Clonmel merchant wrote :—

> Rialls' paid about £20,000 yesterday, and from the appearance of this day a similar large demand would be made. They under advice have closed their doors and suspended payments for the present. There is no danger of eventual loss, but unless they had Bank of Ireland paper for engagements of all kinds they would not keep open *(k)*.

A few days later the following statement was circulated :—

A STATEMENT OF THE AFFAIRS OF WILLIAM RIALL AND BROTHERS, ESQRS., BANKERS.

	£	s.	d.	
The Notes of the Bank in Circulation 8 June, 1820 ...	70,000	0	0	
The Receipts for Lodgments Outstanding ...	48,000	0	0	
The Balances due for Account in Ledger ...	37,609	3	6	
				£155,609 3 6

(h) In some notes in the writer's possession a score of signatures are traceable.

(i) Clonmel Annuity Society Accounts.

(j) "Dec. 6, 1808. Mr. Bagwell believes the notes circulated by the Clonmel bankers amount to about £200,000."—Wakefield's Ireland, II., p. 170.

(k) Robert Grubb, Clonmel, to John Lecky, Cork, 8th 6 mo., 1820.

The Property of the Bank.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Cash on hands	3,876	13	2			
Bills and Notes Receivable	43,791	7	10			
Balances on Bank Account per Ledger	68,623	9	6			
Debts secured by Mortgages, Charges on Estates and under Decrees	21,212	17	8			
Debts secured by Insurances	11,500	0	0			
Turnpike Road Debentures	575	7	2			
Interest in Modeshill held for lives renewable for ever	3,000	0	0			
Interest in Rathronan for lives	500	0	0			
Interest in tenements in Clonmel for lives ...	600	0	0			
Stock and Arrears of Rent on and due by tenants at Modeshill	700	0	0			
Interest on Bonds, Bills and Book Accouuts, at least	5,000	0	0			
Maunsell's and Kennedy's notes	1,130	0	0			
Roche's and Leslie's notes	579	5	0			
				£161,089	0	4
Doubtful debts	6,032	18	7			
Bad debts	23,300	0	0			
				£29,332	18	7
New Bank cost				3,000	0	0
				£193,421	18	11
Amount of available property				161,089	0	4
Due by Bank				155,609	3	6
Excess beyond debt				£5,479	16	10

Against Casualties.

The Messrs. Riall have stock and furniture to amount in value of at least £5,000, and are seized of Landed Estates and Interests in and about the Town of Clonmell exceeding in value the yearly sum of £6,000, subject to life annuities to Mrs. Riall, the mother of the Bankers, and the Rev. Samuel Riall, their uncle, amounting to £2,000, and to contingent jointures for the wives of the Bankers amounting to £1,500.

WILLIAM RIALL & BROTHERS.

While business was for a time paralysed in the town, the sympathy of the public was extended to the Rialls who had been brought down by the fall of financial rookeries such as Newport's of Waterford, and Williams and Finn of Dublin *(l)*. A week later a meeting was held at the Courthouse, Lord Lismore in the chair; the following among other resolutions were carried:—

Resolved.—That a Committee of the following confer with Messrs. Riall on the means of resuming their usual Business, and this meeting adjourn till Wednesday, 28, to give time for communications with London to effect the wished for object. Lord Lismore, Sir John J. FitzGerald, Stephen Moore of Barn, Valentine Meagher, Richard Pennefather, John Palliser, James Jacob, Mathew Taylor, Charles W. Wall, Richard Creagh, Dunbar Barton, Edmund O'Meagher, Samuel Morton, William Barton, Samuel Gordon, David Malcomson, Joseph Grubb Benjamin.

(l) The former at no period could pay twenty shillings in the £, while the partners in the latter were never worth a shilling though they failed for £300,000.—Evidence before Lords' Committee, 1826.





BANK NOTE OF RIALL'S BANK, 1804.

Resolved.—That fully convinced of the stability and integrity of the Messrs. Riall, that we do hereby agree to receive their notes in payment of all rents and debts due to us, and we hereby strongly recommend the public in general to receive the same in all their dealings.

Resolved.—That Messrs Riall be requested to receive payment of all sums receivable and collectable, by the notes and receipts of the firm.

The bank, however, went into liquidation, and on 28th August, Samuel Morton, James G. Jacob and John Domville were appointed trustees for the creditors. A sum of £30,000, secured on the family estates, was obtained from a fund of £500,000 created by government for the relief of those affected by bank failures. Many, however, of the poorer folk who held the notes never, through ignorance, proved their claims, and these notes may even now be met with after a lapse of nearly ninety years.

One good result followed the collapse of the private banks of 1820; the monoply of joint stock banking hitherto enjoyed by the Bank of Ireland was abolished. Though the Act for that purpose passed in 1820, the Bank of Ireland, with the help of the law courts, was able to render it inoperative for four years. At length in 1825 the Provincial Bank (*Provincial*, for the Bank of Ireland still had a monoply of a circuit of fifty miles around Dublin) started four establishments. The third of these was Clonmel, where the Rialls' premises were re-opened 15th November. The Bank of Ireland partly in alarm, partly in spite, followed by establishing a branch the next year. In 1835 the National Bank was founded, and having received much support from O'Connell, was long known as the "Liberator's Bank." At its inception it was built on a peculiar plan; there were two bodies of shareholders, English and local. The shares of the former were £50, the latter £10, the amount paid up being £7 10s. and £2 10s. respectively. The management was local, the most notable director being Charles Bianconi. The Clonmel National Bank had two branches—Cashel and Thurles. In 1852 the number of shareholders was 1,050, the subscribed capital being £80,000, and the paid up £16,235. The fixed note issue was £66,431, the number in circulation £51,995; the specie on hand November 1852, £9,560. From the first the bank obtained a high degree of prosperity, and except for a brief period through the dishonesty of a manager named Castells, paid dividends ranging from 12 to 20 per cent. So successful was the business, that only in 1856 the proprietors agreed to amalgamate with the present National.

By far, however, the most notable of the local banks was the Tipperary Joint Stock Bank, popularly known as Sadleir's. This, which grew out of Scully's Tipperary Bank, was established 5th July, 1842, the head office being removed to Clonmel in 1847. The nominal capital was £500,000 in £50 shares (£10 paid), but no more than a tenth of that sum was subscribed. The

responsible officials were James Sadleir, Clonacody, and Wilson Kennedy, solicitor, Clonmel—a member of a Presbyterian family of stockbrokers. The shareholders registered in 1847 numbered fifty-one, of whom the Sadleirs, Scullys, Kennedys and Keatings were the principal; there were besides ten farmers, two solicitors, a priest and a parson, and curiously enough, three Bank of Ireland agents. There was practically no directorate, James Sadleir, the managing director, exercising uncontrolled authority without the slightest attempt at interference on the part of the directors or the shareholders at large. The bank in truth was but a scheme devised by the notorious John Sadleir, land agent, financier, papal champion, lord of the Treasury, for the purpose of getting hold of the savings of Tipperary farmers and shopkeepers *(m)*. In this he was entirely successful, for by the beginning of 1855 he had obtained advances from the bank amounting to £174,000. Meanwhile Nemesis was rapidly overtaking him, and in the March of that year he applied to his brother James for an acceptance of £20,000 from the Tipperary bank. James pleaded that the bank was on the verge of ruin, and suggested as security for the acceptance, a mortgage of his landed estates. The mortgage was drafted in the bank parlour of Clonmel, 15th March, giving power to James Sadleir and Robert Keating (a cousin of the Sadleirs who was member of parliament for Waterford) to receive the rents and sell the estates for the benefit of the bank. But lest the credit of John Sadleir should be affected, the mortgage was not registered. Three months later James being himself no longer able to extricate John from his growing difficulties, approached the London and County Bank, of which John had been chairman, to obtain a loan of £95,000. He professed to give a full account of his brother's affairs, and in reply to a question as to the latter's indebtedness to the Tipperary Bank, stated that he owed about £40,000. The advance was obtained; a legal mortgage of John's Irish estates was executed, with the Tipperary Bank as collateral security. But the existence of the previous mortgage was kept a profound secret, and further, the deed of guarantee required from the Tipperary Bank was ingeniously evaded. For by the Articles of Association this deed should be signed by several directors and approved of by them at a board. Kelly, the Clonmel manager, forwarded instead an official copy of a minute of a supposed meeting of directors, and with this the solicitors of the London and County Bank who were under the influence of its late chairman, John Sadleir, expressed themselves satisfied. In January, 1856, it became an open secret in London that the Tipperary Bank was in difficulties, while about

(m) The branches were Clonmel, Carrick-on-Suir, Nenagh, Roscrea, Tipperary, Thurles, Thomastown, Athy.

the same time a grant of the Encumbered Estates' Court given as security to Wilkinson, Gurney & Co., was discovered to be forged. The news began to find its way gradually into Ireland, and by the second week of February the managers of the several branches were preparing for a run on the bank. The press however was effectively muzzled, *(n)* and though the Tipperary drafts had been dishonoured at Glyn's, James Sadleir kept the best side out. On Saturday, 16th February, he wired to John: "All right at all the branches—only a few small things refused. If from 20,000 to 30,000 over here on Monday morning, all is safe." But that day John Sadleir after a fruitless attempt in several quarters to raise the money, wrote to Keating that the end was come, and committed suicide by poison. A month later it was ascertained that the liabilities of the bank amounted to £450,000, its assets £50,000. The unhappy creditors—mostly small farmers and struggling shopkeepers—now passed into the hands of the lawyers, so that within a few months ninety actions were brought in the superior courts against the partners who were nearly all men of straw—mere creatures of the Sadleirs. The most important of these actions was the unsuccessful attempt to secure for the bank, priority for the unregistered mortgage of John Sadleir's estates, against the subsequent mortgage made to the London and County, which was duly registered. After years of litigation, in August, 1881, a sum of £3,000 was still due to 647 creditors who were required to prove their claims before 11th January, 1882.

In the development of passenger and goods communications Clonmel took a leading part. As late as 1758 the journey to Dublin cost about £5, and occupied four days, the stages being Kilkenny, Leighlin Bridge and Kilcullen. The first regular public conveyance was set up in 1772, when a subscription list was opened in Clonmel to establish a poll carriage on the stage to Kilkenny, the promoters being Sir Thomas Maude, Wray Palliser, Francis Mathew, Thomas Moore and John Bagwell of Kilmore. With the improvement of the roads and the establishment of mail coaches, the journey to Dublin was brought within the small compass of seventeen hours. The Clonmel traveller left at one in the morning, and passing through Kilkenny and Carlow reached Dublin about seven that evening. The return journey was equally expeditious. Leaving the Hibernian in Dawson Street at a quarter before ten in the morning, our traveller was enabled to alight at "Richard Higgins' Mail Coach Hotel" in Duncan Street, Clonmel, before

(n) Mr. Patten S. Bridge was manager of the Thurles Branch. On the Tuesday of the fateful week he invited Peter Gill, editor and owner of the *Tipperary Advocate*, into his office. He pointed out that the bank had steadily paid dividends of 6, 8 and 9 per cent., and the last report had showed £17,000 reserve. He offered £100 on condition of Gill's insertion of an editorial as to the bank's solvency. Gill refused. Twenty years later Bridge, as agent for the Galtee estate of Mr. N. Buckley, attracted even greater public notice. He was twice fired at—the second occasion encountering a murderous fusilade in which he himself was wounded and the driver of his car killed.

four the next morning. Besides the connection with Dublin and Cork, a mail coach for Waterford left about six in the morning, arriving in Clonmel at nine that night, so that a strenuous tradesman might go to Waterford, transact business there, and return within the same day. Further, "a genteel car for passengers and parcels" went three times a week to Kilkenny, covering the journey in six hours. The arrangements for goods traffic were even more primitive. Dray carts carrying about half a ton plied between Clonmel and the adjacent towns. "Weekly and occasionally" cars left Mathew Dunn's "Churn Inn," Thomas Street, Dublin, for Clonmel, Waterford, &c., while from Mrs. Power's "Cherry Tree," in the same street, there was a tri-weekly service.

Such was the state of things when Charles Bianconi, a native of the city of Como, by profession a hawker and picture dealer, set himself to the problem of transit. The time was favourable; the fall of Napoleon enabled him to obtain horses bred for the army, at the price of from £10 to £20, while forage was correspondingly cheap. The first car run was one from Clonmel to Cahir, 5th July, 1815. Within the next thirty years a net-work of communication, of which Clonmel was the centre, was spread over the whole of Ireland. The cars were originally one-horse ones carrying four to six passengers, but as the breed of horses deteriorated he was obliged to add a second. The additional horse power enabled him to enlarge the car, so that the four wheel "Bians," as they came to be known, carried twelve, sixteen or more passengers according to the season, the roads, or the number of horses added. In 1843 the establishment consisted of 100 vehicles, mail coaches and cars of various sizes, carrying from four to twenty passengers, at a rate of from six and a half to nine miles an hour for one penny farthing a mile. The mileage was 3,800 daily, the consumption of hay about 4,000 tons and of oats about 40,000 barrels yearly. In 1849 when the railways were being opened for traffic, the mileage of Bianconi's cars was about 4,250 daily—the highest figure reached. The following table shows the local car traffic:—

Route.	*Established.*		*Discontinued.*
Clonmel and Limerick	1815	...	1849
Clonmel and Thurles	1815	...	1849
Clonmel and Waterford (10 a.m.)	1816	...	1853
Clonmel and Ross	1818	...	1836
Clonmel and Waterford (Regulator)	1820	...	1853
Clonmel and Waterford (Telegraph)	1821	...	1853
Clonmel and Cork	1821	...	1853
Clonmel and Kilkenny	1821	...	1854
Clonmel and Tipperary (3 o'clock)	1828	...	1852
Clonmel and Tipperary (Night Mail)	1828	...	1849
Clonmel and Dungarvan	1831	...	1868
Clonmel and Roscrea	1842	...	1849
Clonmel and Goold's Cross (G.S. Railway connection)	1849	...	1866

At a time when the press of England poured into the ear of the world the tale of lawlessness, of savagery, and inherent dishonesty of the Irish people, it is instructive to note how Bianconi and his establishment fared at their hands. "My conveyances," said he, "many of them carrying very important mails, have been travelling during all hours of the day and night, often in lonely and unfrequented places; and during the long period of forty-two years that my establishment is in existence, the slightest injury has never been done by people to my property or that entrusted to my care" *(o)*.

More vital, however, to the town than any system of land carriage was the navigation of the Suir. Wakefield writing in 1808 states, "The greater part of the goods imported into Waterford are only unloaded on the quays and sent forward to Clonmel, which has more internal commerce than any town in Ireland" *(p)*. Various attempts, therefore, were made to improve the water-way, and to establish Clonmel as the centre of a canal system, a survey of the country between Tipperary and Clonmel, with locks, harbours, etc., being taken *(q)*. When in 1816 the Waterford merchants sought an act of parliament for incorporation as Harbour Commissioners, the support of Clonmel was obtained only on condition of obtaining a share of the dues and being represented on that body. But the Clonmel merchants discovered too late that no tolls could be levied on ships for the purpose of inland navigation *(r)*. In 1821 a memorial was laid before Talbot, Lord Lieutenant, for a grant to deepen the river. John Killaly, engineer, reported that the rocks at Carrick, the chief obstacle to the navigation, might be removed at a cost of £1,200, but no help was given. Similarly in 1831, Lord Wellesley acknowledged the great utility of the proposed works but regretted that no funds were available. Four years later, November 2nd, 1835, a meeting of gentry, merchants and others concerned, was held in Carrick to form a joint stock company and obtain parliamentary powers. As the boatmen threatened active hostility, a deputation of them was admitted to the meeting. Lord Duncannon was in the chair, and the principal speaker was David Malcomson, who gave an interesting historical summary :—

It is now sixty years since John Bagwell obtained a grant from parliament for improving the river Suir. At that time the people thought as they do now, that their interests would be injured by throwing them out of employment. A thousand pounds were expended by making a track-way, as they then drew up the boats by ropes on

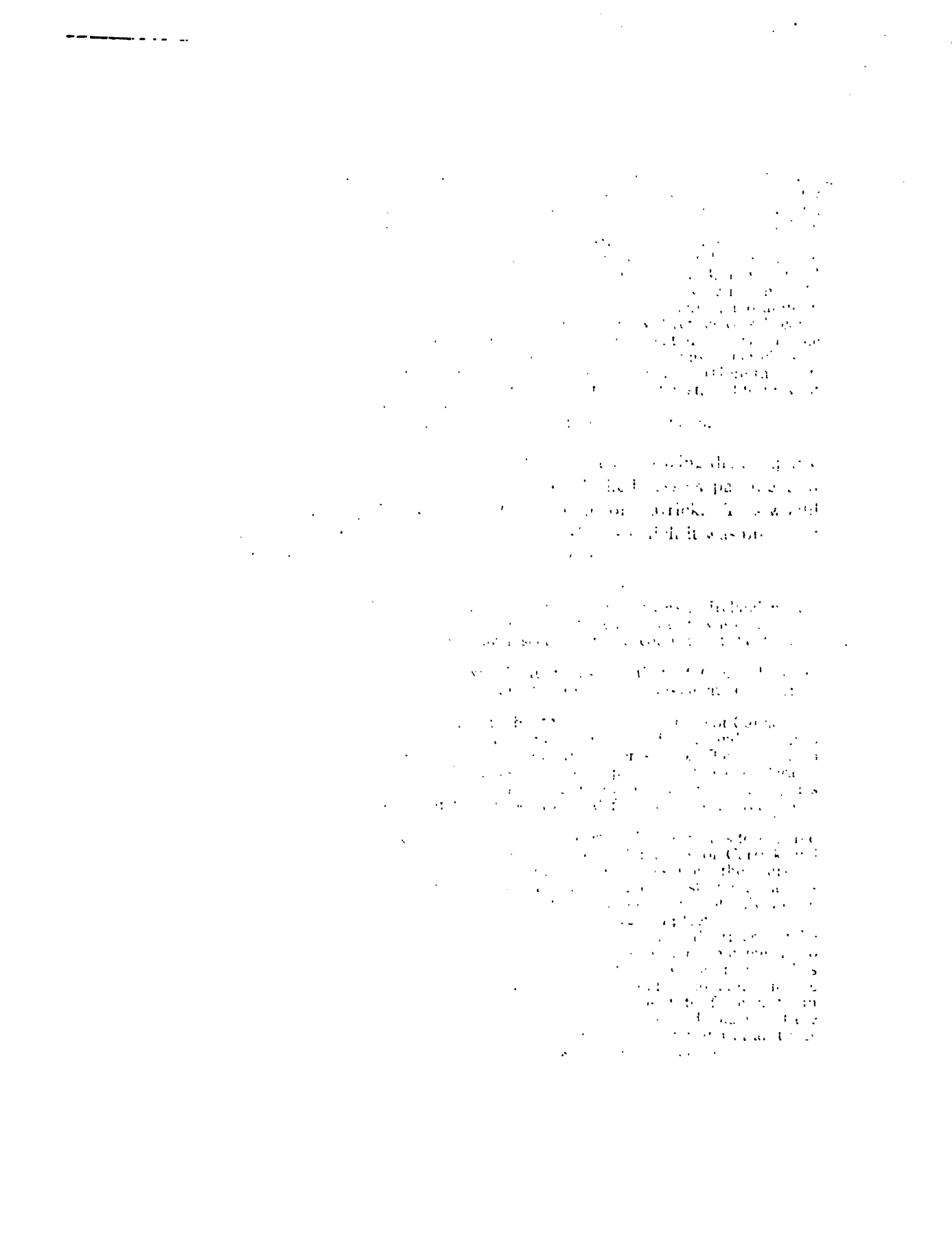
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(o) Paper read by Bianconi before British Association Meeting, Dublin, 1857. A good picture of one of Bianconi's "long cars" starting from Hearn's Hotel may be seen in Hall's Ireland. A series of six coloured engravings was also published.

(p) II., p. 22. He adds in a note "Clonmel exports corn and pork. One merchant has on hands sugar to the amount of £10,000."

(q) The original maps were lent the writer by the late T. C. Grubb.

(r) Information *penes* J. E. Grubb, Esq., Carrick-on-Suir, to whom I am indebted for most of the details.





THE QUAY.

Numerous and most important results may be anticipated from these operations, but it will perhaps be as well to enumerate only a few of them here.

By increasing the facilities of trade, we shall increase trade itself, for instance, a few years back Lord Duncannon went to the expense of building a quay at Fiddown, a village on the Suir, about 5 miles from Carrick, and the consequence of that simple improvement has been, that in a single year 120 sloops have discharged cargoes at this spot.

The Suir which is now navigable nearly as far as Carrick for vessels of 150 tons burden, will be navigable with ease for ships of 300 tons burden.

In the export alone, the Merchants will save in freight a very large sum annually, for the Merchants at Carrick who are now obliged to boat their goods, which consist of butter, bacon, corn, flour, and immense quantity of live stock. Twenty-two miles down the river to Waterford, will be enabled to ship them at their own stores and save the freight already mentioned. The merchants of Clonmel will have to boat their goods before shipping, only 12 miles instead of 34, and the saving of freights thereby will ultimately benefit the agricultural interests at large, and as the distance from Clonmel to Carrick may be travelled in four hours by water, and in an hour and a half by land, they will be able to superintend their own shipments, which will enhance the value of their goods considerably in the London market, as nothing affects the price of Irish provisions more favourably than the care and cleanliness with which they are shipped to England, and to the feeder and live stock, the advantages will be incalculable.

Government having refused to undertake the improvements as public works, and all hopes of a grant of money towards this completion having been abandoned, it is proposed as already set forth to form a joint stock company to be called "The River Suir Navigation Co.," to be incorporated by act of parliament, and be authorised to improve the navigation and repair the bed of the river from Graney Ferry to the old bridge of Carrick, and to levy a duty of not more than 6d. per ton upon all goods imported and exported.

The Company obtained parliamentary powers and at once set to work. Between the years 1836–41, the sum of £8,000 was expended in removing sandbanks and making the "Cut" at Carrick. By the summer of the latter year, vessels of 200 tons were able to come alongside the quays of Carrick, and sanguine people looked forward to extending "the Navigation" to Clonmel. In the opening five months, forty vessels of from eighty to one hundred tons, discharged their cargoes at the Tipperary seaport, coal being sold there at the unprecedentedly low price of from 15s. to 17s. a ton. But the boatmen were not going to take "the Navigation" lying down. A shareholder writes to the *Tipperary Constitution*, December 14th, 1842:—

Part of a cargo of salt which arrived in Carrick was purchased by a Clonmel merchant. No boatman could be had to bring it up to Clonmel, and ultimately the vessel was obliged to proceed back to Waterford for the purpose of delivering the salt thence to a Clonmel boat. This fact requires no commentary.

Lord Glengall, a strenuous advocate of the alternative scheme to "the Navigation," viz.:—a railway (which being extended to Cahir, would improve his property), seized on the occasion to address "the Landed and Commercial Interests of the Southern Division of Tipperary."

The boatmen, through the system of combination, are masters of the trade. Among other scandalous exactions, they do not permit a new boat to be placed on the river until part of an old one is worked up into the new one, in order that only a certain number of boats should ply. The boat trade also is in the hands of so few that it amounts to a monopoly.

The angry controversy was ended eleven years later by the opening of the Waterford and Limerick Railway.

Throughout the first half of the nineteenth century the town steadily improved in appearance. Many of the older two-storied houses were rebuilt; the rows of thatched cabins in the suburbs gradually disappeared; the waste places along the river were occupied by huge corn stores, while the quays themselves were finely embanked with limestone ashlar. The Old Bridge being now unequal to the traffic, two new ones were constructed, the western bridge mainly to serve the Cork and Dublin coaches, the "New" bridge to connect the growing suburbs on the south side of the town *(t)*. All visitors to Clonmel were loud in praise of its progress, its busy air and comparative freedom from beggars. One in 1820 writes:—"It is a very considerable and thriving town. The streets are long and regular, and the houses are well built, the greater part of which are rough cast, and are either cream-coloured or white, save here and there one of neat appearance, whose front is often curiously ornamented with blue slates, cut into various devices. Within these few years Clonmel has been very considerably enlarged. Mr. Banfield has added much to the appearance of the town by the erection of a row of very genteel houses, at the east entrance, and Messrs. Rialls are adding very considerably, both to its extent and appearance, in the erection of a whole street of very eligible houses. The streets are clean and well paved, but want that comfortable accommodation, a flagged causeway" *(u)*. The "comfortable accommodation" was supplied nineteen years later, when another visitor reported: "The principal streets are spacious and are now being flagged; the town is extending not only in trade and commerce, but in its buildings; it may truly be said to be one of the most thriving and improving towns in the kingdom" *(v)*.

A further evidence of prosperity, and of civilization (of which indeed it is the only crucial test), was the increasing interest taken in the poor. Monk Mason's Survey of Clonmel, 1813, states:—

A very extensive House of Industry was finished two years ago in the west end of the town, both at the public expense of the county and by private subscription. It is a common receptacle for all descriptions of mals fortunes, serving at the same time as a place of confinement for vagrants and lunatics, as well as an asylum for the poor and

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(t) The building of these bridges excited opposition in unlooked for quarters. The Corporation were apprehensive that the western bridge would injure their tolls. When, at the Summer Assizes, 1811, the Grand Jury passed a presentment for building a bridge "over that part of the river opposite to the salt and lime works at Raheen," the boat owners employed council to call up a fearful vision of loss of life and merchandize through collision with the piers of the proposed bridge.

(u) Pigot. Commercial Directory. Manchester, 1820.

(v) Shearman's Directory. Kilkenny, 1836.

helpless. This building redounds immortal honour on the Society of Friends, especially on Robert Grubb, Esq., whose unremitted labours and charitable exertions towards meliorating the situation of the poor inhabitants of Clonmel, will never be forgotten.

There is also a Dispensary here for the poor, and is well supported by subscription. Such helpless families as labour under any dangerous and spreading disorders are sent to the Fever Hospital, in the House of Industry, where the greatest care of them is taken till they are perfectly recovered, and in a state to return home *(w)*.

Early in 1818, when the awful epidemic of typhus reached the town, sweeping away whole families, the governors of the "Workhouse" added a fourth department, namely, an orphanage for the children of parents who had died of fever. As the Grand Jury presentments increased, the institution was able to maintain a larger number. In 1820, there were 180 inmates; in 1834, 183; divided as follows:—Old and infirm, 90; lunatics, 39; prostitutes, vagrants, and others committed for petty crimes, 74. The grants for that year, were £700 for the lunatics and £1000 for the other departments. The following year the Clonmel District Lunatic Asylum was opened, and the lunatics removed thither from the House of Industry. The asylum was originally intended for 60 patients. The purchase of the site (11 acres) amounted to £1,347, the building cost £14,019, and the furniture £1,220. A few years later, 1842, the buildings were enlarged to accommodate 100; the Grand Jury presentment for that year being £1,868. Another department of the House of Industry was abolished in 1838, when the "House of Correction," adjoining the jail in Richmond Street, was established. A contemporary gives a glowing account of the new institution:—"Here the prisoners are employed in useful and profitable labour, such as carpenters, blacksmiths, weavers, shoemakers, wheelwrights, etc., and many individuals who entered this prison, idle and dissolute characters, acquire a practical knowledge of some useful trade." Finally, the House of Industry itself was transferred to the Poor Law Commissioners; the first admissions took place 1st January, 1841, the number entering during the second half of the year was 535, the expenditure up to this date being £7,862. Besides the House of Industry there was at this period an institution known as the "Mendicity Asylum." The Commission of 1834 gives the following account of it:—

There are about 124 relieved at the Mendicity by food and money; lodging is given to fifty. Those who adopt mendicancy as a mode of living object to be confined to the institution; when they would get work, they would go out. Beggars dislike the Mendicity on account of the fare, which is stirabout twice a day. The inmates are orphans and widows, and four or five infirm old men.

But in no direction was the progress of Clonmel more marked than in education. It is not an exaggeration to say that in the early years of the

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(w) MS., P.R.O., Dublin.

nineteenth century half the population of the town could neither read nor write. Within the next fifty years a whole group of primary schools was established, and a good education brought within reach of the poorest. This too, without the expenditure of one penny from the public purse. The following were the public schools existing in the town in the middle years of the century :—

CHRISTIAN BROTHERS' SCHOOLS, SS. PETER AND PAUL'S.

The Christian Brothers were introduced from Waterford about 1810. The present schools and residence, erected in 1846, on a site for which a rent of £3 10s. a year is paid. The buildings cost approximately £3,300, the money being raised by subscriptions and annual collections for some years. In 1858 the number of pupils on the rolls was 465.

Endowments consist, as far as can be ascertained, of a rent charge of £37 15s. yearly under the will of Terence Lalor, who died 21 August, 1853; fifteen shares in National Bank, bequeathed by Rev. Michael Burke, P.P., who died October, 1866; £1,000 under the will of Mr. J. Barron; the object of these endowments being the maintenance and support of the Christian Brothers, and for feeding and clothing the children attending their school.

CHRISTIAN BROTHERS' SCHOOLS, ST. MARY'S.

These schools, which originally formed the Presentation Convent, were established in 1830; the house in which the Brothers took up residence having been the Franciscan Friary until the removal of the friars to Abbey Street. The number on rolls in 1856 was 240.

Endowments.—William Kielly by will 21 June 1850 bequeathed to these schools (with others) the rents, issues and profits of his freehold and leasehold property. But as his death occurred within the statutory period, the schools derived no benefit. Patrick Rivers who died 6 January 1846, bequeathed £5 annually for the maintenance of the school. In 1858 the Commissioners reported that only £5 16s. 8d. had been paid on foot of this bequest. Further endowments cannot be ascertained.

PRESENTATION CONVENT SCHOOLS.

The Presentation Convent was established 2nd October, 1813, by Rev. Thomas Flannery, P.P., in the building now occupied by the Christian Brothers' Schools. The community was brought from Dungarvan where they had been introduced four years earlier. In the opening year the number of children in attendance exceeded 700. A lease of 10 acres of Grenane was obtained in 1828 and the convent built there the following year. Lace classes were carried on for the benefit of the poor during the famine years. In 1850 the number on the rolls was 500. The new schools were erected in 1865 at a cost of £1,400.

Endowments.—Patrick Rivers who died 6 January 1846 left £5 annually for the maintenance of the schools. This bequest seems to be now lost. Nicholas Cott in 1854 bequeathed £1,000 for clothing poor children attending the schools. Rev. Edmund Walsh, P.P., in 1885 bequeathed £1,000 to provide a breakfast for the poor children of the schools. Alice Cantwell left £100 for the benefit of the poor children attending the schools.

SISTERS OF CHARITY SCHOOLS.

This community was introduced into Clonmel by Rev. Michael Burke, P.P., in 1848. The residence and schools were provided at the sole charge of Dr. Burke himself. Between 1850–60 there were from 300 to 400 children on rolls.

Endowments.—Rev. Michael Burke, died October 1866, bequeathed £1,600 to provide clothing and breakfast for the poor children attending the schools. Mr. J. Barron bequeathed a further sum which produces an annual interest of £14 for the like purpose.

CHARITABLE SCHOOL FOR GIRLS.

This school existed previous to 1788, for on 27 June that year Mrs. Anne Cooke bequeathed £50, the interest "to support the school lately established in Clonmel for the tuition of poor children as long as same school shall continue." Robert Grubb bequeathed 11 December 1796, £2 15s. 4d. a year and rent of certain premises; invested in stock £125 including £15 bequeathed by Rebecca Grubb 1849. Endowments in 1858 amounted to £7 7s. 8d. from land, £5 5s. from trust funds.

The school was managed by a committee mostly of ladies who out of endowments and subscriptions paid the mistress £30 a year; building accommodated 120; on roll 36; in attendance 15, of whom 11 were Catholics. From 10–12.30 was devoted to needlework, and three days of the week an hour was devoted to the Scriptures. Secular instruction therefore very elementary; reading poor, grammar and geography inconsiderable, in arithmetic no skill in the common rules, writing good.

INCORPORATED SOCIETY'S SCHOOL.

This was established in 1832 out of the endowments of the old Charter School. John Dawson devised 711a. 0r. 17p. let on renewable lease £75 13s. 10d. a year; Sir Charles Moore, renewable lease of 39a. 3r. 1p. reserving £11 1s. 8d. a year, 23 April 1747; Corporation of Clonmel grant 17 April, 1707, £4 12s. 4d. a year in consideration of a bequest from Dr. Ladyman; Corporation of Clonmel rent charge of £7 7s. 8d. 2 August 1707 in consideration of a donation from Mrs. Pomeroy. Endowments in 1858 consisted of 750a. 3r. 18p. producing a net annual income of £163 14s. 11d., the school premises being valued at £8 11s. 2d.

School built by Incorporated Society at a cost of £252, who appointed the master. Building accommodated 100; on roll 26; in attendance 17. Amount and quality of instruction below the average, and the school generally very unsatisfactory.

FRIENDS' BOARDING SCHOOL FOR GIRLS.

This school existed in 1796 when in December 20th that year, Robert Grubb by will bequeathed the premises to twelve trustees to hold for the purposes of the school. He also left to them the annual rent of £60 derivable out of the flour mills held by Thomas Grubb, such rent to be paid to the governors of the school for the time being whom they should appoint. In 1846 the trustees on petition to the Lord Chancellor obtained power to lease the school premises to Joshua Malcomson for 300 years at a rent of £40. On 30 August 1847 a lease of 2a. 2r. 23p. of Prior Park was obtained from Henry Pedder in consideration of £166 13s. 4d. the rent being £15 a year. The new schools which cost £2,584 14s. 8d. were erected from funds raised by mortgage of the old school premises and the endowment.

The buildings accommodated 32 boarders. In 1858 there were 15 in residence who paid pensions £37–£42. The school was most creditably conducted; the premises scrupulously clean; the teachers well qualified. The pupils were well instructed in French, drawing, English literature, geometry, natural philosophy, and the elements of astronomy. Music of any kind was not taught, that accomplishment not being approved of by the Society of Friends *(x)*.

Clonmel had now reached the climax of population and material prosperity, and therefore its story might be supposed to be fittingly ended.

(x) Besides the public schools there were some fourteen "academies" carried on mostly in Mary Street and Ann Street. Mrs. William Foley advertizes in a local directory 1839, that "She obliges her Pupils to correspond with her one day in each week on Literary and Historical Subjects. After the morality of the Pupils Mrs. F. next attends to their manner about which (most attractive point in a female) she is so anxious, that her Pupils never leave her; they are her constant companions with or without company; they surround her and form her first care, which constant association cannot fail in producing that ease and elegance of manner which to be truly attractive must be naturally and unceasingly practised."

But to stop here would be to cover up and hide away some of the most vital facts in the history of the locality. For paradoxical though it may appear, the highest point touched by the town, marks the lowest level in the condition of the industrial population. The normal condition of a great mass of the people from 1800 to 1850 was destitution, and out of this arose a state of things which can only be described as smouldering civil war.

During the eighteenth century, as has been narrated, the county Tipperary was parcelled out in huge grazing districts. In this way, partly through economic causes, partly through the supineness of the landowners, partly through the penal code which restricted the interest of a Catholic in land to 31 years and then at a rack-rent *(y)*, the people at large had the sort of connection with the soil the Bedouins have. Their habitations too were about as substantial. Arthur Young saw the farmer leasing the land, and his labourers forthwith marking out their plots and setting up their bothys. This observant traveller in his rides around Mitchelstown, notices one day a cabin with its occupants, the husband and wife, a number of children and the pig, all in full swing where none had existed the day before *(z)*. Cabins were built in by-ways, in the corners of fields or in disused quarries, while the lands were settled and leased, and bought and sold, with as little notice of the people upon them as if they had been so many rabbits. Lord Glengall informed the Devon Commission in 1843 that sixty years earlier the Cahir property had been divided among some twenty lessees, at which period the lands were all in grass "with scarcely any inhabitants on them." The truth is that there existed on these lands a population of over 4,000, but they were absolutely ignored in the legal arrangements *(aa)*. When, however, towards the end of the century tillage was substituted for grazing, the great farms were split up, sometimes by the landowners themselves, more often by the lessees; but in all cases the occupiers were so rented that their margin for existence was still the potato. In the middle of the eighteenth century the average rent of land in South Tipperary did not probably much exceed 5s. an acre *(bb)*; in the third quarter it had risen four-fold; by the last years the average reached £3 an acre. Wakefield, in December 1808, gives some local details.

(y) "Every papist shall be disabled to purchase any lands or any leases or terms thereof, other than term of years not exceeding thirty-one years, whereon a rent not less than two-thirds of the improved yearly value, shall be reserved during such term."—2 Ann, c. 6, s. 8.

(z) Tour II., 37-40.

(aa) The Catholic parish registers show about 4,400 in 1779, which number had increased to 4,900 in 1791. In each case I have used the factor 27, which is probably too low, and taken the average birth rate of three years at each period.

(bb) Maurice Keating, e.g., rented the lands of Cooleagh, 190 acres Irish, from John Perry in 1759 at 3s. 3d. to 3s. 6d. an acre.—Perry Papers.

The high ground rent for houses in Clonmel is very extraordinary—from 70 to 100 guineas per acre, the leases being for three lives.

Mr. Sparrow [of Oaklands] let a piece of land consisting of 25 acres without a habitation upon it at the rate of 12 guineas per acre, and another of 105 acres situated at a distance of a mile and a half at 6 guineas an acre. Near Clonmel a farm has been let on account of local convenience so high as 14 guineas per acre *(cc)*.

These extraordinary rents were due to the price of agricultural produce during the Napoleonic wars; but there was another cause in constant operation which kept rents at a level that allowed the occupier a bare subsistence. This was the rapid increase in population. The census of Tipperary in 1821 was 346,896; in 1831, 406,977; in 1841, 435,553. The additional population having no outlet, had to turn back on the land; farmers divided their holdings to provide for their children, and these in turn to provide for theirs. The results of the process through two generations appear in the census returns of 1841.

COUNTY OF TIPPERARY.

NUMBER OF FARMS.	
About 1 to 5 acres	13,032.
About 5 to 15 acres	12,787.
About 15 to 30 acres	4,938.
Above 30 acres	2,960.

In the backward state of agriculture these petty farms afforded but a wretched livelihood to their occupants, and the rents therefore became an intolerable burthen. The general misery was intensified by the condition of the labouring poor. During a great part of the winter, and from May until August, there was no employment to be had; the wages for the rest of the year varied from 8d. to 10d. a day according to the season *(dd)*.

The Clonmel evidence in the Report relative to the Destitute Classes, 1834, appears to verge on the incredible. From 500 to 600 labourers, we learn, came from Kerry and Cork in the harvest; and their wives for the most part went begging.

The native labourers have not the practice of sending wives and children begging, but when it does happen it occurs in summer. Between servants there is a sympathy existing and they assist each other; those in place assist those who are out. It rarely

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(cc) Ireland I., p. 277.

(dd) Evidence of William O'Donnell, Esq., Carrick.—Devon Digest II., 493. In page 267 of the Report relative to the Destitute Classes, 1834, may be seen the balance sheet of a Tipperary labourer:—

INCOME.	£	s.	d.
Three days employment in the week at 10d.	0	10	0
Profit of a pig, bought at 10s., sold at £1 10s.	1	0	0
Total Annual Income ...	£7	10	0
EXPENDITURE.			
Rent of a cabin	1	10	0
Leaving to be expended on himself and family in clothes and food	6	0	0
Total Annual Expenditure ...	£7	10	0

happens that they have recourse to begging. There are a vast number of respectable persons in great want who are ashamed to beg; some live on a few dry potatoes for 24 hours. Many destitute persons die gradually from want of comfort and necessary food. Corrigan, a tradesman, knew a tradesman's family consisting of eight persons, to go two days without food; the friends gave something the third day; they would rather die than ask for it. In the county of Waterford, near Clonmel, two orphan children died of starvation about six years ago; they perished on the road side, in the middle of the day; they fainted away as they were wayfaring. James Smith, boatman, gives the story, and is not sure whether an inquest was held.

Perhaps 100 people go out in a day from Clonmel gathering potatoes; they consist chiefly of women and children. Sometimes farmers boil potatoes purposely for the beggars. They give in proportion to the number of the family applying, and give as long as they have to spare; two handfuls to a family. It is very common for the farmers to give improvidently to beggars, so as to leave themselves in want at the end of the year; many of the farmers were forced to anticipate their means this summer, to buy meal at a high rate. Farmers allow beggars to lie in the barns. The labourers generally give lodgings, and the farmers give them straw and potatoes; very little milk except they have large dairies. Farmers sometimes, too, give a cast-off garment, particularly to the children if they are naked. Three in one family died in less than a week, within three miles of Clonmel, of fever caught from a beggar's family who slept in the house. If a wandering beggar is taken ill of the fever and cannot get admission into an hospital, the people build a hovel on the road side, or in a corner of a field, and leave the family there. The labouring people give them what few things they can spare and leave them at the door.

Charity, good feeling, and sympathy for the condition of the applicant, are the motives which induce to relief. Children of beggars are brought to habits of industry after a certain age. No instance could be remembered of a professional beggar from childhood; they enlist, emigrate, or become labourers. Farmers will not encourage stout beggars; they will employ the sons of beggars from a charitable motive and a wish to discountenance begging. No persons take to begging from choice; if they can procure the necessaries of life they will not beg; begging is looked on as disgraceful; even in a bad season the mother and children would go into a mendicity house, but the father would refuse.

There are about 150 street beggars in the town. The mayor employed two officers to take up all beggars, and send them to the House of Industry; it was given up because public opinion was against it. When they arrested a man in the streets the crowd rescued him, the working people passing by thinking it a hardship to confine a man for begging *(ee)*.

From all this it is clear that the evil of the time was not pauperism, but poverty, and this poverty passed into famine, in seasons when the potato crop partly failed—1800–'10–'18–'21–'28–'30–'34.

The men are at that time ready to work for their diet; the wives and children spread over the land and beg; and begging is then a bad profession, as the people have little to give. At this time labourers and even tradesmen can scarcely get one full meal in the 24 hours. It often happens that a labourer then goes to bed supperless. Besides this they will often collect the cornkail, and rape and nettles and eat them; the latter only happens in a dear summer such as this year *(ff)*.

The distress and privations those people silently endure are incredible except to those who have the pain to witness them. There is a periodical starvation in this town among the poorer classes for want of employment. There are some of them who are scarcely able to procure one meal a day *(gg)*.

(ee) Report, pp. 390-6, also p. 58, Abstract.
(ff) Report on the Destitute Classes. Parish of Carrick-on-Suir.
(gg) Evidence of Patrick Hayden, Carrick. Devon Digest I., p. 494.

The whole population, therefore, depended on the land, and as the possession of a piece of land was the only security against starvation, a constant struggle for possession went on. At periods when a fall in prices or a bad season led to rent being unpaid, and consequent eviction, the country was brought almost to a state of anarchy. And these periods were frequent. In the beginning of 1814 in Clonmel market, wheat was 3s. 8d. per stone, beef 10d. and mutton 11d. per lb. Six months later, Napoleon had abdicated, and on July 1st, wheat was sold for 1s. per stone, beef and mutton 3½d. per lb. For the next few years landlords and tenants were engaged in fierce conflict. Some landlords indeed, proceeding to extremes, were marked out for vengeance. On 27th December, 1815, Henry Long, at Toomevara, while distraining his tenants for rent, was stoned to death. Within the next few months three others were fired at, and the authorities in alarm posted military at vantage centres, swore large numbers of persons as special constables, and suspended the Habeas Corpus Act. The event, however, which stirred the county to its depths was the murder of William Baker of Lismacue. Returning from Cashel Sessions, November 27th, 1815, he was met by two men at the gates of Thomastown Park and shot through the head. Though a reward of £5,000 was offered, and though scores of suspected persons were lodged in the bridewells, the secret which was known to hundreds, was long kept and the efforts of the Crown baffled *(hh)*.

During the years 1814–50, a war without truce was waged between the landlords, the law, the magistracy, and the forces of the Crown on the one side, and the whole population on the other. From September, 1814, to May, 1818, the baronies of Iffa and Offa, Middlethird, Clanwilliam, Kilnemanagh, Slievardagh and Compsy, were subjected to the Insurrection Act. From April, 1822, to May, 1825, these baronies, together with Upper and Lower Ormond, were again declared to be in a state of disturbance, and Habeas Corpus suspended. Again in February, 1832, the proclamation was renewed for all the baronies, except Iffa and Offa, which by this time had become comparatively peaceful; and again in 1847, the Act II., Victoria c. 2, for the Better Prevention of Crime and Outrage was, by proclamation, applied to the entire county of Tipperary. In addition to the police establishment settled on the county by the Act of 1823, there was an auxiliary force of 500 men constantly employed on special service. Parliament throughout this period instead of making an effort to adjust the landowners' claims, with the right of the people to existence, literally threw

(hh) Eventually two men named Keating and Maher were imprisoned in Cahir. Keating, through connivance or otherwise, obtained some whisky and their conversation being overheard, Keating was subsequently induced to give evidence, and Maher was hanged.

oil on the fire. For previous to 1815, tenants could not be ejected unless by an expensive process in the superior courts. Even if the tenant did not take defence, it cost the landlord about £18 to put him out, however petty the holding. If the tenant chose to defend, the ejectment trial cost the landlord any sum from £50 to £150. But the Act 56, George III., c. 88, created a process known as civil bill ejectment, by means of which a tenant whose rent did not exceed £50 a year, might be got rid of for a sum of less than £2. Again, the so-called Emancipation Act of 1829, by disfranchising the forty shilling freeholders, took away from the landlords the sole motive for continuing the poorer tenantry on the soil—their use at the hustings *(ii)*. In the event a system of "clearances" was inaugurated, which probably had no parallel in any civilized country. Whole townlands were swept of inhabitants; and without feeling or remorse, hundreds of small farmers and cottiers were cast on the roadside to perish of hunger, exposure, or typhus. For it is to be remembered that at this period there was neither workhouse nor emigrant ship to succour the wretched people. As an evidence of the spirit in which evictions were carried out, the following, which is taken from an appeal of "a Tipperary landlord and magistrate" to Lord Eliot, the lord lieutenant of the day, deserves to be quoted:—

> As a proof of the necessity for some Enactment to facilitate the recovery of small holdings, many cases might be given; one may here suffice:—In the week now current the Sub-Sheriff of Tipperary attended, accompanied by a Police escort, to give possession under an "Habere" of certain houses and lands on a property in the barony of Lower Ormond. In the course of his duty, the Sheriff was obliged—heartrending as such a proceeding was—to have removed from their houses and from their beds some members of a family lying ill of a contagious fever! it being totally impossible for the Sheriff or even the Landlord or his Agent, if present, to admit them to retain, or re-enter into possession, such are the delays and expenses this proceeding would admit of—and which the Peasantry are too fond of taking advantage of. The consequences are, that they are, in those cases generally dependant on their neighbours' charitable feelings for a lodging—the Landlords frequently, perhaps at their own loss, levelling the houses to prevent re-occupation *(jj)*.

The attitude of the Tipperary landlords towards the people, is indeed frankly revealed by the whole tenor of the pamphlet. When the agrarian war had attracted the attention of the kingdom, an attempt was made to deny the wholesale character of the clearances. Lord Donoughmore at the Roden Commission, challenged the statements of Sergeant Howley, Chairman of the County Court. Howley however professed his readiness to give the

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(ii) To this latter Act some authorities ascribe most of the Tipperary "clearances." Lord Donoughmore, in his evidence before the Roden Commission (1839), stated:—"The gentry began to clear their estates of the forty-shilling freeholders who had been done away with by the Act."—Lords Committee, 1839. Question No. 1277.

(jj) The Present State of Tipperary as regards Agrarian Outrages, etc., by a Magistrate of the County. Dublin, May, 1842. Appendix 7.

names of the wholesale evictors, and added that "from conferences which he had with the other assistant barristers, he had found that ejectments at sessions were more numerous in Tipperary than in any other county, and that he himself had more than 150 at one sessions; the 150 defendants represented about 900 individuals" *(kk)*. As Lord Hawarden, one of the commissioners, was himself among the principal exterminators, it is unnecessary to add Howley's offer was not accepted *(ll)*. And the statistics of the higher courts confirmed the experience of the County Chairman. During the years 1833–38 the Tipperary ejectments in the Superior Courts, Dublin, numbered 882—three times as many as any other county. As these ejectments dealt with extensive holdings, each of them including several sub-tenancies, it is probable that the number of persons affected ran into thousands.

The consequences are summarised in the Report of the Select Committee of 1830:—"It would be impossible for language to convey an idea of the state of distress to which the ejected tenantry have been reduced, or of the disease, misery and even vice, which they have propagated in the towns wherein they have settled; so that not only they who have been ejected, have been rendered miserable, but they have carried with them and propagated that misery. They have increased the stock of labour, they have rendered the habitations of those who received them more crowded, they have given occasion to the dissemination of disease, they have been obliged to resort to theft and all manner of vice and iniquity to procure subsistence; but what is perhaps the most painful of all, a vast number of them have perished of want."

The unhappy people, protected neither by law, by public opinion, nor by conscience, now set about obtaining for themselves fixity of tenure by the method of assassination. "When a tenant," said the Devon Commissioners, describing Tipperary in 1845, "is removed, he is looked upon as an injured

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(kk) Lords Committee on State of Ireland 1839.

(ll) One Father Davern in a series of letters to the *Nation*, gave a thrilling exposure of the Hawarden clearances. "Over two hundred families, comprising thirteen hundred human beings were evicted from their holdings on your lordship's estate. (Here follow the names, residence, and number in family of the tenants). Their houses were burnt or demolished, and they themselves were driven as outcasts on the highway. Pestilence and fever generated by famine, slew their hundreds, but hundreds still survive to eat the bread of sorrow as inmates of the poorhouses throughout the county. The assessment for their support instead of being levied on your lordship's estate, is charged on the capital, industry and labour of the merchants, shopkeepers and tradesmen of the towns which afford these paupers shelter. I appeal to the British Parliament and ask them how can Tipperary be tranquil and happy when a peer of Parliament, a Lord in Waiting to the Queen will allow the industrious population to be driven to desperation." The result of the terrible exposure was questions were asked in Parliament, and Peel asked Hawarden for an explanation. The Solicitor General applied to file a criminal information against the editor. Shiel was retained for the defence and Robert Potter as attorney searched out in garrets, cellars, and workhouses, Lord Hawarden's scattered tenantry. The case against the newspaper was never proceeded with.

man, and the decree too often goes out for vengeance upon the landlord or the agent, and upon the man who succeeds to the farm; and at times a large numerical proportion of the neighbourhood look with indifference upon the most atrocious acts of violence, and by screening the criminal, abet and encourage the crime. Murders are perpetrated at noon-day on a public highway; and whilst the assassin coolly retires, the people look on, and evince no horror at the bloody deed" *(mm)*. A few instances may be given. Charles O'Keeffe, agent for Valentine Maher of Turtulla, evicted 180 persons. Shortly after, on October 24th, 1838, he was shot dead in the street at Thurles, and the murderer could never be discovered. James Scully, of Kilfeacle, evicted 30 tenants in the winter of 1841. The following April 17th, he was fired at and wounded in the jaw, but recovering, he was murdered on the 26th of November subsequent. The murderer in this case also was never discovered. On the 5th April, 1838, Austin Cooper and Francis Wayland, two land agents resident near Tipperary, were proceeding to the fair of that town. They were accompanied by a brother of Cooper, and all three were armed. At a place called Ballinaclough they were fired at by three men; the fire was returned with the result that Samuel Cooper alone escaped with his life *(nn)*. Robert Hall, of Ballygurteen, was shot dead 19th May, 1841; he had been a merchant in early life, and becoming involved with his tenants in questions of punctuality and arrears, evictions resulted. Philip Maguire, of Toorin, was shot at his own door in November, 1835, by a tenant whose crops he had distrained. Towards the end of 1838 Lord Norbury evicted some tenants, and others were served with notice to quit. On 1st January, 1839, while walking in his park, Durrow Abbey, in company with his steward, he was shot. The following August, Daniel Byrne was shot near Templetuohy for evicting a tenant. William Roe, of Rockwell, was shot 2nd October, 1847, by a tenant whom he had evicted the previous month. Indeed, throughout this awful time there were few landlords or agents who had not been under fire. Avery Jordan, a Tipperary land agent, stated at the Devon Commission "There were a few shots fired into my own house very lately, but there was nobody shot; we do not mind these little trifles" *(oo)*. Lenigan, Bayley, Stoney, Smith, Drought, Dunn, Long, Lee, and several others were fired at, some of them more than once. Perhaps the case which

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(mm) Devon Digest. II., 1163.

(nn) Cooper was agent for the Erasmus Smith Trustees, and had just evicted several tenants. Weyland had evicted a man named William Ryan from a farm of 19 acres for which he paid £45 rent. It would appear from the evidence that Ryan was only in arrears for £15 when evicted. William Walsh and Cornelius Hickey were tried by Special Commission for the murder and hanged.

(oo) Devon Digest. II., p. 347.

attracted most attention was that known as the "Holy Cross Murders." Richard Chadwick, agent for the Sadleir estate, was a man of fearless resolution, who often professed he had "fattened on the curses of the tenants" *(pp)*. As a preliminary to clearing from the lands of Rathcannon a body of tenantry who bore a desperate reputation, he set about building a police barrack. On 30th June, 1827, while inspecting the work, he was shot by a young man named Patrick Grace. Grace, who was tried at the Clonmel Summer Assizes, when asked why capital sentence should not be passed upon him, declared that his death should be avenged within a twelve month. At the execution of Grace, in front of Holy Cross Abbey, an old man, John Russell, pulling on a pair of Grace's gloves, announced he should wear them "until Paddy Grace was revenged." The authorities removed Philip Mara, a mason, who had been principal witness against Grace, but on 1st October following, three brothers of Mara, who were working at the barrack, were attacked by a body of men. Two of the Maras, though wounded, escaped, the third was shot *(qq)*.

If the evicting landlord or agent was a doomed man, the fate which awaited those who took the vacant holdings was more inevitable still. "It appears," said the Devon Commissioners, "that vengeance is more frequently directed against the incoming tenant than against the landlord or agent." In 1826, John Barry became tenant of Ballyneety, near Ardfinnan, from which a family named Lonergan had been evicted. Sunday, 11th February, 1827, Barry was murdered in his own parlour, and on the 9th of April following, five men were hanged on Ardfinnan Green for the murder. Three brothers named Kinnealy who had similarly taken a farm at Outrath, near Cahir, were shot dead while sitting at supper one evening. But amid the annals of assassination, one case stands out beyond all others in awful prominence—"the burning of the Sheas." William Gorman had been evicted by Patrick Shea from a small holding at Tubber, on the slope of Slievenamon. A lease existed, but being unstamped, Shea took advantage of the fact and entered into possession of the holding. Bidding defiance to his hostile neighbours he formed for defence a party of his family and kinsfolk, all well armed. On the night of the 19th November, 1821, a body of men, commanded by a desperado named Maher, surrounded the house. In spite of shots fired by the Sheas, they contrived to place a heap of straw and brushwood against the thatch. As the house caught fire, several of the inmates trying to escape, were mercilessly shot down, and the following

(pp) Shiel's Personal Sketches.

(qq) Reward of £2,000 was offered for the apprehension of the murderers of Daniel Mara, and ultimately some evidence was obtained by accident, and four men hanged.

morning nothing was to be seen of the fabric and its sixteen occupants but a smoking ruin. Close to the door of the kitchen was a tub filled with water, and beside the tub the charred remains of a woman. Floating in the water was the body of a new-born infant, the head having been burnt away.

In truth the code of humanity, as of morals, was suspended in this internecine struggle. If the landlords, with inhuman indifference to the sufferings of the people, enforced to the utmost limit, every right the law gave them, the people on the other hand applauded and encouraged any act of vengeance, however savage. "They believe," said a witness at the Devon Commission, "their own interests are bound up in the cause of the parties committing these murders. They sympathize with those who strive to protect them—to oppose the landlord, I should say." One Glissan, who had taken some lands at Lissahoney, was murdered on Easter Sunday morning in the midst of a body of people going to mass. The priest denounced the crime. "I heard," said a witness, "some of them declare it was a pity they did not shoot the priest himself—how dare he interfere" *(rr)*. The assassin was occasionally hired for the work, just as the Sheriff would employ the common hangman. More often some desperate character set himself up as a public avenger of wrongs, and shot agents, bailiffs, incoming tenants, safe in the support and shelter of the people. On 3rd of May, 1838, two men named Cronen and Guiry shot John Keeffe, an owner of property at Modeligo. They had no connection whatever with Keeffe, and did not even know his appearance, but at the previous fair in Clonmel they had undertaken to murder him, on condition that Henry Pedder, of Clonmel, who had evicted them, should be assassinated by two of Keeffe's evicted tenants.

The law, too, was paralysed; the tenants had come to regard it as their enemy; the landlords as their weapon. Even though (as sometimes happened) the landlord assassinated was a humane and generous man, no one would aid the Crown or come forward to prosecute *(ss)*. Cahill, Crown Prosecutor for Tipperary, stated in 1845 that "any party giving evidence is looked upon as an enemy of the general class to which he belongs" *(tt)*. "Odium," wrote a Tipperary landlord, "is attached not only to parties appearing as Crown witnesses, but to their relations, connections and friends to a very remote degree; and the being branded with the epithet *Informer* is looked on as being far more derogatory than that of *Murderer* or *Robber*" *(uu)*.

(rr) Devon Digest. I., p. 362.

(ss) Popular tradition has always e.g., condemned the murderers of Maguire of Toorin and Callaghan-Ryan. Yet in either case conviction was obtained only with difficulty and by accident.

(tt) Devon Digest. I., p. 349.

(uu) Present State of Tipperary, by a Magistrate. Dublin 1842, p. 14.

Furthermore, no tenant on a jury would convict, however clear the evidence. On the other hand, any attempt made by the Executive to frame an independent panel, was at once stopped by landlord clamour. In 1838 the indiscriminate challenge exercised by the law officers of the Crown, was restricted, directions been given "that no man shall be objected to merely on the ground of his religion or politics." The Tipperary landlords scared by some recent murders, met together and sent a fierce protest. Drummond, the Under Secretary, replied, and incidentally used words which for many years were the tocsin of battle in and out of parliament.

> Property has its duties as well as its rights; to the neglect of those duties in times past is mainly to be ascribed that diseased state of society in which such crimes take their rise; and it is not in the enactment or enforcement of statutes of extraordinary severity, but chiefly in the better and more faithful performance of those duties, and in the more enlightened and humane exercise of those rights that a permanent remedy for such disorders is to be sought (*vv*).

The utter make-believe to which trial by jury was reduced, may be illustrated by the case of Patrick Burns charged with the murder of Robert Hall, of Ballygurteen. Tried first at the Nenagh Spring Assizes, 1842, the jury (an exclusively Protestant one) disagreed, eleven, according to one account, being for acquittal *(ww)*. Four months later, 29th June, 1842, he was again put forward at the Clonmel Special Commission, and on precisely the same evidence, was convicted, and subsequently hanged. If the evidence obtainable against accused persons was scant and unsatisfactory, the jury of landlords was easily convinced, and as a consequence, there were, not unfrequently, appalling miscarriages of justice. Four of the five men hanged at Ardfinnan for the Barry murder—James Byrne, Philip Lonergan, Thomas Bryan, and John Green—were beyond question innocent *(xx)*. The Crown prosecutors of the day used draw a lurid picture of the assassin, with levelled musket, lying in wait for his unsuspecting victim. The future historian will paint a still more ghastly one—a wretched creature put to death under the forms of law—tried by men with whom he and his fellows were engaged in a struggle for very existence; by men antagonistic to him in race, sentiment

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(vv) Thomas Drummond to the Earl of Donoughmore, Dublin Castle, 22nd May, 1838.—Life of Drummond, B. O'Brien, p. 284.

(ww) Present State of Tipperary, etc., p. 16.

(xx) The case against them was substantially the identification by Barry's wife. Yet it is hardly credible that at five o'clock on a winter evening, a panic-stricken woman with no previous acquaintance, could unmistakably identify every member of the party. The fifth, John Lonergan, confessed the crime at the place of execution and exculpated the others; local tradition has always asserted their innocence.

and creed; sentenced too by a judge often hostile, always partisan, who assured him that after calm deliberation he had been found guilty by "a jury of his peers" *(yy)*.

But the tales of horror recounted at each assizes in Clonmel, have faded from the memory of men. The social ulcers have healed, and the misery and degradation in which outrages originated, are matters of history. In probably no country of Europe, has there been, within the past half century, so great improvement in the condition of the people at large. And in the town, whose story has been told in these pages, it is safe to say that at no time during the seven centuries of its existence, has there been as high an average of comfort and of civilization *(zz)*.



(yy) The following, for example, was the jury impannelled to try John Lonergan for the murder of William Roe, of Rockwell:—Richard S. Manseragh, Simon Lowe, Richard Phillips, John Going, William H. Briscoe, James Archer Butler, Samuel Perry, Henry C. White, John Russell, Thomas Sadleir, Thomas P. Lloyd, James P. Birch.

In September, 1848, Delane, of the *Times*, was on a visit to Bernal Osborne at Newtown Anner. He met his reporters, Nicholls and Russell, who had come to Clonmel for the Special Commission which was to try Smith O'Brien, Meagher and McManus. "It's useless," said Delane, "talking of the loyalty or disloyalty of the people! They are all against us! They do not like our laws, our ways, or anything that is ours! But the government and landowners, supported by the police and the army, can always deal with insurrection, and to-morrow *the jury will be quite safe.*"—Reminiscences of W. H. Russell, War Correspondent at the Crimea, etc.

(zz) A few dates of events unconnected with the general narrative may be given here. 1824, 19th October, Clonmel first lighted with gas by the London Gas Company. The 130 lamps cost £3 17s. 6d. each. A local gas company was formed in 1843, the two amalgamating in 1850. On 31st August, 1827, a meeting of the traders was held to promote the Waterford and Limerick Railway. 1838, 31st January, a committee was formed to raise £1,500 in £50 debentures, for the purpose of erecting the Tipperary County Club buildings. 1845, 2nd April, Charles Bianconi laid the first stone of the Mechanics Institute.


PART THE SECOND.

CHAPTER XI.

CORPORATION OF CLONMEL.

THE growth of the municipal liberties between the thirteenth and the seventeenth centuries, has been described in Chapter II. But the manor, out of which the municipality was developed, still continued though many of the manorial rights fell into abeyance. As the town lay, in fact if not in law, within the Ormond palatinate, the rival Desmonds who were lords of the manor from 1346 onward were unable to exercise these rights personally or by their seneschal. When the final struggle between the houses took place in the reign of Elizabeth, Desmond in a statement to that queen in 1572 set forth what his claims were.

The chief rent of Clonmell, the Earls manor court there *(a)*, with certain tenements and the Mill and Bakehouse of the same, which hath for custome and usage time out of mind that all kinde of malt ground to make sale ale, must be ground in the said Mill or else forfeited, without the millers dispense therewith; and the like for baking of sale bread out of the said Earls Bakehouse.

The fines and Earls silver of the said town.

A Court to be kept there by the Earls Portreeve once every fortnight; where no plea is holden above 10s. 1½d. for every which plea is due to the steward of the said Court 3d. for every bloodshed 12d. whereof 8d. is due to the steward and to the Portreeve for the tyme being 4d. Also if any be convicted by order of the said Court and so committed to ward, the same party making escape he doth forfeit £5 totiens quotiens. There is ioyned to the said Earl's Court, of demesne lands one plowland, a fishing weir, the fishing of the pool beside the Bridge, two parcells of land in the mountain of Barre Makinge [Barravaukeen] and Knocknerilhe [Knockanearla] which is in the Earl of Ormond's hands *(b)*.

(a) Probably the ancient castle in the middle of the High Street before described.

(b) State Papers, Elizabeth. An inquisition held at Carrick, 2nd April, 1608, before Sir Nicholas Walsh, found that Walter Lawless (as trustee for the Earl of Ormond) was seized in fee of *inter alia* "the manor of Clonmel, consisting of the manor house with its appurtenances; a water mill; a weir for fishing; a bakehouse at which all those of the town of Clonmel that make sale bread are for to bake as they were auntiently accustomed; the chief rent of £13 6s. 8d. Irish yearly from

The following is a list of the various patents relating to the town, which are of record.

1. Grant of a yearly fair at Clonmel to Richard De Burgh, on the Vigil of All Saints and seven following days.—30 July, 9 Hen. III. (1225).
2. Grant of a yearly fair in the manor of Clonmel to Richard De Burgh, to be held on the Vigil and Feast of St. Magdalen and six following days, the grant of the former fair being annulled.—3 Sept., 26 Hen. III. (1242).
3. Grant of tolls for ten years to the bailiffs and good men of Clonmel.—8 April, 26 Ed. I. (1298).
4. Writ to supersede certain actions against the burgesses of Clonmel, which actions were commenced in contempt of the manor court.—10 October, 27 Ed. I. (1299).
5. Pardon of amercement to the provost and commonalty.—February 11, Ed. II. (1317).
6. Grant of murage for seven years to the provost, bailiffs and good men of Clonmel.—October 13, Ed. II. (1319).
7. Grant of murage for eight years to the burgesses and commonalty.—12 January, 29 Ed. III. (1355).
8. Grant of murage for ten years to burgesses and commonalty.—12 July, 38 Ed. III. (1364).
9. Grant of license to elect a sovereign.—20 January, 45 Ed. III. (1371).
10. Grant of exemption from purveyance and pre-emption.—12 July, 50 Ed. III. (1376).
11. Grant by James le Botiller, Earl of Ormond and lord of the Palatinate, to the burgesses and commonalty, that their taxes should be rateably assessed by themselves, that they should be exempted from juries, etc., outside the borough and that they should have the office of the market.—9 Ric. II. (1385).
12. Grant of murage for thirty years to the provost, bailiffs and good men of Clonmel.—26 January, 10 Hen. IV. (1408).
13. Grant that the sovereign and commonalty should not be burthened with taxes against their will, that they should not be compelled to appear before seneschals out of their liberty, that they have power to sue and be sued before the provost, and might arrest, implead and imprison.—22 February, 6 Hen. V. (1418).
14. Grant confirming preceding by James le Botiller.—30 January, 9 Hen. V. (1421).
15. Inspeximus of foregoing by Thomas le Botiller, Earl of Ormond.—19 June, 16 Hen. VII. (1506).
16. Charter of incorporation of Clonmel.—5 July, 6 Jas. I. (1608).
17. Exemplification of foregoing.—14 June, 14 Chas. II. (1662).
18. New charter of incorporation.—7 December, 3 Jas. II. (1687).
19. Exemplification of charter of 6 Jas. I.—6 William III. (1695).
20. Grant of ten monthly fairs to John Bagwell, Esq., of Marlfield.—22 February, 54 Geo. III. (1814).

As an example of the murage grants the following translation of the earliest (April 8th, 26 Ed. I.) is given *in extenso.*

The King at the instance of Otto de Grandison grants for ten years to the bailiffs and good men of Clonmel, for the greater security of the neighbourhood, the following

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the burgesses of Clonmel which said manor is holden from the King in cheefe but by what tenure or service, jurors know not." When the acts of parliament 7 William III. (Irish), 8 and 9, 12 and 13 William III. (English), were passed enabling the Ormond trustees to sell or lease estates in order to pay the debts of the first Duke, the feudal services were reserved in the fee-farm grants. "Henry Cleare, for example, by deed 20th January, 1702, was bound for certain premises in Mary Street to do suit and service at the Court Baron of Clonmel when summoned, to resort with his corn, grain, or grist to the mills belonging to the Duke, under a penalty of £5 for every barrel ground elsewhere. Under the deed of 9th August, 1800, all these feudal rights were supposed to vest in the Bagwell family as lords of "the lordship, manor or reputed manor of the town of Clonmel."

customs to be paid out of native and foreign merchandize, viz. :—From each hogshead of wine on sale, 2d. ; each dicker of hides, Id. ; each crannock of corn of any kind, ¼d. ; each crannock of salt, ¼d. ; each crannock of flour, ¼d. ; each dicker of goat skins, ½d. ; each band of iron, ½d. ; each sack of wool, 2d. ; each cow, Id. ; each ox, Id. ; each horse or mare, Id. ; each hog, ¼d. ; eight two-year olds, Id. ; each piece of Irish cloth, ¼d. each cart load of lead, 2d. ; each hundred of wax, 1½d. ; each crannock of wood, 2d. ; 100 lbs. alum, Id. ; 200 boards, ¼d. ; half a mark's worth of mercery and crockery, ¼d. ; each load of wrought iron, ½d. ; a French mill stone, ½d. ; an English mill stone, ½ ; a piece of foreign cloth, Id. ; a piece of linen cloth from over seas, ½d. ; a hundred of canvass, ½d. ; a weight of fat, ½d. ; a ship of the cargo of 400 hogsheads of wine laden with any kind of merchandize, 16d. ; each ship called 'farecost,' 8d. ; skins worth 5s., ½d. At the end of the period of ten years these customs shall cease and be abolished.

By the King himself.

It is instructive to compare this with the latest schedule of tolls extant.

COUNCIL MEETING, 21ST DECEMBER, 1750.

A Dockett of the Fees and Tolls, taken by the Clerk of the Markett of the town of Clonmell, according to the ancient customs and usages thereof accommodated to the several Statutes of late made for the weighing of corn. :—

1st. For each Bag of Wheat, Peas, Beans and Rye, containing 20 stone, for Toll one Bag or Measure, commonly called a Winchester Pottle, which is to contain the 60th part of 20 stone or One Barrell, which is 4p. 10oz. 4dr., and Toll is to be taken by a sealed Copper measure, striked close to the rim or edge thereof, and so in proportion for any lesser quantity.

2nd. For every Bagg of small or English Barley, containing 16 stone, the Bagg aforesaid, and so in proportion for any lesser quantity.

3rd. For each Bagg of Beere Barley, containing 14 stone, the Bagg aforesaid, and so in proportion for any lesser quantity.

4th. For each Bagg of Oats, containing 13 stone, the Bagg aforesaid, and so in proportion aforesaid.

5th. For each Barrell of Rapeseed, one Bagg aforesaid, and so in proportion aforesaid.

6th. For every Bagg or 10 stone of country Malt, not brought in by a ffreeman, three pence.

7th. For each Barrell of Potatoes, two pence, and so in proportion for any lesser quantity, but under the value of 10d., one farthing only.

8th. For every Pedler, Hosier, Glover, Britchmaker, Country Butcher, Confectioner, Earthen or Horn Ware Chapmen, and all others that sell any Ware, and have stalls or standings in the Markett, for each Markett day three pence.

9th. For all Hawkers, 2d. per Markett day, and for Meat mongers, Gardeners, Hucksters, and such like that sell in the Markett, one penny per Markett day.

10th. For any cake of Rough Fat or Tallow, two pence, and for any greater quantity, one half penny per stone.

11th. For every quarter of a hundred of Butter or Rendered Tallow, one farthing, and for every cask of said goods, not exceeding two hundred weight of Neate Butter or Tallow, one penny, and for each cask, exceeding two hundred weight, two pence.

12th. For each gallon of Honey, one penny, and so in proportion for any lesser quantity.

13th. For every hundred of Cheese, 2d., and so in proportion for greater or lesser quantity.

14th. For every Piece of Bandle Cloath, 20 Bandles and upwards, 2d., if under, one penny.

15th. For every Piece of White or Coloured ffreize or fflannell, containing 20 Bandles and upwards, 2d., and if under, one penny.

16th. For every stone of wool sold by a Forreigner in the Markett, one penny, and for each Bagg, sold and delivered in town, 3d.

17th. For every horse load of fish, three pence.

18th. For every Horse, Mare, Gelding, Cow, Ox or Bull, sold in the Fairs, six pence, on other days, 3d., and for every two year old and yearling, 2d.

19th. For every Calfe or Sheep, 1d., for every Lamb, ½d., for every Hogg of the value of 5s. and under, 2d., and from thence to 20s., four pence.

20th. For every Cow, Ox, Bullock, Bull, Steer, Heiffer, or Horse hyde, 1d., and for every yearling hyde, ½d.

21st. For every truckle load of Woodden Ware or Barks, 3d., and for every such load of Poles, axletrees, Rake, Pyke, Shovell, or Spade handels, or other small ware for Husbandry uses, 3d., and of stone Cole, 1 penny.

22nd. For every Salmon sold in the Markett, 1d.

23rd. For all small Articles or Comodities, of what kind soever, to the value of one penny out of 20d.

24th. For every Hogshead of Syder, sold and delivered to a Publican, who retails it again, 3d., but to any Private Gentleman or Housekeeper, who buys for his own use nothing whether ffree or not.

25th. For every Horse load of New or Sour Milke, from All Hollantide to May Day, one penny, and from thence, two pence.

26th. For every horse load of ffresh or pickled Oysters, Cured or Dried ffish or Pickles, three pence.

27th. For every horse load of onions, 3d., Turnips and Roots, 1d., Lemons, Oranges, and other fruits, 3d.

28th. For every Bagg of Soapers ashes, containing about ½ a Bristol Barrell, three pence, and so in proportion for any other quantity.

29th. No goods of any kind whatsoever brought to Markett, under the value of five pence, to Pay any Toll, and no small Basket of Eggs, Chickens or other poultry, to pay any toll.

30th. No Ffreeman to pay any toll for any Goods he buys out of the Town Liberty's for his own consumption or to be consumed or made use of in any Trade or Calling he follows in the Town of Clonmell or Libertys thereof. PROVIDED always that no Ffreeman, under colour of his Ffreedom, pass or ffree any Butter, Corn, or other Goods, or Merchandize whatsoever that shall be bought upon Commission, or designed for the manufacture or consumption of any Fforreign Markett whatsoever, whether in this Kingdom or elsewhere. Neither is any Toll to be paid or taken for any Goods sold by a Ffreeman out of the Libertys to any person when the same are brought into town, and all Ffreeman's Widdows during their Widdowhood to have the same benefit of their Husband's Ffreedom as though he were living.

31st. All disputes arising by the collecting of the Toll of the Marketts and Ffairs of said town to be determined by the Mayor thereof for the time being, agreeable to the Rates and Directions of this Dockett.

32nd. Nothing else Lyable to pay anything to the Clerk of the Markett but what is mentioned in this Dockett, and all persons concerned are to pay due obedience thereto (*c*).

(c) The following particulars are taken from the Municipal Corporations Report, 1833:—

Tolls and customs are claimed by the corporation. They formerly produced from £300 to £400 a year, but latterly they have produced only about £150.

The toll on corn and tonnage on boats were taken off altogether, at the suggestion of the merchants, 20 years ago.

The tolls were formerly leased by the year, but they are not leased now.

The tolls and customs were formerly given to the mayor in lieu of salary ; that is about 30 years ago, or upwards.

Tolls and customs are levied on every week-day as well as on market days. A great number of additional persons were formerly employed on fair days, in the collection of the tolls, in consequence of the opposition to them, and the disposition to evade them by forcing cattle, goods and chattels, both in and out of the different toll gaps. There has been a great deal of public disturbance in consequence of the collection of toll. It was, on one occasion, necessary to call out the military Serious riots very often occur, on account of the collection of customs.

From the earliest period it appears that the citizens compounded with the lord of the manor for the burgage rents by a joint payment. But the evidence obtainable, points to the fact that the district now known as "the burgagery" was parcelled out and held by several burghers as absolute owners. The rest, now called "the commons," was held by all jointly. In the latter, no more than in the former, were the lands deemed to be held in trust. If at any time the burghers wished to alienate these lands they might have done so by common agreement. A corporation therefore in the modern sense, did not exist before the reign of James I. In the sixth year of that reign, a charter was granted which, with the exception of two brief intervals, regulated the affairs of the town down to the Municipal Reform Act, 1842.

CHARTER OF CLONMEL.

Introduction of the Grant.

JAMES, by the Grace of God, of England, Scotland, France, Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, UNTO all to whom these our Letters shall come GREETING. Whereas the town or Borrough of Clonmel, SITUATE and being in the severale Counties of the Liberties of Tipperary and Waterford is an ancient Borough, founded and established from its beginning, with fforts and walls well fenced, by subjects and faithfull Liege people of the Crown of England coming from and having its beginning from the ancient Birth of England, having and enjoying English Laws Habitts and Manners, AND WHEREAS the Inhabitants of the said Borrough in times past, have performed commendable services to us and our Progenitors of England against Rebellious destroyers of the Commonwealth with the loss of their blood and Lives, AND WHEREAS the said town or

Comendation of the place.

Borrough is near and contiguous to a most famous river called Shure, having annexed to it a haven or Harbour, convenient, fitt and necessary for Transportacon of boates, a high and long Bridge sustained and maintained with arches, and is also compassed and fortified on every side with turretts Castles and Forts, for the amendments and repair whereof great and frequent costs and labours are expended, and at present by ancientness and want of Inhabitants is worn and consumed: which Inhabitants by reason of two years plague there do groane, and by reason of the burning of their houses and edifices, are reduced to great need and poverty—whence it cometh to pass that the said town is dayly ready to fall to decay unless we apply our speedy helping hands, AND WHEREAS it appears unto us that the said town or borrough is a place opportune and very convenient to entertain our Justices, Comrs. and Army, and in which our Liege subjects

Services Done.

heretofore have in their severall offices and services with great alacrity of mind done and exhibitted to us great and faithful services and testimonies of their faithfullness, KNOW ye that we the premisses considering, and willing our grace in this behalf in a bountiful manner, to do and extend to the Inhabitants of the said Borrough, of our special grace and certain knowledge and meer motion by the assent of our well beloved and faithful

Sir Arthur Chicester, Deputy-Generall.

Councellor, Arthur Chicester, Knight, our Deputy Generall of our said kingdom of Ireland, as also according to the Intention and Effect of certain Letters Pattents and our Commission under our great seale of the said Kingdom of England, made and perfected bearing date at Westminster the Twentieth day of March in the year of our Reign of England, Ffrance and Ireland, the fourth, and of Scotland the fortieth, to our said Deputy Generall directed, and now Inrolled and remaining of Record in the Rolls of our Chancery of our said Kingdom of Ireland, HAVE GRANTED and by this

our present Charter, for us, our Heires, and Successors, do give and grant to the Sovereigns, Provost, Burgesses and Comonalty of the Borrough of Clonmel afforesaid, or by whatsoever other name the Livers or Inhabitants of the town or Borough be called, named, or knowne, that the said town or Borrough of Clonmel, together with the Subbs of ye same in ye whole extent or space of ground and water in every part, within the ancient limits, bounds or franchises of ye said town in the several counties of ye liberties of Tipperary and Waterford, BE HEREAFTER forever, a free Borrough and Corporacon by itself and that hereafter it be called named and known by the name of the town or ffree borrough of Clonmel; and that within ye said town or Borough there being one body politique and incorporated in itself, and in that name created and made, and shall consist of the said Livers or Inhabitants of ye said town and ffreeborrough of one Mayor, two Bayliffs, ffree burgesses and Comonalty, and that there shall be only twenty ffree Burgesses in the said town or Borrough, whereof the Mayor and Bayliffs shall be three, and with that intention that in ye ages to come it may appear that the said body be Incorporated as now in its beginning it is founded, and composed of good, lawful and honest persons, OF OUR special grace, certain knowledge, and meer motion, by the assent aforesaid, for us, our heires and successors, doe make, constitute and ordaine John White Ffitz Geffry, Mayor of said town or Borrough of Clonmel, for and during one whole year, beginning from the feast of Saint Michael ye Archangel next coming, AND we also make, constitute and ordaine by these presents James White Ffitz Richard and Joseph White Ffitz Lawrence, Bayliffs of ye said town or Borrough for ye said year, beginning from the feast of Saint Michael aforesaid, and Pierce Bray, Nicholas White Ffitz Henry, Patrick White Ffitz Thomas, Thomas Goagh, James White Ffitz Robert, Richard White, John Bray, Nicholas Wall, Leonard Creagh, Edmond Wall, Thomas White, Thomas Roche, Nicholas White Ffitz Thomas, James Daniel, Pierce Bray Ffitz Michael, Mellchior White, and Benedict White Ffitz Geffry being the best and discreetest men of and in ye said town or Borrough, we make and constitute ye Burgesses of ye said town or Borrough, which ffree Burgesses being seventeen together with the Mayor and Bayliffs for the time being, shall make the comon council of the town or Borrough aforesaid, and all other persons ffreemen living and remaining or to remain of or within ye said town or Borrough we make constitute and ordain to be the Comons or Comonalty of ye town and Borrough aforesaid, AND further of our more abundant and special grace, certain knowledge and meer motion, we give, grant and confirm, unto the said Mayor, Bayliffs Freeburgesses and Comonalty of ye said town or Borrough of Clonmel that they and their successors, be hereafter forever one body politique and Incorporated in deed and in name, and they the aforesaid Mayor, Bayliffs ffree Burgesses and Comonalty and their Successors in one body Incorporated and politique for ever to remain, WE hereby fully make, create, establish and unite by these presents that the said Body Incorporated be forever named and known by the name of Mayor, Bayliffs, Ffreeburgesses and Comonalty of the town or Borrough of Clonmel, and that by the same they, and their successors forever, be and remain fitt persons and capable in law to make, contract and receive, all and all manner of Grants, gifts and concessions and Perquisites as any other body politique, in any wise, may; and likewise that they and their successors by ye name of Mayor Bayliffs Ffree Burgesses and Comonalty of ye said town or Borough of Clonmel may hold, plead and Implead before us, our Heires and successors whatsoever, as well spirituall as temporal, in any of our Courts, our heires or successors or in any other Courts erected or to be erected, in and of all and all manner of actions reale, personal, and mixed suits, quarrells and demands against them, or by them in any wise to be prosecuted or obtained, AND FURTHER of our more plentiful and special

Created Corporation.

Mayor & Bayliffs.

In number Twenty.

Burgesses named.

grace, certain knowledge and mere motion, we will, and by these presents for us, our heires and successors, WE GRANT unto the said Mayor, Bayliffs, Ffree Burgesses and Comonalty and their Successors, that ye said Mayor and Bayliffs be forever, annually elective and that the said Ffree Burgesses and Comonalty, or ye greatest part of them, every feast of Saint John the Baptist, yearly at the Thollsell within ye said town or Borough aforesaid, at their pleasure may chose of the Ffree Burgesses for ye time being, one fitt and able person to be their Mayor, and two other persons to be Bayliffs of ye said Borrough, who severally ye offices aforesaid on ye feast of Saint Michael ye Archangel then next coming, may assume, and rule and govern ye Borough aforesaid by ye space of one year then next following, and that they have a perpetual succession; and if and as often as such Mayor, Bayliffs or either of them, within ye said year after such election so made, shall dye or for want of sound and wise government of ye town or Borough aforesaid or some crime or other cause, they or either of them from ye office aforesaid shall be taken away or deposed, then and so often the Ffree Burgesses and Comonalty aforesaid and their successors, another able person or persons of ye Ffree Burgesses for ye time being, in ye place or places of such Mayor, Bayliff, or Bayliffs so dead or removed, for ye residue of ye said year within ten days next after for the Regulateing and Governing of ye said Borough, may choose and substitute; and if any of the Ffree Burgesses aforesaid shall dye or be removed or disfranchised, that then ye Mayor and other Ffree Burgesses and Comonalty, or ye greatest part of them, from time to time may choose and elect another fitt person in the place of such Ffree Burgesses so dead or removed, and that the said John White whom by these presents we have made and constituted first Mayor of the said town or Borrough, may take and receive before the Chief Baron of our Exchequer for the time being, or before our Justices of Assizes in ye said County of the Liberties of Tipperary next assigned, at or upon the feast of Saint Michael next following the oath following in these words: YOU shall swear faithfully and truly to serve the king and the people of this Corporacon during your being Mayor of this Borrough; you shall not do, nor consent to ye doing, of anything which may turn to ye damage or disinherriting of our Lord the King, his heires or lawful successors. You shall not conceal any treason or unlawful conspiracies against the King's Majesty, his heires or successors, but endeavour to suppress the offenders or Practicers, and the same treason to reveal to the King's Deputy or some of his Majesty's privy Council within this Realm with all convenient speed you can; you shall do equal right to poor and rich without regard of persons or reward, and hold and keep this Borough and Town to and for ye King's Majesty his heirs and successors against all foreign enemies and home born Rebels whatsoever, soe help me God. And that the said Mayor, the oath aforesaid being to him administered in manner and form aforesaid on ye feast of St. Michael ye Archangel ye next following, you shall give and administer for us, and in our name, another oath to ye said Bayliffs and either of them, which oath followeth in these words, viz., We shall truly occupy the office of Bayliffs of the Town and franchises of Clonmel for this year to come, and doe right to ye poor as well as to ye rich in our office, doing and truly execution do of all that is recovered in our Courts and of all writs, processes directed to us out of any the kings Courts and suffer no manner of person to retail within ye said franchises contrary to the ordinances thereupon made so help us God. AND that every other Mayor and Bayliffs who for the future shall be chosen for the said Borrough according to ye tenor of these presents, on ye feast of Saint Michael the Archangel next after their election, before the Mayor of the said Borough whom the office aforesaid ye year before hath preceded, in ye presence of the freeburgesses and Commons in ye said Borough or the major part of them, in ye Thollsell of ye said Borough shall administer unto, and give unto him and

Election of Mayor and Bayliffs.

Election in case of death, Crime, or removal within Ten days.

The Mayor's Oath.

Bayliffs Oath.

Power in the succeeding Mayors to give the oath.

them respectively, ye oaths above expressed and specified, and that every free burgess or freeman who by these presents is constituted or hereafter shall be elected and admitted unto the said franchise of the said Borough take before ye Mayor and Bayliffs of the said Borough for ye time being, so many and such oaths which anciently were used and administered to ye ffree burgesses and ffreemen of the said town or Burrough, AND

Burgesses and Freemen to be sworn.

FURTHER of our larger special grace, contain knowledge and meer motion, WE give, and by these presents for us, our heirs and Successors, doe grant unto the said Mayor, Bayliffs, Ffree burgesses & Commons of ye town or Borough aforesaid that they and their Successors from time to time do make, constitute and establish, and from time to time may have, make and constitute one sufficient and able man, well bred and skilled in the

Recorder.

Laws, to be the Recorder of the said Borrough during their pleasure, or as long as he shall well behave himself as to them shall please, and that such Recorder so constituted may from time to time exercise and execute all offices to a Recorder in any wise belonging or appertaining, and that every Recorder for the time being shall take the same corporall oath before ye Mayor of the town or Borough aforesaid for ye time being for ye well faithful doing and executing ye offices of a Recorder, the tenor whereof followeth in these words viz., I shall be a true liege man to our Sovereign Lord the King, his heirs and successors, and true to the ffranchises of

Recorder's Oath.

the town of Clonmel, and the same maintain with all my wit and power, and shall truly and faithfully advise the Council, Mayor and Bayliffs of ye same town in all things concerning the said Corporation, and truly exercise ye office of Recorder of the said town and all that to the same appertaineth, so help me God. AND further our will is, and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, WE GRANT unto the said Mayor, Bayliffs, Ffree Burgesses and commons of ye Borrough aforesaid that they and their Successors from time to time do make and constitute one Clerk of ye Thollsell to exercise do and execute all and singular to ye office of the Clerk of the Thollsell belonging or appertaining, in as large manner and forme as

Election of a Town Clerk.

ye Clerk of ye Thollsell of our Citty of Waterford the office of the Clerk of ye Thollsell of ye said Citty doth or may exercise ye said office, as long as he behaveth himself well in ye said office and not otherwise. AND MOREOVER of our more abundant grace for us our heirs and successors by these presents WE GIVE and Grant unto ye said Mayor and Bayliffs

Election of one Sword bearer&three Sergeants-at-Mace.

Ffreeburgesses and Comonalty of the said Town or Borrough and their successors full power and authority to name, elect and constitute, one Sword bearer and three Sergeants-at-Mace within the Borrough aforesaid, and such and as many other Inferior officers and servants necessary for ye good government and service of ye said town or Borrough as to ye said Mayor, Bayliffs, Ffreeburgesses and Comonalty for ye time being, shall seem meet. AND THAT such officers or ministers so chosen and appointed, do perform

Inferior Officers.

before the Mayor of ye said Borrough for ye time being, such respective corporall oaths as hath been heretofore used in ye said Borrough of Clonmel. And as often as the Mayor of ye said Borrough for ye time being as well for the publick good of the said Borrough, as for his own proper and

Power of deputing a Mayor, and how Sworn.

supernumerary business shall happen to be absent from ye said Borrough WE GIVE therefore and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, to ye said Mayor of the said town or Borrough and his succeeding Mayors, that they and either of them at their will by the consent of ye Comon Council of the said Borrough, or the greater part of them, Nominate Depute Assign one other sufficient ffree person of the Ffreeburgesses of the said Borrough to bear ye place and stead of Mayor of the said Borrough, during ye absence of ye said Mayor, AND to doe and execute all things appertaining to ye said office in as large and ample manner and forme as if he himself were present. But soe as such person soe assigned and deputed before the execution of his Deputacon aforesaid, before ye Mayor and Recorder of ye

said Borrough for ye time being, shall take the said corporall oath to be performed in manner and forme as by the said Mayor it was to be performed AND ALSOE of our like special grace we with and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, WE GIVE unto the said Mayor, Bayliffs, Ffreeburgesses, and Comonalty of the said Borrough of Clonmel and their successors that they have and may have forever one Comon Seale engraven and carved with such formes and inscription as hitherto they have been accustomed to and ye sealing of all and singular Writings, Indents, Grants, Warrants of Attorney, and all Muniments, Hereditaments, and all other publick matters whatsoever to the said town or Borrough belonging or concerning, AS ALSOE another seale of office of Mayoralty to be and remain in ye custody of the said Mayor for the time being to seale all and singular Testimonies Certificates, Attachments, and Processes whatsoever, AND FURTHERMORE of our special grace, certain knowledge and meer motion, we will and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, WE GRANT unto the said Mayor, Bayliffs and Ffreeburgesses and Comonalty of the said Borrough of Clonmel and their Successors that ye Mayor of ye town or Borrough aforesaid for ye time being, and the Recorder of the same for the time being, be Justices and keepers of our peace, and either of them be Justice and keeper of our peace, within the town and Borrough aforesaid and Ffranchises thereof, and that they may and doe execute all things to ye office of a Justice of ye Peace belonging or appertaining, AND FURTHER we will, and by these presents for us, our heirs and Successors, WE GRANT to the said Mayor, Bayliffs, Ffreeburgesses and Comonalty of the Borrough of Clonmel aforesaid and their Successors that the said Mayor of the said town or Borrough for ye time being, and his successors Mayors and either of them, or his deputy in his absence, be Escheator and Coroner and the heirs and successors of ye Mayors within ye said town and Borrough and liberties and Ffranchises of ye same forever, and that he exercise and execute all and singular such things and matters as to ye said offices or either of them severally do belong or appertain as any other Coroner or Escheator in any county within our said Kingdom of Ireland lawfully may, ought or can do for ye future. SOE as no foreign Escheator or Coroner of ours, our heirs or successors, beside the Mayor of ye said Borrough for ye time being and his successors, in the said town or Borrough to execute or exercise ye offices aforesaid or any of them, may enter or either of them enter or themselves in any thing or wise within ye said town or Borrough Liberties Ffranchises or Jurisdiction of the same to Intromitt or put in for ye future AND THAT the said Mayor, Bayliffs, Ffreeburgesses and Comonalty of the said Borrough and their Successors forever have and receive to the publick good of the said Borrough, and in their hands may retain and keep all and every the profits, comodities, perquisittes and emoluments whatsoever to the said offices of Coroner and Escheator, or either of them belonging or appertaining, or thereout in any wise arising or growing without any account therefore or thereout unto us, our heirs or successors, to be rendered; and furthermore of our more abundant and special grace we grant, and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, WE GIVE AND GRANT unto the said Mayor, Bayliffs, Ffreeburgesses and Comonalty of ye said town and Borrough and their successors forever, that the said Bayliffs of the said town or Borrough for ye time being, and their successors for ever, have the absolute execution and return of all and singular Writts, Mandates, Precepts, Summons, Attachments, Warrants and Bills of our heirs and successors, and of ye summons, attachments, Distresses and all other processes within ye said town or Borrough and the Ffranchises thereof, before us our heirs and successors in our Chancery or before us in our chief place, or before our Justices of the Common pleas assigned, or any other our Justices or of our heirs and successors of our said kingdom of

Seales of Two sorts.

Mayor and Recorder Justices of ye Peace.

Mayor and Deputy Escheator and Coroner without account for the same.

The Bayliffs power to execute all manner of writts.

Ireland to be held, to be returned as well at our suite, our heirs and successors, as at the suite of any other person or persons whatsoever to be prosecuted and returned; so as noe Sherriffe, Bayliffs or other officer or Minister of ours, our heirs or successors, into the town or Borrough for ye executing or returning any Writt, Summons, Warrants, Mandate, Attachment or other process may enter, unless by the defect of the said Bayliffs of the said town or Borrough for ye time being, or their successors, WE GIVE further and by these for us, our heirs and successors, we grant unto the said Mayor, Bayliffs, and Ffreeburgesses and Comonalty of the town or Borrough aforesaid, that they may call together assemblies or meetings at as many times in the year as they please, in the Guild hall or Thollsell of ye said Borrough for ye benefitt, advantage, and profit of the said Borrough, and ye Liberties, Ffranchises and Jurisdiction of the same, to consult and then and there all such acts, ordinances, lawfull and wholesome statutes for the publick good and sound government of the said Borrough and Ffranchises thereof, lawfully and without punishment, to ordaine, establish and make, such as shall not be contrary and repugnant to the laws and statutes of this our kingdom of Ireland, AND if any of the Ffreeburgesses or Comons of the said Borrough shall violate, or break or refuse to fulfill the said statutes and ordinances, so enacted and ordained, that then it shall be lawfull for ye said Mayor of ye said Borrough of Clonmel, and his successors for the time being, to distrain the goods and chattles of ye said Ffreeburgesses or Comons, or either of them, so offending against the fforme and effect of the Statutes or ordinances aforesaid and if they have not sufficient distress by them, THAT then it may be lawful for ye said Mayor and his successors to arrest, Imprison and in safe custody to keep such transgressors and delinquents until they give full satisfaction of the fines and amerciaments upon them, or either of them imposed, AND FURTHER we will and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, we grant unto the said Mayor, Bayliffs, Ffreeburgesses and Comons of the said Borrough and their successors forever that they may have a certain Guild of Merchants, and a Guild Hall to the same belonging, within the said Borrough, AND that no foreign or strange Merchant or any other whosoever who is not of their Guild aforesaid, may have or occupy or in any wise retail, sell or buy any Merchandices, Mercimonies or wares of what kind or sort soever they be, within the Borrough aforesaid or the Ffranchises, Burgagery or Liberties thereof, without the special lycence of ye said Mayor, Bayliffs, Ffreeburgesses and Comonalty aforesaid, under the forfeiture of all and singular the Mercimonies and wares so bought, had, occupied, or sold within the Borrough or Ffranchises, Burgagery or Liberties thereof without the special Lycence as aforesaid, unless such Merchandizes or Mercimonies be sold or bought by foreigners strangers on ye markets or markett days at the hour and place accustomed which forfeitures to ye said Mayor, Bayliffs, Ffreeburgesses and Comonalty their successors for us our heirs and successors WE give and grant by these presents forever; and further of our like special grace we will and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, WE GRANT to ye said Mayor, Bayliffs, Ffreeburgesses and Comonalty of ye said town and Borrough that they and their Successors may divide, distinguish themselves into severall Guilds or fraternitys according to their severall conditions, arts and misteries and that every Guild have and may use one distinct Ensign, in token and note of distinction of Ffraternity and their Mystery or Trade, and that each Guild have and build one distinct hall or place convenient within ye said Borrough where ye brethern of such Guild may gather themselves, and also that every Guild or Fraternity yearly forever may elect, chose and constitute to itself one Warden or Master being one of the same Ffraternity who may exercise the office of Master or Warden for one entire year and noe more, and further of more ample special grace, certain knowledge and meer motion we give by these presents for us, our

Power of assembling to make bye-laws.

Punishment of the Offenders of such Laws.

Power of raising Guild Halls and forfeiture upon strangers.

More Guilds if need required.

heirs and successors, WE GRANT unto ye said Mayor Bayliffs, Ffree-burgesses and Comonalty of ye said Borrough and town of Clonmel and their successors forever that the said Mayor, and Bayliffs for ye time being and their successors have and may have and hold twice in each year forever one Court Leet or view of ffrank pledge within ye said town or Borrough and Ffranchises of ye same by the Recorder of the said town or Burrough or his sufficient Deputy for ye time being according to the laws and customs of our kingdom of England or Ireland to be kept forever and all things to ye said Court Leet or View of ffrank pledge belonging or appertaining, AND FURTHER we will and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, we grant to ye said Mayor, Bayliffs, Ffreeburgesses and Comons of ye said Borrough for ye time being, that they and their successors have and may have and hold another Court within ye said town or Borrough and ffranchises of ye same every Wednesday in every week forever before ye Mayor and Bayliffs of ye said town or Borrough for ye time being, and that in ye same Court they have full power and jurisdiction of knowing, hearing, and determining all and all manner of actions as well real as personal and Mixt suites, quarrells and demands of all and singular Lands, Tenements, Debts, Detentions, Trespasses, Attempts, Contracts, Deceyts, Replevies and of old and anciently contracted causes of demand of any matter whatsoever, to what sum soever they amount, attain or arise, within ye said town and Borrough and Ffranchises of ye same and not elsewhere being, arising or happening, and that the said Mayor and Bayliffs of the town or Borrough aforesaid for ye time being have full power and authority to hold, hear, and determine ye said pleas and quarrells according to the due forme of law, and of proceeding to judgment upon the same and making execution thereupon according to the laws and customs of our Kingdom of England or Ireland, and that the Courts aforesaid, and each and every of them, be reputed Courts or Court of Record, AND further of our larger Grace we will, and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, we grant to ye said Mayor, Bayliffs, Ffreeburgesses and Comonalty of the said Borrough or town and their successors that they build or cause to be built one strong sufficient Goall or Prison within the said town or Borrough and ffranchises of the same and that the Bayliffs of the said Borrough for ye time being forever have the custody and keeping of the said Goall and of all and singular the Prisoners in the same from time to time by the said Mayor and Bayliffs for ye time being imprisoned or to be imprisoned, WEE also give and by this our present Charter for us our heirs and successors grant to ye said Mayor, Bayliffs, Ffreeburgesses and Comonalty of ye said town or Borrough aforesaid that they and their successors forever have, and for themselves may detain and keep all and all manner of ffines, Issues, Forfeitures, Amerciaments, in ye Courts or either of them as often as ye same is offered or imposed together with all and singular other perquisites, profitts, Comodities, and Emoluments to ye said Court belonging or appertaining or any wise thereout arising or issuing, for ye better maintaining and sustaining of ye town and Borrough aforesaid, without making or rendering unto us our heirs or successors any accounts of ye same, and moreover by this our present Charter for us, our heirs and successors, We grant and confirm unto the said Mayor, Bayliffs, FfreeBurgesses and Comonalty of ye said town or Borrough for ye time being that they and their successors forever have and keep and may have and keep two several marketts in some convenient place within ye said town or Borrough in every week forever (that is to say) one markett on Tuesday and another on Saturday in every week, to be held forever together with a Pyepowder Court there during ye said Marketts and with all and all manner of Liberties and ffree customs, profitts, Comodities, advantages and emoluments whatsoever to such a Court in any manner belonging or appertaining or any wise arising or issuing, without accounting for ye same

Mayor's Court weekly on Wednesdays.

Prison.

Fines and Perquisites.

Two Marketts a week Pye-powder Court

to us our heirs or successors, so as the said marketts be not to ye damage or hurt of other marketts and that ye said Mayor of the said town of Clonmel for ye time being and his successors forever successively be the Clerk and Master of ye Say within ye town and Borrough aforesaid and the Ffranchises of ye same and have have ye assize of Bread, Wine and Beer, and the correction and amendment of ye same from time to time, and have full power and authority of exercising and executing ye office of Clerk of ye Marketts or Master of ye Say within ye town or Borrough aforesaid, and of all other matters to ye said office belonging or to them or either of them appertaining, soe as noe other Clerk of ye Marketts or Master of ye Sayes of us our heirs or successors within ye town or borrough aforesaid or ye Liberties thereof for ye future, may enter for ye exercising the office of ye Clerk of Marketts or Master of ye Sayes or in any wise Interpose or Intermeddle with the office aforesaid. AND further of our special Grace, certain knowledge and meer motion, we will and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, WE give and grant unto ye said Mayor, Bayliffs, Ffreeburgesses and Comonalty of ye said town or Borrough, and their successors, that neither they nor any of them may not be putt in any Recognizances, Juries of Assizes, or Inquisitions whatsoever to be taken upon any matter, thing, cause or matter of trespass or Contract whatsoever out of the said town and Borrough and Ffranchises thereof; nor that noe stranger or foreigner who are not of the town and Borrough afforesaid be putt upon any Juries, Recognizances, Assizes, or Inquisitions to be taken upon any thing, matter or cause whatsoever within ye said town or Borrough or ffranchises thereof made, happened or being, but that all and singular Inquisitions, Recognizances, Juries and Assizes for the future to be returned, summoned or arraigned upon any thing, cause or matter within the town or borrough afforesaid or the ffranchises thereof made, being or happening, shall consist of good, fitt and able men of ye said town or Borrough alone, without any foreigner or stranger to be sworn with them or returned (tho' he or they have or hath some Lands, Tenements or Hereditaments in some place or country without ye said town or Borrough), AND further of our special grace we will, and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, WE grant to ye said Mayor of the said town or Borrough and his successors that he ye said Mayor for ye time being, and his successors forever, may wear such habit, Ensign, Garment or Ornament whatsoever as the Mayor of our city of Waterford for the time, did wear or hereafter shall or ought to wear by virtue of any Charter, Gift, Grant, Confirmation, Custom, Prescription, Use, or any other Legall way whatsoever, AND further of our like special grace we give and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, doe grant to ye said Mayor, Bayliffs, Ffreeburgesses and Comonalty of ye Borrough Afforesaid (as much as in us lyeth) that they hold and enjoy for themselves and their successors forever one Key in ye said town or Borrough of Clonmel upon ye Bank or Shore of the River Shure, and that they have and receive of every Barque, Boate or Bargess coming and drawing near ye said Key to load or unload, Import or Export any things or Merchandizes, for Keyage for ye better maintaining the Key aforesaid, for every ton weight the said Barque, Boates, or Bargess will import to ye said Key, or from ye said Key will export, load or unload, four pence current money of England, and according to the said rate for more or less, and that they the said Mayor, Bayliffs, Ffreeburgesses and Comonalty of ye said Borrough and their successors forever, have and receive Pontage or Bridge Money of ye said Borrough in as ample Custom Manner and Fforme as the Sovereign, Provosts, Burgesses and Comonalty of the said Borrough anciently have or had received or used to have and receive, without Impediment, Hindrance or Molestacon of us our heirs or successors or any officers or Ministers of ours whatsoever, AND moreover of our more abundant grace we give and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, we grant (as much as in us lyeth)

Exemption from all Juries.

Noe Strangers or Foreigner be of ye Town Juries.

To wear such habits.

Mayor to have 4d. per ton out of every Boat, &c.

Bridge Money.

Freedom of Duty of all ports of the Kingdom.

to the Mayor, Bayliffs, Ffreeburgesses and Comonalty of ye said town or Borrough and their successors that all their Goods, Chattles and Merchandizes be quitt and free forever of all Toll, halting or loading, Murage, Bridge money Passage, Stalage or Standing, Keyage, Cranage or Wharfage, in all and singular Citties, Borroughs, Towns, Ports, Creeks, Waters, Ffayers, Marketts, and in all other places whatsoever, in and throughout all our Kingdoms and Dominions soever, in as large and ample manner as the Burgesses of our town of Kilkenny are or in any way or manner ought to be. And further of our more plentifull grace, certain knowledge and meer motion, WE give and for us, our heirs and successors, doe grant unto ye said Mayor, Bayliffs, Ffreeburgesses and Comonalty of the said town or Borrough of Clonmel and their successors, full power, Lycence and Authority of holding their Mannors, Messuages, Lands, Tenements, Rents,

ye Advowson &c. Ffreedom of Mannors to £20 a year above reprises.

Reversions, Services, Advowson of Churches, Chappels or Hereditaments after what manner soever they be held of us our heirs or successors, whether they arise in chief or otherwise by knight Service, to attain and acquire ye same to the clear yearly value of Twenty pounds lawfull money of England above all reprises by one or more our grant or grants, Ffeoffmts., Ffine, or Recovery or otherwise TO HAVE AND TO HOLD to ye said Mayor, Bayliffs, Ffreeburgesses and Comonalty of the said Town and their successors forever, notwithstanding any Statute, Act, Ordinance, Provision or Restriction of Lands or Tenements made, had, or provided to ye contrary or any other matter, thing or cause to the contrary, notwithstanding, AND further we and by these presents for us our heirs and successors we grant to ye said Mayor, Bayliffs, Ffreeburgesses, and Comonalty of the said Town or Borrough and their Successors, all and singular goods and chattles that are wayfes and strayes within ye said town or shall appear within ye same or the liberties or presincts

Wayfes and Strays.

thereof, without account thereof to be given us our heirs or successors, and further of our more abundant and special grace, certain knowledge and meer motion, we give and grant, and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, WE give, grant and confirm unto the said Mayor, Bayliffs, Ffreeburgesses and Comonalty of the said town or Borrough of Clonmel and their successors, that they and their successors may have, enjoy and possess freely, quietly, honourably, and in peace (as much as in us lyeth) all and singular the lands, tenements, houses, messuages, Tofts, Mills, Dovehouses, Gardens, Orchards, Ffields, Meadows, Pastures, woods, underwoods, Watercourses, waters, Rivers, Rivuletts and all Hereditaments whatsoever which are of ye old Burgagery of ye said Borrough or town aforesaid and which heretofore ye sovereign, Provost, Burgesses, and Comonalty of ye said town aforesaid or their predicessor, Inhabitants, Dwellers, or Comonalty of the same by the name of Sovereign, Burgesses or Comonalty, or by another name whatsoever, had possessed or enjoyed; to be held from us our heirs and successors in ffree Burgagery, rendering and yielding thereout yearly to us our heirs and successors at ye Receipt of our Exchequer, or to the hands of our Vice Treasurer or Generall Receiver of us, our

Rent Ten Shillings Irish.

heirs and successors of our said Kingdom of Ireland for the time being, Ten Shillings Current Money of Ireland att ye Ffeasts of St. Michael the Archangel and Easter by equal portions yearly to be paid SAVING

Saving.

ALWAYS, and this our Grant altogether reserving the right, Title and Interest of all and singular our subjects to the premisses or any parte thereof (any thing in these presents specified to ye contrary notwithstanding), AND further of our fuller grace we will, and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, give and grant unto the said Mayor, Bayliffs, Ffreeburgesses and Comonalty of ye said town or Borrough and their successors forever that these our letters Patents and all and singular the Articles, Gifts, Grants and Privileges, Franchises, Liberties, Immunities, Jurisdictions, Authorities, and all other things whatsoever,

before Justices, Commissioners or other our officers or Ministers our heirs or successors, and to ye most and greatest advantage and benefitt of ye said Mayor, Bayliffs, Ffreeburgesses, and Comonalty of ye town or Borrough and their successors, against us our heirs and successors, be and may be interpretted, expounded, understood and adjudged soe that the express mention of the annuall value or of the certainty of the premisses or of other Gifts or Grants by us or any of our progenitors or predecessors hitherto made and perfected to ye said Mayor, Bayliffs, Ffreeburgesses and Comons of ye said Town, in these presents in no wise may be made (Any Statute, Ordinance or Provisoe or any other thing Cause, or matter to ye contrary in any wise notwithstanding) in Testimony of which we have caused these our Letters to be made Patents our said Deputy Generall of our said Kingdom of Ireland at Dublin ye fifth day of July in ye year of our Reign of England, France and Ireland the Sixth and of Scotland ye fortyfirst *(d)*.

This charter was in some essential particulars altered by the "New Rules" made by Lord Essex, 23rd September, 1672. These rules gave legal sanction to the Cromwellian settlement of the municipalities, as the Act of 17 and 18 Chas. II., chap. 2, had previously sanctioned the settlement of the land. The rules briefly were :—

1. The name of each person elected mayor, bailiff, recorder, burgess and town clerk, shall be submitted to the Lord Lieutenant and Council for approval, and no person shall be capable of serving in these offices until such approval is obtained.

2. No person shall be capable of holding or executing said offices until he shall have taken in addition to the usual oaths, the oath of supremacy, 2nd Elizabeth—"I, A.B., doe utterly testife and declare in my conscience that the King's highnesse is the onely supreame governour of this realme, as well in all spirituall or ecclesiasticall things or causes, as temporall, and that no foreine prince, prelate, etc., hath or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power or authoritie, ecclesiasticall or spirituall within this realme," etc.

3. All foreigners and aliens, as well others as Protestants, who are merchants, traders, artisans, skilled in any trade or in any manufacture, who shall come into the town with intent to reside, shall upon their request, and payment of twenty shillings fine, be admitted freemen of the town.

CORPORATE OFFICERS.

The names of the members of the town council in 1608 and 1687, have been already mentioned in connection with the charters granted in these years. The following are lists of the council at important epochs; the first and second are the members in the beginning and end of the Ascendancy period; the third is the corporation elected under the Reform Act, 1842; the fourth, the existing one.

(d) The translation of the Latin charter was made from the "Exemplification" of 1662, and probably at that date.

1695.

Mayor—John Moore, Esq.
Recorder—Anthony Suxbury, Esq.
Bailiffs—Thomas Mokes. William Craddock.

Burgesses.

Richard Whitehand.
Richard Tengan.
Stephen Moore.
John Henbury.
Richard Pecket.
Thomas Osborne.
John West.
Francis Rabone.
Thomas Hopkins.
Redmond Vynn.
Thomas Cleere.
Thomas Balfe.
Stephen Hanly.
Charles Alcock.
John Warburton Spencer.
Hercules Beere.

1839.

Mayor—William Henry Riall, Esq.
Recorder—Richard Pennefather, Esq.
Sheriffs—James Douglas. Samuel Riall.

Burgesses.

Rev. William Stephenson.
John Croker.
Samuel Gordon.
James Douglas.
William Riall.
Rev. Edward Croker.
John Keily, jun.
Henry Croker.
Richard Moore.
John Keily.
Charles Riall.
William H. Keily.
Arthur C. Creagh.
George Gough.
John Bagwell.
Richard Keily.
Richard Pennefather.
Samuel Riall.
Rev. J. P. Rhoades.

1843.

Mayor—John Hackett.

Aldermen.

East Ward: William Byrne. John Luther. Patrick Hearn.
West Ward: John Hackett. Thomas Cantwell. Patrick Quinn.

Councillors.

East Ward	William Forristal.	West Ward	William Keily.
	Thomas O'Brien.		Thomas Stokes.
	Edward Phelan.		Eccles Greene.
	Charles Bianconi.		Patrick Rivers.
	Patrick Fennelly.		Daniel O'Brien.
	John Cary.		Patrick Corcoran.
	Thomas Holmes.		Thomas Prendergast.
	Edward O'Neill.		David Clancy.
	William Singleton.		Patrick Egan.

1906.

Mayor—Thomas Skehan.

Aldermen.

East Ward	Thomas Morrissey.	West Ward	Thomas Skehan.
	Walter Geary.		David O'Connor.
	Vacant.		Thomas J. Condon.

Councillors.

	James Meehan.		Edmund Burke.
	John Malcomson Murphy.		William T. Fayle.
	William Toohey.		James J. Hickey.
	Richard Dennehy.		Michael Hogan.
East Ward	Thomas Cleary.	West Ward	James Cahill.
	James Reidy.		John Cashin.
	Martin Ryan.		Arnold Power.
	Edward J. O'Connor.		Stephen J. Purcell.
	John O'Donnell.		John Mulcahy.

Out of the total number of sovereigns who governed the town from 1371, when that office was created, to 1608 only the following names have been recovered:—

1424 John White.
1526 Thomas White.
1539 John Stritche.
1542 John Stritche.
1543 William Fagan.
1565 Walter White.
1581 Geoffry White.
1582 Michael Bray.
1586 Geoffry White.
1589 Geoffry White.
1600 Nicholas White.

MAYORS UNDER CHARTER OF 1608.

1608 John White.
1609 Nicholas White.
1614 Patrick White.
1625 Henry White.
1633 John White.
1636 John White.
1637 Francis White.
1639 Henry White.
1641 John White.
1649 John White.

During the years 1650–6, there were no mayors, the town being under a military governor. In the latter year the Cromwellian corporation was established.

1656 Thomas Stanley.
1659 Thomas Batty.
1661 Samuel Foley.
1662 Charles Blount.
1663 Richard Perrot.
1666 Charles Alcock.
1668 Samuel Foley.
1673 Francis Hopkins.
1684 Thomas Limbry.
1685 John Hanbury.
1687 James Butler.
1692 John West.
1695 John Moore.
1697 Thomas Batty.
1701 Thomas Salmon.
1704 John Wilson.
1710 Thomas Lackey.
1711 Richard Kellett.
1712 John Walkinton.
1713 Thomas Tothall.
1714 Richard Whitehand.
1715 James Castell.
1716 Richard Carleton.
1717 Thomas Hopkins.
1718 John Power.
1719 Bartholomew Labarte.
1720 Hercules Beere.
1721 John Cooke.
1722 Philip Carleton.
1723 Guy Moore.
1724 Stephen Moore.
1725 James Going.
1726 Robert Moore.
1727 William Cole.
1728 James Going.
1729 Thomas Lackey.
1730 John Power.
1731 James Castell.
1732 Bartholomew Labarte.
1733 William Cole.
1734 James Going.
1735 Bartholomew Labarte.
1736 Charles Atkins.
1737 Richard Going.
1738 Jeremiah Morgan.
1739 Gilbert Lane.
1740 John Power.
1741 Samuel Gordon.
1742 Richard White.
1743 John Lackey.
1744 Robert Moore.
1745 George Cole.
1746 Samuel Gordon.
1747 Jeremiah Morgan.
1748 Robert Shaw.
1749 George Cole.
1750 Jeremiah Morgan.
1751 Richard Going.
1752 Robert Shaw.
1753 William Kellett.
1754 Theobald Lewis.
1755 John Hayman.
1756 Thomas Luther.
1757 Stephen Moore.
1758 John Luther.
1759 William Kellett.
1760 Theobald Lewis.
1761 Thomas Luther.
1762 Stephen Moore.
1763 Robert Shaw.
1764 Theobald Lewis.
1765 Thomas Luther.
1766 Stephen Moore.
1767 Thomas Luther.

1768 George Myles.
1769 Thomas Luther.
1770 Theobald Lewis & John Luther.
1771 John Hayman.
1772 Samuel Labarte.
1773 John Luther.
1774 John Hayman & John Luther.
1775 Stephen Moore, jun.
1776 Thomas Chidley Moore.
1777 Samuel Labarte.
1778 John Luther.
1779 Stephen Cole.
1780 Christopher Kellett.
1781 Richard Moore.
1782 Nathaniel Mitchell.
1783 John Luther.
1784 Richard Moore.
1785 Thomas Gordon.
1786 Nathaniel Mitchell.
1787 Edward Collins.
1788 John Luther.
1789 Nathaniel Mitchell.
1790 Thomas Gordon.
1791 John Luther & Stephen Moore.
1792 Thomas Power.
1793 George Cole.
1794 Stephen Moore.
1795 Richard Moore.
1796 Nathaniel Mitchell.
1797 John Hackett.
1798 George Heaslop.
1799 Richard Moore.
1800 Stephen Collins.
1801 John Bagwell.
1802 Richard Bagwell.
1803 William Bagwell.
1804 John Bagwell.
1805 Richard Bagwell.
1806 John Bagwell.
1807 Richard Bagwell.
1808 John Bagwell.
1809 Henry Langley.
1810 John Croker.
1811 Henry Langley.
1812 John Keilly.
1813 John Croker.
1814 John Keilly.
1815 John Croker.
1816 Henry Langley
1817 John Keilly.
1818 William Keilly.
1819 John Croker.
1820 William H. Keilly.
1821 William Bagwell.
1822 William Bagwell.
1823 William Bagwell.
1824 John Croker.
1825 William Bagwell.
1826 William Chaytor *(e)*.
1827 Do.
1828 Do.
1829 Do.
1830 Do.
1831 Do.
1832 Do.
1833 Do.
1834 Do.
1835 Benjamin B. Bradshaw.

(e) In a duodecimo printed in London, 1834, entitled "The Sketch Book," the anonymous writer, who saw Chaytor at dinner in the Great Globe Hotel, thus describes him:—"Nearly opposite me, sat a middle-aged, middle-sized, cowardly looking fellow; he seemed to have a tear in the corner of his eye and it would appear that the fates had decreed that he was never to shed it, for I met him two years since and there the tear stands still; when he sheds it, I hope it will atone for his political delinquency and tergiversation. The feast went on, knives and forks clancked round as in a fray. I marked the customer opposite me, and if he were as valliant in the field as he was at the table he would be fit to head an army. As he appeared to be a cunning, hypocritical fellow, I asked my neighbour who he was. He replied that he was the factotum of the town—that is Chaytor, the turncoat quaker; he is mayor of the place, stamp distributor, butter taster, head scavenger, etc. He like his tribe played his cards sure, by looking into every man's hand; he renounced the errors of quakerism to qualify himself for taking the oath to be sworn mayor."

1836 Benjamin B. Bradshaw.
1837 William H. Riall.
1838 Do.
1839 Do.
1840 William H. Riall.
1841 Do.
1842 Do.

REFORMED CORPORATION.

1843 John Hackett.
1844 Edward Phelan.
1845 Charles Bianconi.
1846 Do.
1847 Edward Phelan.
1848 John Luther.
1849 Patrick Quinn.
1850 Joseph Kenny.
1851 Do.
1852 William Byrne.
1853 Edward Phelan.
1854 O'Brien Mahoney.
1855 William Smyth.
1856 John Prendergast.
1857 Joseph Kenny.
1858 David Clancy.
1859 W. L. Hackett.
1860 Patrick Corcoran.
1861 Francis Ryan.
1862 W. L. Hackett.
1863 Michael Guiry.
1864 Joseph Kenny.
1865 William Wright.
1866 John Griffin.
1867 Edmond Woods.
1868 W. L. Byrne.
1869 Thomas Cantwell.
1870 Joseph Kenny.
1871 Do.
1872 O'Connell Hackett.
1873 Edward Cantwell.
1874 Do.
1875 Edmond Woods.
1876 Joseph Kenny.
1877 Edmond Woods.
1878 Denis O'Mahoney.
1879 O'Connell Hackett.
1880 Do.
1881 Edmond Cantwell.
1882 Do.
1883 Edward C. Hackett.
1884 Do.
1885 Do.
1886 Benjamin Wright.
1887 Do.
1888 Edward Murphy.
1889 Thomas J. Condon.
1890 Do.
1891 Do.
1892 James Byrne.
1893 James H. Lonergan.
1894 Do.
1895 Edward Cantwell.
1896 Patrick Nugent.
1897 Edward Burke.
1898 Patrick Nugent.
1899 Edward Murphy.
1900 Thomas Condon.
1901 Thomas Condon.
1902 Do.
1903 Thomas Morrissy.
1904 Do.
1905 Thomas Skehan.
1906 Do.

CORPORATE ESTATES.

As has been stated in Chapter II. the founders of the town endowed the early inhabitants with certain lands. These lands were held partly in severalty, partly in common. The fertile plain on the Tipperary side of the Suir, now known as Burgagery, East and West, and comprising about 1,050 plantation acres (inclusive of the town and suburbs, 350 acres), was held by the

townsfolk in separate holdings by the tenure called free burgage. Judging from the Cromwellian allotment *infra*, these holdings would be about four acres for each messuage in the town. Across the river the alluvial district embracing the townlands of Croan and Raheen, was retained by the lord himself as a manorial perquisite, as were also the lands of Barravaukeen and Lieranearla. These apart, the whole territory for miles south of the town, was held by the inhabitants in common. By the middle of the seventeenth century some thirty-three persons held the burgagery lands as absolute proprietors. They were known as "ancient burgesses," and were descended from, or representative of, the original community. These also were owners of the Commons, and enjoyed exclusively the commonage rights. It does not appear that the charter of 1608 affected in any way the status of this older community. When in 1655 a jury of the natives of the town was impannelled to report on the corporate estates, they set forth in careful detail the several houses and lands, but make no mention whatever of Burgagery lands or Commons as the property of the corporation. The earliest evidence of the connection of the Commons with the corporation is in the "Book of Distribution" of the County Waterford under the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, 1662–5.

COMMONS OF CLONMELL.

Grantees	Corporacon Clonmell *(f)*.
Proprietors in 1641	The Commons of Clonmell.
Acreage (Irish) unprofitable	3,803.
Do. do. profitable	1,300.

The most recent mapped survey shows a diminished acreage, being 5,017 a. 1 r. 22 p. Irish. The corporate estate begins at the foot of the hill, and lies east of a line drawn from the extremity of the boathouse island due south *(g)*. It extends almost to the Nire, being in length about five miles with an average breadth of three. The rest of the corporate property is substantially as recorded in the survey of 1654.

But the town derives little profit from this huge estate. While much of the mountain is comparatively valueless, the estate comprises lands of unquestionably great fertility. These, however, have long been misappropriated by corporate jobbery. Some particulars have been given already, but the whole leasehold rental is highly instructive.

(f) P.R.O. In 1848, during the mayoralty of J. Luther, the Reformed Corporation attempted to make out title to the Burgagery lands. Mr. Morrin, the well-known archivist, was employed to enquire whether these lands had been held on trust for charitable purposes, and the profits devoted to the relief of the poor, support of almshouses, etc. In such case the validity of the grants under the Acts of Settlement would be open to question.

(g) This island, in part corporate property, was formerly known as Batty's and Moore Island.

RENTAL OF THE CORPORATION ESTATE.

LEASEHOLDS.

Denomination.	*Tenants.*	*Rent.* £ s. d.	*Valuation.* £ s. d.	*Tenure.*
Scrouthea	Reps. Mitchell ...	27 13 10	102 13 0	Lives renewable for ever, Leased June 1817 to Francis Mitchell and John Hackett, about 52 acres.
Poulavunoge	Do. ...	64 13 4	226 9 0	Do. do. about 400 acres.
Daniels Mills	Mrs. Crean ...	4 4 0	34 0 0	75 years from 29 September, 1863.
Goose Island	T. C. Grubb ...	2 14 8½	20 10 0	Fee farm grant 30 October, 1871.
Tenements—Quay ...	Michael Ryan ...	1 17 7	22 0 0	Lives renewable for ever.
Moonacullagh ...	T. A. Ryan ...	13 0 0	31 0 0	75 years from 1 May, 1851.
Tenements, Old Bridge	Thomas Russell ...	12 16 6	7 10 0	3 lives and 51 years, 1 September, 1831.
Corporation Mills ...	Reps. James Myers	12 18 6	120 0 0	Lease for ever. Leased November, 1781, to Edward Collins (who had been elected a burgess the previous June).
Tenements, Quay ...	Jonathan Grubb ...	1 18 4	15 0 0	Fee farm grant.
Tenements, Old Bridge	Michael Ahearne ...	3 13 10	34 15 0	Lease for 396 years.
Friends' Burial Ground	B. Fayle	1 16 11	15 0	Lives renewable for ever.
Passage, Little Island ...	M. V. S. Morton ...	1 17 10½		Fee farm grant.
Tenements, Irishtown ...	Reps. Rev. H. Prior	7 7 8	8 10 0	Lives renewable for ever. Leased March, 1790, April, 1795, to George Miles.
Batty's Island ...	Stephen Moore ...	1 16 11	5 15 0	Lives renewable for ever.
Mountain Commons ...	M. V. S. Morton ...	61 5 0	363 8 0	Lives renewable for ever. Leased to John Leckie, September, 1741.
Spa Lands	Richard Bagwell ...	21 0 0	154 1 0	Leased for ever to John Bagwell, July, 1812.
Glenagad	Richard Bagwell ...	18 9 3	99 13 0	Leased for ever to Right Hon. William Bagwell 20 January, 1819.
Tenements, West Suburbs	Richard Bagwell ...	3 0 0		Lives renewable for ever.
Inchabraher	Duke of St. Albans	6 9 3	27 10 3	Fee farm grant made in 1774 to Sir William Osborne. This holding includes also the old 'Spittle lands of the Lazar Hospital of St. Stephen.
Garden near Gaol ...	John B. Grubb ...	9 8½	6 0 0	Lives renewable for ever.
Tenements, Old Bridge	Reps. Robert Grubb	4 3 1	5 0 0	
Knocklucas	Reps. Gordon ...	46 3 1	125 13 0	Leased June, 1799, 3 lives and 41 years, last life dropped September, 1879.
Tenements, Irishtown ...	Reps. A. M'Carthy	19 0 0	24 5 0	75 years from 29 September, 1874.
Ground on Quay ...	Reps. English ...	Pepper Corn		200 years from 29 September, 1706.
Old Chapel	Tenancy disowned.			24 June, 1810, ordered that a lease for ever be made to John Bagwell of part of the chapel and poor house belonging to the Corporation at a rent of £1.
Butter Weigh House ...	Richard Bagwell ...	12 0 0		
		350 9 4½	1434 7 3	





CORPORATION REGALIA.

Photo by Webster, Clonmel.

The rents therefore, reserved by the corporation, are only one-fourth of the valuation. The actual letting value would even show a greater disproportion *(h)*.

CORPORATION REGALIA.

By the charter of James I. power was granted the Mayor, Bailiffs, Freeburgesses and Commonalty "to name, elect and constitute one Sword-bearer and three Sergeants-at-Mace" and such other necessary officers as seemed good to them. It would appear that this power was exercised, and a sword bearer forthwith appointed. The Sexton MSS. in the British Museum, which belong to the early seventeenth century, state under 1608 "Clonmell had first a Mayor and Bayliffe with a Sword." The present regalia however, date only from the establishment of the Cromwellian Corporation, half a century later. They consist of a sword and two silver maces *(i)*.

The sword is four feet in length, the blade being three feet and half an inch. The blade is of genuine Spanish make and probably saw service in warfare. It bears on one face the word "Jesu" on the other "Maria" together with the marks of the Toledo fabric, a cross and anchor. The guard, hilt and pommel, are all of silver but without hall or maker's mark. The guard or cross is a segment with upturned points, and measures one foot two inches from point to point. It is very rudely chased with oak leaf ornament, acorns being placed at the centre and extremities. The hilt or handle proper, is formed of fine silver wire wound closely round a core. The pommel, two inches in diameter, shows on one side the Stanley arms; on a bend three stags heads caboshed, on the sinister canton a vallary crown of three points *(j)*. An inscription in cursive hand, is carried round the shield:—

Ex dono x *Thome* x *Standly* x *1656.*

The obverse side of the pommel exhibits the arms of the town *(k)*; on a bridge of three arches in fess, masoned, a deer and hound courant, in base a stream fluent with three fishes; the motto

Fidelis in eternum.

(h) The total rental of the corporate estate represents about £530. The principal debts were, 1880, £6000 for erection of Town Hall; 1883, £3000 for Cemetery; 1892 and following years £18,437 for Waterworks; 1894, 13,000 purchase of Gas Works. The loans were consolidated in 1896 by floating a municipal stock for £49,000.

(i) There is a mayor's chain but it is of quite recent date.

(j) Probably; but the crudely graven charge may be read as an inverted label to distinguish the eldest son of the first house.

(k) This is the earliest known representation of the Clonmel arms, those carved in the panel of the Palatine Court (the present Main Guard), belonging to a period twenty years later. The helmet and supporters seem to have been added by some local herald. A fine carving in wood of the corporate arms once adorned the Council gallery in old St. Mary's, but it has disappeared with the gallery itself.

The sword is enclosed in a velvet scabbard, the silver tip of which, about four inches long, is almost cotemporary with the handle. The chasing is even ruder than that on the handle. At the extremity on each side a rough crown is punched between the Latin initials C.R. (King Charles). The rest of the plate is engraved with a rose and marigold design.

The maces are at present on exhibition at the Dublin Museum, and to this fortunate circumstance the writer is indebted for a description of them by Mr. J. R. Garstin, the best authority perhaps on old Irish silverwork.

"They are similar in design and construction *(1)*, but differ in size, being respectively 22 and 18 inches in length and having heads 3 and 2½ inches in depth. These heads are divided into four panels or compartments by simple perpendicular bands of raised floral ornament, surmounted by Caryatid figures. Two of these panels bear the Royal Arms of the Stuart period, viz.: 1st and 4th France and England, quarterly, 2nd Scotland, 3rd Ireland, within a garter and surmounted by a crown. The other two have conventional roses, for England, each under a crown. They have no emblem for France, Scotland or Ireland, which most Irish maces have. On the flat plates which close in the top of each, a similar but larger rose is displayed under a crown, between the letters C and R (for 'Charles Rex'), without any indication that the second Charles is referred to, as is evident from the date, 1663, engraved on the larger mace only. A smaller crown is over each of these two letters, so there are three. The rose and thistle are underneath the large crown, but no Irish emblem—for the shamrock did not come into use until long after. Such maces are usually surmounted by a cresting or rim—generally of fleur-de-lis—round the edge. These however have not this edging, which may have been lost or picked away.

"Both maces are, as usual, wholly of silver, having no stick in the stems, which are, like the heads, hollow but heavy. The heads and stems bear evidence of having parted company, possibly having, as there are instances of, been put in requisition as weapons! Plates added to strengthen them underneath are visible. The heads and handles screw together—the socket of one screw being on the head, while that of the other is on the stem.

"One of the stems has evidently replaced an older one, being comparatively modern, as appears from the Sheffield hall-mark including as date-letter M, which indicates 1879. Each stem is plain, having one knop in the middle and another at the bottom, to which a flat seal-top base is attached.

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(1) Clonmel Corporation Maces. By John R. Garstin, F.S.A., M.R.I.A., author of "Maces and other Corporation Insignia of Ireland." The two maces of Clonmel having been on loan in the Dublin Museum in October, 1906, I took the opportunity of examining them, and give this description.—J.R.G.

On the latter are engraved in a shield a heraldic device, presumably for the town arms which may be described in unheraldic language as:—A dog chasing a stag across a bridge of three arches, under each of which swims a fish. Burke's 'Armory' gives no arms for Clonmel, and the device engraved in Lewis's 'Topographical Dictionary' is the mayor's seal, and quite different.

"Strange to say the maces have no original hall-mark proper, but each has a maker's mark—the initials I.S. in an oval with a line round them and a pellet above and below. These belong to John Stoaker or Slicer, who, with the exception of Abel Ram, is the only Irish maker shown in Mr. Jackson's great book 'English Goldsmiths and their marks' (London, 4to, 1905) p. 560, as having made between 1656 and 1672 articles known to the author as still existing, and all but one of them, including the mace for Carlow which has for date-letter T of the first alphabet=1656-7. Only ten older objects than these Clonmel maces are recorded by Mr. Jackson from the foundation of the Goldsmiths' Hall in 1637 to the '1663' engraved on one of them. This should give an idea of their importance and value."

There were two seals granted by the charter of James I.

And alsoe of our like special grace we with and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors GIVE unto the said Mayor, Bayliffs, ffreeburgesses and Commonalty of the said Borrough of Clonmell and their successors that they have and may have forever, one Comon Seale engraven and carved with such formes and inscription as hitherto they have been accustomed to, and ye sealing of all and singular Writings, Indents, Grants, Warrants of Attorney, and all muniments, Hereditaments, and all other public matters whatsoever to the said town or Borrough belonging or conserning, AS ALSOE another seale of office of Mayoralty to be and remain in ye custody of the said Mayor for the time being to seale all and singular Testimonies, Certificates, Attachments, and Processes whatsoever.

Only one impression of the seal which "hitherto they had been accustomed to" is known to exist; it is appended to a document in Kilkenny Castle of the date 1543, but it is unrecognizable. The two seals at present in use were probably provided in accordance with a presentment of the D'Ouir Hundred Jury, 24th May, 1714.

Wee present that the Mayor and Councill will order a new Seale to be made for sealinge of Leases and Freedomes, which wee desire to be kept in the Chest and that there be a small Seale for the Mayor carrying in his pockett to sign Capiasses and Warrants, and that the old Seale be melted down.

The larger seal is unmistakably eighteenth century work. It is difficult to conceive a greater degradation of the classic form of Justice, than this vulgar female, with impossible hair and drapery, shouldering the sword and evidently anxious to get rid of the scales. But the engraver, however clumsily, has made his meaning clear. This is not so with the smaller seal. Though design and execution are incomparably better, what the significance is of the dagger impaling the olive wreath, must be left to the ingenuity of the curious.

CHAPTER XII.

CROMWELLIAN CLONMEL.

THE following documents illustrate the most important epoch in the history of the town. The uprooting and scattering of the old burghers and the setting down of a new race in their homes, have been described in a former chapter. The process, it is to be regretted, through defect of materials, can now be only faintly realized. But the results, as set forth in the following records, stand out with striking vividness. The first document is the report of a jury of burghers "late of Clonmel" on the corporate rights and franchises, lest the memory of these should pass away with the former inhabitants. The second shows the earlier stage in the Cromwellian settlement of the town—the cantoning of the soldiers in the several houses and corresponding burgages. The third forms a sort of directory of the inhabitants in the tenth year of the Commonwealth. The fourth shows the town as it was finally settled—house by house with the name of its new and that of its former possessor.

Of these documents the first forms part of the "Civil Survey" in the Quit Rent Office, Dublin; the second and fourth were obtained from the Public Record Office (Commonwealth Books, Patents of Grants under Acts of Settlement and Explanation). The third is in possession of the writer; it is the original, and has appended the contemporary warrant signed by the Mayor and Bailiffs of Clonmel *(m)*.

SURVEY OF CLONMEL.

Com. Tipperarie ff.

The towne of Clonmell with the lands within the Liberties and Burgagery of that Corporation and other lands in the Barony of Iffay and Offay belonging to that Corporation.

(m) But for the half leaf wanting, it is in fair preservation.

At a Court of Survey held at Clonmell in the County of Tipperary for the said Towne and Burgagery the 9th day of August 1655. Before Charles Blount, John Booker and Henry Paris Esqrs Com^rs^ appointed and authorized by Comission from the right honoble the late Com^rs^ of the Commonwealth of England for the affayres of Ireland for holding of Courts of Survey in the said County of Tipperary. By the oaths of Good and lawfull men formerly Inhabitauntes of the sd Towne whose names are underwritten. It is found as followeth viz^t^.

James Brennock of Clonmell, Apotecary.
Patrick Donoghow, late of Clonmell, merchant.
Walter Morony, late of ye same, merchant.
Thomas White, late of ye same, merchant.
John Dwyer, late of ye same, Glover.
Phillipp Mohologhan, late of ye same, husbandman.
Thomas Carran, late of ye same, husbandman.
Luke Quirck, late of ye same, merchant.
Richard Esmond, late of ye same, husbandman.
Michael Bray, late of ye same, merchant.
Ambrose Bray, late of the same, merchant.
Thomas Walsh, late of the same, husbandman.

The Towne and lands within the lyberties and Burgagery of Clonmell in the County of Tipperary are bounded as followeth; by Powersland [Powerstown] and Mylerstown in the Parish of Kilgrant on the east, Rathronan in the Parish of Rathronan, Rathduffe in the Parish of Kilgrant, Lawlestowne and Tubburhany on the north, Ballyngarran and Garrishane on the west, and y^e^ River Sewir on the south. The particular meares and bounds of the said Burgagery lands of Clonmell are knowen by the sd Jury being Antient Inhabitauntes thereof, and often heretofore trod out by them and all ye sd lands within the lyberties of Clonmell were lately surveyed at the charge of the present Inhabitaunts thereof. The sd Towne of Clonmell is situated on the North Side of the River Sewir in the County of Tipperary and is walled about with a stone wall of Lyme and stone, with severall Turretts and hath the accomodation of a stone Bridge together with two Greist mills on the same and had the conveniency of three suburbs viz^t^. The East suburbs extending to the lane called Bohir Mullineparky containeing fiftye Cabbins or thereabouts with garden plotts and three weires likewise three houses and gardens w̄ch leadeth from the s̄d East Suburbs unto the North Suburbs. The s̄d North Suburbs consistinge of fowerteene houses or thereabouts with gardens and from the sayd North Suburbs there was a lane enclosed all along with gardens and oarchards leadinge unto the West

Suburbs wch suburbs consisted of eighty houses or thereabouts whereof six were good slate houses and one mill And ye said suburbs did extend from the West Gate to a lane called Borineninardchsy comonly called Chiefe rent Lane. The sd Towne had the priviledges vizt. by Charter graunted them in the yeare 1608 they were to make choyse of twenty men for their councell and out of the twenty they were to elect a Mayor and two Bayliffes about Midsumer and sweare them at Michellmas together with a Recorder. There was likewise a Court of Record once a fforthnight or accordinge as occasion served to determine any difference betwixte party and party for any sume or sumes or other causes or Actions. There were alsoe ffower Deerehundred Courts every yeare. A Court Lette twice a yeare a Court Barron once a yeare. A Pyepowder Court as often as occasion served and the Mayor of the Towne for the Tyme being was alwayse Coronor Sealemar and Justice of the Peace and Quorum for the County of Tipperary and had three Sarieants to attend him with maces, a sword and a sword bearer A Comon Seale of Office and a capp of Mainetenance. There was a Clarke of the Markett belonginge to the said Towne and ye Maior for the time being did receive Custome from every stranger that passed over the Bridge with Carriage or Cattle and there was likewise a Comon Sellar Keyage and Boateage to Receive Strangers goods as they came from or went to Waterford and a markett twice a week vizt upon Tuesdayes and Saturdayes.

The Towne of Clonmell and lyberties thereof had bene alwayse time out of minde an Intire Corporation of themselves distinct from the Barony of Iffay and Offay or any other Barony and never deemed taken or reputed member, pt or parcell of the said Barony or any other Barony. The tythes of the Parish of Clonmell were two third parts of all ye Tythes greate or small Imppriate, and belonging to the Earle of Ormond by patent from the Crowne. The other third part to the vicar and were all worth in the year 1640 . . . . . *l*40 0*s*. 0*d*. The lands within the lyberties and Burgagery of Clonmell in the County of Tipperary by estimation Nine hundred thirty five plantation acres all pfitable land enjoyed for the most part in ye yeare 1640 by ye persons whose names doe ensue but their particular and respective pportions we are not able now to sett forth.

The Names of the Antient Burgesses of Clonmell who were Proprietors of lands within the Burgagery of Clonmell in the yeare 1640.

James Lord Marques of Ormond.
John White fz Bennet of Clonmell.
Henry White of Clonmell.
ffrancis White of Clonmell.
Pierce Bray of Clonmell.

John Stritch of Clonmell.
Andrew Morony of Clonmell.
John Bray of Clonmell.
James ffaggan of Clonmell.
Michaell Bray of Clonmell.
James Wall of Clonmell.
John Lea of Waterford.
Patrick Walsh of Waterford.
Thomas White fz Richard of Clonmell.
Nicholas Everard of ffethard.
David White of Russelstowne in ye County of Waterford.
Jeffry Barron of Clonmell.
W^m^ Leynogh of Clonmell.
Richard Butler of Clonmell.
John White fz Lawrence of Clonmell.
Thomas Roch of Clonmell.
Edmond Brenock of Clonmell.
Pierce Wall of Clonmell.
W^m^ Swyny of Clonmell.
John Corr of Tubburhany in ye County of Tipperary.
Bartholomy Creagh of Clonmell.
John Wall of Clonmel.
William Lincoln of Waterford.
Alexander Power of Powerstowne in the County of Tipperary.
Thomas White fitz Richard fitz David of Clonmell.
Richard Morony of Clonmell.
Thomas Donoghow of Clonmell.
John English of Clonmell.
—Irish Papists.

Corporation Lands and houses within the Burgagery and Towne (besides what were the Inheritances of the sayd Proprieto^rs^) are hereafter sett downe. And houses and lands belonging to the Hospittals &c sett apart for pious uses.

The viccars house and garden sett apart for that use (time out of minde) situate on the south side of the Church yard in Clonmell. The house destroyed sithence ye takeing of Clonmell. The Garden now in the possession of M^r.^ Richard Hamerton of Clonmell by lease from the late Com^rs^ of Reuenue in Tipperary.

A house destroyed before the Rebellion with a garden adioyneing thereunto wch was sett aparte time out of mind for a ffree schoole situate on the

south side of the Church yard afforesd in Clonmell. The garden now in the possession of Mr. Hamerton aforesd. A stone slate house built situate on the East side of the Church yard afforsd in Clonmell built aboutt thirty yeares sithence by the Comons of Clonmell upon a part of their Comon land and sett apart for an Hospitall for old impotent decayed inhabitants of Clonmell and soe used untill the takeing of the Towne in the yeare 1650. The sd house is now in lease to Coll Sankey from the late Comrs of Reuvenue and is in Repayre.

A parcell of ground where the Comon Pound stood situate on the East side of the Hospitall house afforesd. A garden belonging to the late viccar of Clonmell and soe held and enioyed (time out of minde) situate on the East side of the Hospitall and Pound afforesayd, bounded with the Towne wall on the North and extendinge in the East to the garden and House where David Walsh lived.

The County goale and Towne hall built over the same situate neare the middle of the Towne now in good repayre. Three stone built slate houses situate in the middle Roe behind the sd Towne Hall leading to the West Gate in Clonmell built upon the Corporation lands by certaine burgesses thereof upon seuerall leases to them granted of the sd lands by the Comons of Clonmell about fifty yeares sithence for one hundred yeares to come from the comencemt of their respective leases at the yearley rent of one pound thirteene shills and 4d for each house. One of those houses is now possessed by Ralph Chadcroft. Another by Thomas Sellin by lease from the late Comrs of Revenue, both in good repaire, the third wholy ruined and in the Roome thereof a guardhouse lately built.

A Part of the stonehouse and backhouses and backside in Logt streete in Clonmell wherein James Brenock, Apottecary, lately dwelth built uppon the Corporacon land about sixty yeares sithence by the sayd James his father, and the sayd James, and held by them in Lease from the sayd Corporacon for one hundred and one yeare at the yearely rent of twelve shillings, now possessed by the Wid: Spinser.

A stone built house neare the East Gate built uppon the Corporacon lands by James Daniell of Clonmell neare twenty yeares sithence held by lease from the Corporacon for one hundred and one yeares at one shilling six pence yearely wch house is included within the late built ffort in Clonmell and now in the possession of the Governor.

Divers other thacht houses and slate houses now for the most part demolished and included within the walls of the sd ffoort wch was built uppon ye Corporacon lands by seuerall burgesses thereof, who held the same by lease from ye Corporacon together with the Comon Seller to receive

strangers goods and the Guild hall built over the same and a private chamber built over the watergate belonging to the Corporacon, which did yield the Corporacon in the yeare 1640 six poundes per ann, All whch are now wholly destroyed.

All the Castles and Turretts uppon the Towne walls yeilded yearely a certaine rent to the sd Corporacon.

The other part of the stone built house upon the Corporacon lands built by John Stritch wherein George Carr now dwelleth, yeilded the yearely rent of six shillings and 8d to the sd Corporacon.

All the houses, stayres, Pynnyons and Gutters and other structures erected either upon the Towne walls or upon the streetes of the sd Towne. The respective parties for buildinge pd a yearely rent to the sd Corporacon.

The stone house in the middle of the Towne in the South side. The upper part whereof was formerly used as a guard house.

A guard house, the middle part thereof was continually used by Butchers to sell meat and the Loer part thereof comonly used for a Comon Goale wch was alwayse time out of minde pperty belonging to the Corporation and imployed to the uses afforesd.

The lane under the house lately belonging to John White fz Lawrence and now in the possession of Richard Parrett yeilded the Corporation a yearely rent for the buildings over the same.

The Toll of the Comon Barrell of the sayd Towne yeilded the Corporation the rent of twenty eight pounds in the yeare 1640.

The Sheire Goale under the West Court house sett by the sd Corporation for the yearely rent of eight pounds to the Goaler in the yeare 1640.

Two Mills upon the Bridge of Clonmell in the County of Tipperary did yeild the sd Corporation a yearely rent in ye yeare 1640 and alwayse before time out of minde. The one halfe of the fish taken in the River of Sewir (otherwise then at weires and Mills) from Borrinahow to Pooks [*Query* Rocks] mill on the North side of the sd River belongeth to the sd Corporation time out of minde. The custome of all cattle sould at the Markett of y^e^ sd Towne yeilded a yearely rent to the sayd Corporation. Many other houses parks and gardens as well within the walls of the sd Towne as in the Suburbs thereof belongeth to the sayd Corporation and yeilded them some small yearely rent, the particulars whereof we cannot certainely sett downe. Nor the persons names in whose possession the sd houses and gardens were in the yeare 1640. The poesesso^rs^ of them haveing joyned them to their owne lands and broken downe the meares betweene them.

Corporation lands without the walls and within the Burgagery of Clonmell.

The Spittle or Lazars house situate about a quarter of a mile westward from Clonmell wholly destroyed onely some part of the wall standinge with twenty plant[n] Acres of arable land and meddow by computation scattered and intermixed with other lands within the Burgagery of Clonmell worth in the yeare 1640 ten pounds p annū . . . . . *l*10 0*s*. 0*d*. wch house and lands were held and enjoyed by the Corporacon of Clonmell (time out of minde) and were possessed in the yeare 1640 by John White fitz Lawrence of Clonmell, Burgesse, by Mortgage from the sd Corporacon and the sd John White paying thereout to the Corporacon yearely one pound, 19s, and some odd pennyes as wee remember over and above his Mortgage.

The thatcht house in the west suburbs with three gardens thereunto belonging, now in the possession of James Brenock Appotecary and in the yeare 1640 built for a house of Correction and belonged to the sd Corporacon time out of mynde.

A small parcell of land neare the Gibbett hill without the North gate of the sd Towne belonged to the Corporacon afforesd time out of minde, on part whereof Victor white, Daniel Molloghan, Mlaghlin Skehane, Michael Kott and Edmond Purcell have lately built cabbins.

Corporacon lands lyeing in the Barony of Iffay and Offay without the Burgagery of Clonmell.

The Castle towne and lands of Ballymac Adam with a cley pitt thereupon, lyinge in the County of Tipperary and Parish of Caher, containing three colpe acres of the old extent and it was bestowed time beyond the memory of man by the Lady Dowager of Cahir upon the sd Corporacon and accordingly enjoyed time out of mind by the sd Corporacon to their publique use and enjoyed by Morrish m[c] Adam in the year 1640 As tenant to the sd Corporacon for the yearely rent of six pounds.

The sd Corporacon (time out of minde) likewise enjoyed to their publique use, two fields of land between both the Annor bridges in the parish of Killoloan in the East division of Iffay and Offay, being by estimation ten plantation acres, whereon there was a tuckinge Mill built in the yeare 1640 and now demolished, wch lands and mill was held by John Walsh Esq. from the Corporacon at a certaine rent.

Thomas Castle at Ardfynan otherwise called Shortcastle, with one colpe Acre of the old extent consisting of twenty plantation acres by estimation. The meares and bounds whereof they can not sett forth here because they doe not know the names of the lands that meares about it, which Castle and lands did belong to the Corporacon of Clonmell time out of minde and was worth in the yeare 1640 the sume of ffower pounds ster, yearely 04*li* 00*s*. 00*d*.

This Inquisition was taken before us at Clonmell the 9th day of August, 1655.

H. PARIS. CHAR. BLOUNT. JO: BOOKER.

SETTLEMENT OF 1654.

An Exact Rent roll of the Houses and Burgagery land of the Towne of Clonmell as they were sett by lease by the late Com[rs] of Revenue of the precincts of Clonmel aforesaid, for the space of six years commenceinge the first of May 1654, to the undernamed persons for the Annuall rents to their names respectively annexed viz[t].

	£	s.	d.
Coll John Booker, new dwelling house, mill, Bakehouse, 35 ac. 95 per. sett at no rent or which rent was respited by order of late Comrs. of the Commonwealth on 12 Ap. 1654 for one whole year	60	13	0
Thomas Price, his dwelling house 2 ac. 127 per.	5	12	0
Thomas Taylour, his thatchhouse	1	0	0
Ralph Chadraft, house 13 ac. 41 per. and garden plott	8	0	0
Margaret ffrankes, house 4 ac. 32 per. and garden plott	3	0	0
Nathaniel Thompson, house, garden with 4 ac. 32 per.	3	0	0
Edward Hill, house, 4 ac. 81 per. garden plott	2	8	6
Robert Loveles, house, garden plott, 1 ac. 120 per. at 2d. the yeare for 2 years commencing 1 May 1654 in consideration of building ...			2
Henry Wainright, house with 7 ac. 179 per. garden plott	4	2	6
Henry Heware, house, 8 ac. 35 per.	3	13	0
Mrs. Jane Charles, house, garden, 11 ac. 66 per.	4	0	0
Zachary Salmon, thatch house and garden	1	0	0
Arthur Rawlinson, thatch house, backside thereunto belonging	1	0	0
Richard Rouse, thatch house with garden	1	0	0
Daniel Powell, thatch house with garden plott	1	4	0
Elizabeth Bowen, her house	1	0	0
John Reanan, slate house and small thatch house, garden 15 ac. 120 per.	5	3	0
Elizabeth Merritt, house 19 ac. 81 per. garden plott	8	10	0
Henry Paris, Esq., a small thatcht house	1	0	0
Richard Rouse, house, 16 ac. 159 per. garden plott	5	11	0
Ensigne Henry Proud, house, 7 ac. 104 per.	6	6	0
James Sheely, house, 8 ac. 97 per. garden plott	4	3	0
Richard Betsworth, house, 9 ac. 14 per. garden plott	6	1	6
Thomas Turpin, house, 9 ac. 66 per. garden plott at the rent 40 shillings for the first yeare and five pounds for the foure ensueinge ...			
Charles House, house, 7 ac. 96 per. garden plott	2	10	0
George Moore, house, 6 ac. 45 per. garden plott	5	0	0
John Greete, house, 5 ac. 153 per. garden plott	4	0	0
Robert Thompson, house, 4 ac. 27 per. garden plott	2	0	0
Capt. Edmond Hyegate, house, 6 ac. 190 per.	4	10	0
Francis Hopkins, house, 5 ac. 97 per.	3	10	0
Mr. Oliver Latham, house, 4 ac. 103 per.	9	0	0
Solomon Richards, Esq., house, 11 ac. 120 per.	7	0	0
Richard Ely, house, 18 ac. and garden plott	8	3	6
Edward Markham, house, 8 ac. 34 per.	6	7	0
Thomas Chelcum, house, 8 ac. 80 per.	2	0	0
Lieut. Coll. John Brett, house, 18 ac. 90 per.	11	14	3
Katherine Spencer, house, 11 ac. 67 per. garden plott	4	0	0
Thomas Bates, thacht house —	1	0	0
John Gosling, house, 5 ac. 36 per. garden plott	4	0	0
Robert Carr, house, 7 ac. 64 per. garden plott	2	10	0
John Draper, house, 8 ac. 63 per.	3	10	0
Capt. Thomas Richards, house, 11 ac. 116 per.	8	1	0
Lyonell ffoard, house, garden plott	2	0	0
Major Robert Knight, house, 25 ac. 2 per.	14	0	0
Coll. Solomon Richards, house in Breach streete, 30 ac. 6 per.	11	0	0

	£	s.	d.
George Tucker, house, 5 ac. 92 per. garden plott	3	0	0
Leonard Proctor, thatchouse, garden plott	1	10	0
Thomas Wheatley, thatchouse, garden plott		10	0
Capt. Henry Newberry, house, 19 ac. 66 per. garden plott	14	0	0
John Bayly, a garden plott, 8 ac. 30 per.	3	10	0
Coll. Daniel Abbott, house, mill with backside 8½ ac.	4	14	0
The said Coll. Abbott, another house, 18½ ac.	13	14	0
Coll. Solomon Richards, house, yarde and gardens, 32 ac. 29 per. ...	9	12	6
John Cooke, house, 14 ac. 24 per.	10	16	7
Richard Moore, house, garden 11 ac. 24 per.	6	0	0
George Carr, house, garden	11	10	0
Geffrey Jenkins, house, garden	5	0	0
Capt. Henry Butler, house, 16 ac. 23 per.	5	10	0
John Nicholls, house, garden 8ac. 147 per.	4	16	0
James Cooke, house, garden 7 ac. 15 per.	4	10	0
Richard Hamerton, house, garden 7 ac. 13 per.	10	18	0
Lieutenant Herrickes, house, 18 ac. 32 per.	10	0	0
James Sturzecar, house, small garden 5 ac. 126 per.	3	0	0
Lieut. Humphrey Minchin, house, 11 ac. 121 per.	6	10	0
Amy Chaffin, house, 11 ac. 112 per.	4	0	0
Sarah Warin, house, garden 8 ac. 22 per.	5	0	0
Richard Parrett, house, garden 17 ac. 71 per.	11	5	0
James Ketty, house, 5 ac. 83 per garden plott	2	1	6
William Lane, house, garden plott 9 ac. 24 per.	3	2	0
Thomas Batty, Esq., thacht house, parcell wast ground	1	0	0
Coll. Thomas Blount, house, mill 21 ac. 17 per.	11	4	0
Quarter Master Oliver, house, 8 ac. 30 per. garden plott	6	6	0
Thomas Batty, Esq., new dwelling house, 28 ac. 126 per. garden plott ...	15	15	0
Mrs. Mary Dunbarr, house, mill 11 ac. 77 per. garden plott	3	0	0
Richard Gowing, house and garden plott	3	3	0
Robert Thornill, house	6	0	0
John Lillington, thacht house...	1	0	0
Capt. John Earpe, house and garden	3	2	6
Diggery Bagnall, thacht house	1	0	0
Henry Paris Esq., his small garden plott in west suburbs		5	0
ffrancis Vaughan Esq., 14 ac. 139 per.	3	0	0
William Hanbury, House	2	0	0
John Gresham, house in high st. 4 ac. 109 per. garden plott	2	18	6
John Pickett, house, garden 12 ac. 176 per.	6	0	0
Henry Everard, house garden plott 17 ac. 20 per.	13	0	0
George Slaughter, house in shambles lane garden plott 5 ac. 133 per. ...	2	1	6
Capt. William Palmer, house in West Gate lane 4 ac. 54 per.	1	18	0
Major Martin Dix, house in High St. garden plott 14 ac. 69 per.	8	0	0
Coll. John Booker, house in West Gate Lane with Ruined mill and two baksides	1	10	0
Walter Bagshaw, house in Breach Street	1	0	0
Capt. Henry Newberry, two small cabbins with a little garden plott without the East Gate		9	0
William Galfe, house in Breech St., 14 ac. 106 per. garden plott ...	6	0	0
Capt. Samuel Foley, 2 fields of burgagery land containing 9 ac. 33 per. laid by the late survey to the house late belonging to Ellice ne Henny for which he is to pay	1	10	0
The said Capt. ffoley having a lease of the house where the Com[rs] of Revenue did usually sitt for the tearme of five yeares comencinge ye 1 of November, 1654, for which he is to pay for ye five yeares fifty shillings and five pounds yearly for ye five years one half ensuing	1	5	0
Coll. Solomon Richards, his lease of three fields of the lands of Cruan and Rahines for 3 yeares comenceing first May, 1654, and sett to him for ye small rent of 18 shillings		18	0

POLE MONEY BOOK, 1661.

By the Com^rs. for putting in Execution the ordinance of Pole money within the Barronye and liberties of Clonmell for his Ma^ties. service.

Pursuant to an ordinance of the Gen^ll. Convention of Ireland bearing date the first day of March 1660, directed to vs as Com^rs. for putting the same in due and effectual execution: Yow the undernamed are hereby authorized and required to leavy and collect from the before named persons [in original this order follows the list of names] the severall summes to their names respectively annexed. And in case of refusal . . . . . are to distrayn him or them by their goods and chattells and the distresses (after the keeping of them six dayes) to cause to be appraised and if not presently redeemed to sell the same for satisfying of what moneyes is due thereout and the over plus if any be (after first deducting such costs and charges as yow shall be att in distreyneing and keeping of the distresse) to deliver back to the owner or owners thereof. Which said summes soe by yow collected you are to pay over vnto Capt. William Hubbard Chiefe Collector or his assignes att or before the 7^th day of May instant, and all high and petty Constables and all other his Ma^ties. officers and good subjects whatsoever both Civill and Military are required to be ayding and assisting in the execution of the premisses, and for their soe doing this shall bee a sufficient warrant and authority. Dated in Clonmell the first day of May 1661 *(n)*.

To Richard Dennison sub collector
of the towne and suburbs of
Clonmell.

S. ffoley Mayor.
Robert Lovelace.
Rich^d. Perot.

I doe approve of the above
sub Collector as Wittness my
hand this 18th of May 1661
W. Hibbart.

BOROUGH OF CLONMELL IN THE COUNTY OF TIPPERARY.

Names and Sir Names.	*Qualifications.*	*Summes in Figures.* £	s.	d.	*Names and Sir Names.*	*Qualifications.*	*Summes in Figures.* £	s.	d.
John Booker, Esquire	...	2	0	0	John Dwyer [runnaway]	servant	2	0	
Catherine Booker, his wife	...		2	0	William Casheene,	servant ...	2	0	
Thomas Booker, his sonne	Gentl.	1	4	0	George Tucker,	Slater ...	6	0	
John Horsman,	husbandman ...		6	0	Elizabeth Tucker,	his wife ...	2	0	
Elizabeth,	his wife ...		2	0	Anne West,	a prisoner's wife ...	2	0	
Ivane,	his nurse ...		2	0	Onnor Ryane,	a Kilne woman	2	0	
Mary Walsh,	servant ...		2	0	Richard Mary,	a porter ...	2	0	
Thomas Hutchman,	servant ...		2	0	Ellen Mary,	his wife ...	2	0	
Richard Butler,	servant ...		2	0	Mathew Kenny,	Miller ...	2	0	

[*Here half a leaf is wanting containing about forty-four names.*—W.P.B.]

(n) In later hand inserted "Mem^dum. that the total of this booke mounts vnto One hundred forty and seaven pounds twelve shillings ster. 147*li* 12*s.* 0*d.*"

Names and Sir Names.	*Qualifications.*	*Summes in Figures.* £	s.	d.
Anthony Watts,	shopkeeper		14	0
Martha,	his wife		2	0
Morris Kennelly,	servant		2	0
Stephen Morris,	a poore shopkeeper		2	0
Christian,	his wife		2	0
Elizabeth Madison,	a soldier's wife		2	0
John Walters,	Malster		6	0
Sarah,	his wife		2	0
John Dullaghunty,	Miller		2	0
Rose,	his wife		2	0
Richard Taylour,	Clothier		6	0
Anne,	his wife		2	0
Toby Dwyle,	servant		2	0
Robert Collbecke,	servant		2	0
Robert Lovelace,	Gentleman	1	4	0
Susanna,	his wife		2	0
Walter,	his servant		2	0
Peige,	his servant		2	0
Daniell Hallourhan,	servant		2	0
Honora Carroll,	servant		2	0
Richard Botsworth,	Aleseller		6	0
Ellinor,	his wife		2	0
Catherine Glissane,	servant		2	0
John Esmeath,	Cooke		6	0
Lettice,	his wife		2	0
———	his maid		2	0
Richard Williams,	Aleseller		6	0
Margery,	his wife		2	0
Mary Cornane,	servant		2	0
ffrancis Rawbone,	taylor		6	0
Jane,	his wife		2	0
Robert Silvester,	servant		2	0
John Pressicke,	Sadler		6	0
Anne,	his wife		2	0
Charles Howes,	Shooemaker		6	0
Elizabeth Howes,	his wife		2	0
William Nicholls,	Journeyman servant		2	0
Joseph Howes,	servant		2	0
Katherine Ny. Cragh,	servant		2	0
George Moore,	a poore shoemaker		6	0
Margaret,	his wife		2	0
Thomas Stapleton,	servant		2	0
Edward Smith,	Joyner		6	0
Anne,	his wife		2	0
John Greete,	ffarmor		14	0
Joane,	his wife		2	0
Mory Symmes,	his sister in law		2	0
John Parker,	his sonne in law, Sadler		6	0
Mary,	his wife		2	0
Robert Tompson,	Baker		14	0
Susan,	his wife		2	0
John Boorke,	servant		2	0
Richard Whitehand,	shoemaker		14	0
Mary,	his wife		2	0

Names and Sir Names.	*Qualifications.*	*Summes in Figures.* £	s.	d.
Andrew Hare, John Woodall,	Journeymen servants		2	0
John Richison,	Journeyman servant		2	0
Alice Power,	servant		2	0
Mary Scott,	a foot soldier's wife		2	0
Thomas Browne,	Boatman		2	0
Catherine,	his wife		2	0
Dorothy Johnston,	a poore widow		2	0
ffrancis Hopkins,	Chandler		14	0
Joane Hopkins,	his wife		2	0
Margaret Buoland,	servant		2	0
Walter Brenocke,	Apothecary		14	0
Anne,	his wife		2	0
Patricke Hannyne,	servant		2	0
Charles Walters,	Barbour		6	0
Margery,	his wife		2	0
James Cranwell,	servant		6	0
Anthony Marshall,	butcher		2	0
Anstace,	his wife		2	0
Anstace Kearney,	a labouring woman		2	0
George Ardine,	Shoemaker		6	0
Philip Smith,	his servant		2	0
Anne,	his wife		2	0
Edmond fflannagan,	Barbour		6	0
Ralph Bertles,	Inn Keeper		14	0
Anne,	his wife		2	0
Ellinor Connell,	servant		2	0
Katherine Cranwell,	a soldiers wife		2	0
John Harper,	shopkeeper		6	0
Jane,	his wife		2	0
Joane Ryane,	sevant		2	0
Edward Hutchinson,	Gentleman	1	4	0
Richard Davies,	his servant		2	0
James Hamilton,	Esquire	2	0	0
Thomas Wheelewright,	Merchant		14	0
John Harwood,	Shopkeeper		14	0
Mary,	his wife		2	0
Dorothy,	his daughter		2	0
Joane,	his daughter		2	0
Thomas Prichard,	Shop Keeper		14	0
Sarah,	his daughter		2	0
Thomas Williams,	servant		2	0
Robert Craddocke,	Taylor		6	0
Hester,	his wife		2	0
Thomas Browne,	Baker		6	0
Katherine,	his wife		2	0
Nicholas Britton,	servant		2	0
Mary Butler,	servant		2	0
Richard Moore,	Gentleman	1	4	0
Margaret,	his wife		2	0
Edward Batty,	Gentleman	1	4	0
John Moore,	servant		2	0
Thomas Grace,	servant		2	0
Nora,	his wife		2	0
John Diggin,	servant		2	0

Names and Sir Names.	*Qualifications.*	*Summes in Figures.* £	s.	d.
John Roe, servant	...		2	0
Edmond Hogane, servant	...		2	0
Thomazine Lobb, servant	...		2	0
Margery Torner, servant	...		2	0
Joane Mullowny, servant	...		2	0
Ralph Henley, Cutler	...		6	0
Katherine, his wife	...		2	0
Thomas Spencer, his servant	...		2	0
Jane Jones, a soldiers wife	...		2	0
Thomas Elwell, Labourer	...		2	0
Elizabeth, his wife	...		2	0
James Halsey, Gentleman	...	1	4	0
Anne, his wife	...		2	0
Nicholas power, servant	...		2	0
Mary Waters, servant	...		2	0
Robert Carr, ffarmor	...		14	0
Sarah, his wife	...		2	0
Nathaniell Carr, his sonne	...		2	0
Gilbert Trayer, husbandman	...		6	0
Elizabeth, his wife	...		2	0
John ffoster, labourer	...		2	0
Mary, his wife	...		2	0
Mary, a soldiers wife, John Williams			2	0
Joseph Hughes, Butcher	...		6	0
Hannah, his wife	...		2	0
MacKane, his Cowboy	...		2	0
James Holmes, a poore Glover	...		2	0
Margaret, his wife	...		2	0
Mary Holland, a soldiers wife	...		2	0
Lyonell fford, Labourer	...		2	0
Mercy, his wife	...		2	0
Susanna Scott, his daughter in law			2	0
Charles Alcocke, Esquire	...	2	0	0
Katherine, his wife	...		2	0
Mrs. Margt. Moyles, his sister in law			2	0
Edward Gough, servant	...		2	0
Morris power, servant	...		2	0
John Carroll, servant	...		2	0
William Bird, servant	...		2	0
Alice Bird, his wife	...		2	0
Katherine ffennell, servant	...		2	0
Alice Dennison, servant	...		2	0
Elizabeth Mort, servant	...		2	0
Elizabeth Rouse, widow	...		2	0
Sheely, a soldiers wife	...		2	0
Lyonell Silvester, Junr., poore taylor			2	0
Petternell, his wife	...		2	0
Sarah Holloghane, a soldiers wife			2	0
Brian Clarke, Labourer	...		2	0
Owny Clarke, his wife	...		2	0
ffrancis Courtney, Smith	...		6	0
Alice, his wife	...		2	0
John Moore, servant	...		2	0
Hugh Malady, Aleseller	...		2	0
Margaret, his wife	...		2	0
William Bradford, labourer	...		2	0

Names and Sir Names.	*Qualifications.*	*Summes in Figures.* £	s.	d.
Anne, his wife	...		2	0
Ellan Thornton, A soldiers wife			2	0
William Webb, Labourer	...		2	0
Ellis, his wife	...		2	0
Morris Nagle, Carpenter	...		2	0
Ellan, his wife	...		2	0
Mary Offly, a soldiers wife	...		2	0
William Godfrey, Labourer	...		2	0
Mary, his wife	...		2	0
Joanne Gibbs, a soldiers wife	...		2	0
Katherine Stamp, a troopers wife			2	0
Henry Wainwright, Labourer	...		2	0
Anne, his wife	...		2	0
Nicholas Locker, servant	...		2	0
Ellan Wall, servant	...		2	0
Thomas Low, Labourer	...		2	0
Anne, his wife	...		2	0
Samuell ffoley, Esquire	...	2	0	0
Elizabeth, his wife	...		2	0
Richard Madockes, servant	...		2	0
Thomas Butler, servant	...		2	0
Thomazin Windgate, servant	...		2	0
Mary Condon, servant	...		2	0
Walter Skehane, Smith	...		2	0
Anstace, his wife	...		2	0
Humphrey Jones, taylor	...		2	0
Elizabeth, his wife	...		2	0
Mary Acres, a soldiers wife	...		2	0
Geffroy Jenkins, Butcher	...		2	0
Elizabeth, his wife	...		2	0
William Streete, servant	...		2	0
Anstace Clensy, servant	...		2	0
George Carr, Shopkeeper	...		14	0
Elizabeth, his wife	...		2	0
John Carr, his father, Gentleman		1	4	0
Edward Bray, servant	...		2	0
Winifrid Mathewes, servant	...		2	0
ffrancis Thomas, Baker	...		6	0
Mary, his wife	...		2	0
Amy Cooper, servant	...		2	0
Ellinor Connell, servant	...		2	0
John Gumler, a poore bodyes maker			2	0
Richard Huett, Boatman	...		2	0
Mary, his wife	...		2	0
Deliverance Yates, his mother			2	0
George Webber, a poore Glover			2	0
Elizabeth, his wife	...		2	0
Roc [*sic*] Wigmoore, servant	...		2	0
William Hanbury, Shopkeeper			14	0
Anne, his wife	...		2	0
Mary Hogan, servant	...		2	0
James Cooke, Labourer	...		2	0
Ellinor, his wife	...		2	0
Richard Hamerton, Gentleman		1	4	0
Sarah, his wife	...		2	0
Thomas Holder, servant	...		2	0

Names and Sir Names.	*Qualifications.*	*Summes in Figures.* £	s.	d.
William Vaughan, servant	...		2	0
Elizabeth Hamlen, servant	...		2	0
Katherine Daton, servant	...		2	0
Henry Shaw, servant	...		2	0
James Hackett, servant	...		2	0
Nicholas White, servant	...		2	0
Charles Blount, Esquire	...	2	0	0
Valentine, his wife	...		2	0
Mrs. Susan Blount, his kinswoman			2	0
William Hunt, servant	...		2	0
Morris Power, servant	...		2	0
Isabell Leynagh, servant	...		2	0
Ellinor Dalton, servant	...		2	0
Joane Corban, servant	...		2	0
John ffryer, pewterer	...		14	0
Mary, his wife	...		2	0
James Ô Quynn, servant	...		2	0
Samuell Moore, servant	...		2	0
John ffoxton, Aleseller	...		6	0
Anne, his wife	...		2	0
Margaret White, his mother in law			2	0
Katherine Boorke, servant	...		2	0
John Power, servant	...		2	0
Enoch ffrances, Carrier	...		6	0
Joane, his wife	...		2	0
John Daniell, servant	...		2	0
Anthony Lawrence, ffamour	...		14	0
Amy, his wife	...		2	0
Sarah Warren, his mother in law			2	0
John Wharly, servant	...		2	0
Mary Kennedy, servant	...		2	0
Margaret Peacocke, a soldier's wife			2	0
Robert Corry, Boatman	...		2	0
Margaret, his wife	...		2	0
Alice Bamlett, widow	...		2	0
Thomas Monday, Dyer	...		6	0
Katherine, his wife	...		2	0
John Mokes, ffelt-maker	...		6	0
Dorothy, his wife	...		2	0
John Nuell, servant	...		2	0
Richard Perrot, Gentleman	...	1	4	0
Edith, his wife	...		2	0
Peter Rooth, servant	...		2	0
Edmond Hogane, servant	...		2	0
Peter Dolane, servant	...		2	0
David Connell, servant	...		2	0
Ellinor Butler, servant	...		2	0
Mary Murphy, a soldier's wife			2	0
Henry Loveday, Aleseller	...		6	0
Mary, his wife	...		2	0
Daniell McCragh, servant	...		2	0
Phillipa Cox, a trooper's wife	...		2	0
James Ashmoore, Labourer	...		2	0
Richard Phillips, Labourer	...		2	0
Ellinor, his wife	...		2	0
Joane Curran, servant	...		2	0
John Bennett, Merchant	...		6	0
James Kelly, Aleseller	...		6	0
Jane, his wife	...		2	0
John, his servant	...		2	0
William Lane, Aleseller	...		6	0
Anne, his wife	...		2	0
Edward Broody, servant	...		2	0
Nora Meagher, servant	...		2	0
George Derby, ——	...		6	0
Temperance, his wife	...		2	0
—— Jennings, his wife's brother			2	0
Katherine, his maid servant	...		2	0
Mary Hatley, a trooper's wife	...		2	0
Katherine Crosse, a petty ffarmor's widow	...		2	0
William Thwaits, ——	...		6	0
Elizabeth, his wife	...		2	0
Edmond Kelly, his servant	...		2	0
Anne, his servant	...		2	0
George Collett, Glover	...		6	0
Elizabeth, his wife	...		2	0
John Collett, his sonn	...		2	0
ffrancis Collett, his sonn	...		2	0
George Collett, his sonn	...		2	0
Lyonell Silvester, senior, Sexton			2	0
Joane, his wife	...		2	0
Richard Dennison, ——	...		6	0
Mary, his wife	...		2	0
Katherine Swyney, servant	...		2	0
Allen Pockett, a tanner's widow			4	8
Richard Pockett, her sonne	...		2	0
Thomas Brassill, servant	...		2	0
Thomas Williams, Tanner	...		14	0
Richard Newman, servant	...		2	0
Walter Hayes, servant	...		2	0
Richard Gowen, Dyer	...		14	0
Rebecca, his wife	...		2	0
John Hacker, servant	...		2	0
John West, Aleseller	...		2	0
Alice, his wife	...		2	0
Mary Hanley, servant	...		2	0
John Weekes, a poore Cooper	...		2	0
Susan, his wife	...		2	0
Elizabeth Sellin, ——	...		2	0
Ralph Chaderaft, Innholder	...		14	0
Elizabeth, his wife	...		2	0
Thomas Wynn, servant	...		2	0
William Barry, servant	...		2	0
Phillipa Lloyd, servant	...		2	0
James Sturzeear, a petty ffarmour			6	0
Anne, his wife	...		2	0
Edward Commerford, Merchant			14	0
Christopher Portingall, ——	...		6	0
Henry Headley, Slater	...		6	0
Richard Stapers, Esquire	...		2	0

[Charged at Kilteynane, Midlethird.]

WEST SUBURBS OF CLONMELL.

Names and Sir Names.	*Qualifications.*	*Summes in Figures.* £	s.	d.
Teige Roe, Labourer	...	2	0	
Margaret, his wife	...	2	0	
Thomas ffinusie, Smith	...	2	0	
Onnora, his wife	...	2	0	
Teige Hurley, servant	...	2	0	
James ffinusie, Labourer	...	2	0	
Juan, his wife	...	2	0	
John Baron, Labourer	...	2	0	
Katherine Barron, his wife	...	2	0	
John Power, Broagmaker	...	6	0	
Richard Power, his servant	...	2	0	
John Birne, Broagmaker	...	2	0	
James Brittin, his servant	...	2	0	
John Grant, Labourer	...	2	0	
Anne, his wife	...	2	0	
William Kennedy, a poore Broag-maker	...	2	0	
Katherine, his wife	...	2	0	
Donnogh Lonergan, Glouer	...	2	0	
Margaret, his wife	...	2	0	
Edward Laffan, Yeoman	...	14	0	
Christian, his wife	...	2	0	
Mary Wale, servant	...	2	0	
Mary Teige, servant	...	2	0	
Laurence Wailsh, Merchant	...	14	0	
Margarett, his wife	...	2	0	
Nicholas White, his servant	...	2	0	
Edmond Butler, servant	...	2	0	
Margaret Deady, servant	...	2	0	
Thomas Deady, broagmaker	...	6	0	
William Brazill, Yeoman	...	14	0	
Katherine, his wife	...	2	0	
Katherine ny Teige, his servant		2	0	
Theobald Butlere, Taylor	...	6	0	
Katherine, his wife	...	2	0	
Patricke Comerforde, Labourer		2	0	
Onora, his wife	...	2	0	
Joane Baron, a poore widow	...	2	0	
Edmond Daniell, husbandman	...	6	0	
Katherine, his wife	...	2	0	
Cahill Linsie, his servant	...	2	0	
Constance Daniell, Labourer	...	2	0	
Patrick Donnoghow, Yeoman	...	14	0	
Ellen, his wife	...	2	0	
Thomas Donnoghow, servant	...	2	0	
Juan Bawne, servant	...	2	0	
Gillian English, servant	...	2	0	
Margaret Dwyer, widow	...	2	0	
Teige Merry, his servant	...	2	0	
Ann White, widow	...	2	0	
Margaret White, her servant	...	2	0	
Thomas Skanlane, Labourer	...	2	0	
Anstase, his wife	...	2	0	

Names and Sir Names.	*Qualifications.*	*Summes in Figures.* £	s.	d.
Margaret Roch, widow	...	2	0	
Katherine Clevane, a poore widow		2	0	
Juan Condon, Labouring woman		2	0	
Margaret Donnilly, Labouring woman		2	0	
Richard Dunn, a poore Cobler	...	2	0	
Bridgett, his wife	...	2	0	
John Wall, a poore taylor	...	2	0	
Margaret, his wife	...	2	0	
John Conway, Labourer	...	2	0	
Katherine, his wife	...	2	0	
John ffling, a poore ould Tincker		2	0	
Ellan, his wife	...	2	0	
Dauid ffinusie, Labourer	...	2	0	
Margaret, his wife	...	2	0	
William Boorke, Cottner	...	6	0	
Margaret, his wife	...	2	0	
Laurence power, Broagmaker	...	6	0	
Margaret, his wife	...	2	0	
Thomas Cravan, a poore Weaver		2	0	
Margaret, his wife	...	2	0	
Luke Hackett, Tobaccomonger		6	0	
Juane, his wife	...	2	0	
William McConnor, a poore labourer		2	0	
Katherine, his wife	...	2	0	
William Phellan, Labourer	...	2	0	
Katherine, his wife	...	2	0	
James McPhillip, tobaccomonger		6	0	
Ellen, his wife	...	2	0	
Phillip McEdmond, Labourer	...	2	0	
Katherine, his wife	...	2	0	
Thomas Boorke, Labourer	...	2	0	
Katherine, his wife	...	2	0	
Bernard ffinusie, Carrier	...	6	0	
Ellan, his wife	...	2	0	
Edmond Connell, husbandman	...	6	0	
Margaret, his wife	...	2	0	
Edmond Doody, servant	...	2	0	
Juane ^Ny Connor, servant	...	2	0	
Phillip Ó Divane, a poore Weaver		6	0	
Margaret, his wife	...	2	0	
Ellen ny Mary, a poore Widow		2	0	
Margaret Mahoney, Spinster	...	2	0	
Juane, her servant	...	2	0	
Patrick Ederton, a poore Butcher		2	0	
Mary, his wife	...	2	0	
Thomas McShane, Labourer	...	2	0	
Juan, his wife	...	2	0	
John Sharuchan, Weaver	...	6	0	
Margt., his wife	...	2	0	
Thomas Phellane, Labourer	...	2	0	
Ellen, his wife	...	2	0	
Owen, his servant	...	2	0	
Dominicke Bluett, husbandman		6	0	

Names and Sir Names.	*Qualifications.*	*Summes in Figures.* £	s.	d.
Katherine, his wife	...	2	0	
Richard Power, servant	...	2	0	
Laghlin Ryan, Labourer	...	2	0	
Katherine, his wife	...	2	0	
Connor McTeige, Labourer	...	2	0	
Sarah, his wife	...	2	0	
Edmond Meagher, Labourer	...	2	0	
Mary, his wife	...	2	0	
William Hannyne, Labourer	...	2	0	
Onora, his wife	...	2	0	
Teige Kennedy, Labourer	...	2	0	
Margaret, his wife	...	2	0	
Daniell Carroll, Labourer	...	2	0	
Sarah, his wife	...	2	0	
Richard Daniell, Labourer	...	2	0	
Juane, his wife	...	2	0	
Thomas Esmond, Labourer	...	2	0	
Gillian, his wife	...	2	0	
Richard Condon, Carrier	...	6	0	
Mary, his wife	...	2	0	
Richard Kearne, Labourer	...	2	0	
Katherine, his wife	...	2	0	
Gullypatricke Grady, Labourer	...	2	0	
Juan, his wife	...	2	0	
William Clovane, Labourer	...	2	0	
Juan, his wife	...	2	0	
Thomas White, Labourer	...	2	0	
Ellen, his wife	...	2	0	
Anstace Cravan, a Labouring woman		2	0	
John McWilliams, Mason	...	6	0	
Thomas McWilliams	...	6	0	
Margaret, his wife	...	2	0	
Thomas McRichard, Tobacco-monger	...	6	0	
Anstase, his wife	...	2	0	
John Commerford, Labourer	...	2	0	
Margaret, his wife	...	2	0	
Katherine Gerraldine, widow	...	4	8	
Juan Shea, her servant	...	2	0	
Wiiliam Hennessie, her servant		2	0	
James Brenocke, Yeoman	...	14	0	
Catherine, his wife	...	2	0	
John Caffee, his servant	...	2	0	
Juan fitz James, servant	...	2	0	
Thomas White, servant	...	2	0	
Mathew Brennock, sonn to the said James	...	2	0	
Margaret Wale, a poore widow		2	0	
Edmond Kennedy, Labourer	...	2	0	
Katherine, his wife	...	2	0	
John Kennedy, Broagmaker	...	6	0	
Ellis, his wife	...	2	0	
Ellin fitz Edward, Servant	...	2	0	
Dennis Egan, Labourer	...	2	0	
Anstace, his wife	...	2	0	
William Boy, servant	...	2	0	
Kotherine Corr, widow	...	4	8	
Juan, her daughter	...	2	0	
Margaret ny Bryne, Labouring woman	...	2	0	
James Gorman, a poore taylor		2	0	
Margaret, his wife	...	2	0	
William Egan, Tobaccomonger		6	0	
Katherine, his wife	...	2	0	
Thomas Power, Tobaccomonger		6	0	
Ellinor, his wife	...	2	0	
James Sheine, servant	...	2	0	
Katherine Connor, servant	...	2	0	
George Sherlocke, Tobaccomonger		6	0	
Edmond English, Labourer	...	2	0	
Ellis, his wife	...	2	0	
John Cahill, a poore Glover	...	2	0	
Anstace, his wife	...	2	0	
Margaret White, a Labouring woman		2	0	
Mary Grady, a poore widow	...	2	0	
Katherine Roche, widow	...	2	0	
Symon Harford, husbandman	...	6	0	
Donnogh McGrath, Labourer	...	2	0	
Ellis, his wife	...	2	0	
William Meagher, Smith	...	6	0	
Mary, his wife	...	2	0	
Mary fitz James, widow	...	2	0	
Richard Keatinge, a poore butcher		2	0	
Margaret, his wife	...	2	0	
James Archer, Labourer	...	2	0	
Bridgett, his wife	...	2	0	
Mortagh Quirke, Labourer	...	2	0	
Ellis, his wife	...	2	0	
Thomas Hickie, Labourer	...	2	0	
Katherine, his wife	...	2	0	
Gilliam Walsh, widow	...	2	0	
Teige MacShane, Labourer	...	2	0	
Juan, his wife	...	2	0	
Thomas Shallovey, his servant		2	0	
Teige Carroll, Labourer	...	2	0	
Ellen, his wife	...	2	0	
John Barry, foot post	...	2	0	
Margarett, his wife	...	2	0	
Nicholas Barron, Constable	...	2	0	
Joane, his wife	...	2	0	
Robert ffleminge, servant	...	2	0	
Ellis Duan, servant	...	2	0	

NORTH SUBURBS OF CLONMELL.

Murtagh Divane, poore Cottner		6	0	William Mullryan, Labourer	...	4	0
Margaret, his wife	...	2	0	Ellen, his wife	...		

Names and Sir Names.	*Qualifications.*	*Summes in Figures.* £	s.	d.
Nicholas White, Tobaccomonger				
Ellan, his wife		6	0	
Daniel Molloghane, Carrier		6	0	
Juan, his wife		2	0	
James Molloghane, servant		2	0	
John Lawles, servant		2	0	
Ellish Wall, spinster		2	0	
Mary Cott, spinster		2	0	
Thomas Pryce, Victualler		2	0	
Elizabeth, his wife		2	0	
Mary Hicky, servant		2	0	
Victor White, polty ffarmour				
Katherine, his wife		8	0	
Anne White, servant		2	0	
Juan Morrish, spinster		2	0	
Dorothy Kennedy, spinster		2	0	
Margaret Hennessy, spinster		2	0	
John Phelane, Labourer				
Catherine, his wife		4	0	
Morris Dooly, broagmaker				
Vny, his wife		8	0	
Teig Michane, Labourer				
Katherine, his wife		4	0	
Teig Brian, Labourer				
Marg^{t}· his wife		4	0	
John Shea, Labourer				
Katherine, his wife		4	0	
Daniell Tierny, Labourer				
Joan, his wife		4	0	
John Kelly, Carrier				
——— his wife		8	0	
James Keathing, Labourer		2	0	
Thomas Punt, Labourer				
Juan, his wife		4	0	
John Mary, Labourer				
Onor, his wife		4	0	
Thomas Dwyer, Glover		6	0	
Joane, his wife		2	0	
Teige McKnogher, Carrier				
Anastase, his wife		8	0	
Redmond McMorrish, servant		2	0	
Katherine fitz Nicholas, servant		2	0	
Tho Merry, Journeyman taylor				
Juane, his wife		4	0	
John McHugh, tobacco seller				
Katherine, his wife		8	0	
William Neale, servant		2	0	
Joane, his maid		2	0	
Edmond purcell & Ellan his wife Butcher		16	0	
William Cnoghy, Labourer		2	0	
Knogher purcell, servant				
Mary Meagher, servant		4	0	
Ellin fitz Gerald, Charwoman		2	0	

Names and Sir Names.	*Qualifications.*	*Summes in Figures.* £	s.	d.
Denis Sexton, Miller				
Ellinor, his wife		4	0	
Henry Kennedy, Labourer				
Katherine, his wife		4	0	
William Spillane, broagmaker				
Katherine, his wife		8	0	
Thomas Lonnergane, servant		2	0	
Donnogh Kennedy, servant		2	0	
Jasper Portingall, Merchant		14	0	
Joane, his wife		2	0	
Thomas Quiffe, servant		2	0	
Sheely Meagher, servant		2	0	
Joane ny Shane, spinster		2	0	
Ellen Newman, yeomans widow		4	0	
Edmond Durie, Labourer		2	0	
Nora Headine, servant		2	0	
Phillip Dogane, servant		2	0	
Donnell Carrine, Labourer		2	0	
Redmond Keathinge, Carryer		6	0	
Ellis, his wife		2	0	
Tho. Holane, Labourer				
Ellen, his wife		4	0	
Laghlin Skehane, Smith				
Margaret, his wife		8	0	
Katherine Cahesy, servant		2	0	
Ellin Phelane, Charwoman		2	0	
Teige Hally, Labourer		2	0	
Sarah Qurke, Charwoman		2	0	
Teige Agherine, Labourer				
Juan, his wife		4	0	
John Phellane, Labourer				
Ellane, his wife		4	0	
John ffennell, Labourer				
Katherine, his wife		4	0	
John Dwyer, Labourer				
More, his wife		4	0	
David Triskane, Labourer				
Katherine, his wife		4	0	
Teige Cary, Gunstocker		2	0	
Margaret Cahesy, Charwoman		2	0	
John Ô Neale, Labourer				
Margaret, his wife		4	0	
John McMorrish, poore butcher		2	0	
John Heany, Labourer				
Margaret, his wife		4	0	
William Molloghan, Labourer				
Grace, his wife		4	0	
Richard Wale, Labourer				
Margaret, his wife		4	0	
Thomas ffleming, Labourer				
Bane, his wife		4	0	
Nicholas Quiffe, Labourer		2	0	
Margaret Quiffe, his wife		2	0	

EAST SUBURBS OF CLONMELL.

Names and Sir Names.	*Qualifications.*	*Summes in Figures.* £	s.	d.	*Names and Sir Names.*	*Qualifications.*	*Summes in Figures.* £	s.	d.
Robert Lynane, Carrier	...		6	0	Patricke Cahesy, Weaver	...		6	0
Katherine, his wife	...		2	0	Unny, his wife	...		2	0
Teig Mullryan, labourer	...		2	0	John Cahesy, servant	...		2	0
Katherine, his wife	...		2	0	Symon Connery, Labourer	...		2	0
Andrew White, Taylor	...		2	0	Ellin, his wife	...		2	0
Onnor, his wife	...		2	0	Connor Duffe, Labourer	...		2	0
Nicholas Geyton, Labourer	...		2	0	Ellish, his wife	...		2	0
Ellen, his wife	...		2	0	Nicholas Lahyffe, poore Mettleman			2	0
Toby Purcell, Stockenmaker	...		6	0	Ellin, his wife	...		2	0
Katherine, his wife	...		2	0	Thomas Reyley, Carpenter	...		6	0
Margaret Clere, servant	...		2	0	Anstas, his wife	...		2	0
Donnogh Carran, Mason	...		6	0	Thomas Murphy, Labourer	...		2	0
More, his wife	...		2	0	Katherine, his wife	...		2	0
James Cahyr, Porter	...		2	0	Nicholas Quott, Labourer	...		2	0
Onnor, his wife	...		2	0	Katherine, his wife	...		2	0
Thomas Mangan, Mettleman	...		6	0	Katherine Neale, Labourer [*sic*]			2	0
Katherine, his wife	...		2	0	Edward Langton, Labourer	...		2	0
Phillip Moholloghane, Labourer			2	0	Katherine, his wife	...		2	0
Margaret, his wife	...		2	0	Katherine Slattery, servant	...		2	0
James Mary, porter	...		2	0	Katherine Hoare, a soldiers wife			2	0
Margaret, his wife	...		2	0	Richard Betts, Constable	...		2	0
John Mary, Glover	...		6	0	Margarett, his wife	...		2	0
Katherine, his wife	...		2	0	James Headen, Cottner	...		6	0
Paul Goyny, Boatman	...		6	0	Ellen, his wife	...		2	0
Katherine, his wife	...		2	0	John McOwne, Labourer	...		2	0
John Walsh, Labourer	...		2	0	Joane, his wife	...		2	0
Katherine, his wife	...		2	0	Edmond Brenocke, Labourer	...		6	0
Katherine Phelane, widow	...		2	0	Ellen, his wife	...		2	0
Robert Brenocke, Labourer	...		2	0	Teige Dullany, porter	...		2	0
Grany, his wife	...		2	0	Joane, his wife	...		2	0
George Conway, Labourer	...		2	0	Walter Walch, Cottner	...		6	0
Elizabeth Gauny, widow	...		2	0	Joane, his wife	...		2	0
Mathew Wall, Labourer	...		2	0	John Brenocke, Carrier	...		6	0
Ellish, his wife	...		2	0	Anstas, his wife	...		2	0
Dauid Cleere, Weaver	...		6	0	Ellen Meagher, servant	...		2	0
Katherine, his wife	...		2	0	Derby Dowle, a poore Cottner	...		2	0
Thomas Cleere, his sonne	...		2	0	Anne, his wife	...		2	0
Katherine, his wife	...		2	0	John Waylsh, servant	...		2	0
Toby Nash, Labourer	...		2	0	William Morisshy, Taylor	...		6	0
Ellish, his wife	...		2	0	Joane, his wife	...		2	0
Morrish Eustas, Labourer	...		2	0	James Wall, mettleman	...		2	0
Ellen, his wife	...		2	0	Joane, his wife	...		2	0
Ony Gullypole, servant	...		2	0	Katherine Cantwell, servant	...		2	0

SOUTH SUBURBS OF CLONMELL.

John ffowler, Miller	...		2	0	Thomas Daniell, servant	...		2	0
Amne, his wife	...		2	0	Onnor, his maid servant	...		2	0
Thomas Dowgin, Miller	...		2	0	Juane purcell, widow	...		2	0
John Mullynex, servant	...		2	0	Thomas Hart, Slater	...		6	0
Margaret, his wife	...		2	0	Juan, his wife	...		2	0
James Cooke, Ale Seller	...		6	0	James Davyne, his servant	...		2	0
Alice, his wife	...		2	0	William Demsy, Labourer	..		2	0

Names and Sir Names.	*Qualifications.*	*Summes in Figures.* £	s.	d.
Sarah, his wife	...	2	0	
Daniell Swyney, porter	...	2	0	
Ellan, his wife	...	2	0	
Mortagh Hogane, boatman	...	6	0	
Margaret, his wife	...	2	0	
Edmond Hogane, ffish monger		6	0	
Ellen, his wife	...	2	0	
Teige Meagher, his servant	...	2	0	
Thomas Power, broagmaker	...	6	0	
Ellen, his wife	...	2	0	
Thomas Toben, Labourer	...	2	0	
Ellan, his wife	...	2	0	
Thomas White, porter	...	2	0	
Ellen, his wife	...	2	0	
Peter Stephens, Constable	...	2	0	
Ellen, his wife	...	2	0	
John Powhill, Labourer	...	2	0	
Ellan, his wife	...	2	0	
Edmond Hackett, Glover	...	6	0	
Juane, his wife	...	2	0	
Willm Quirke, Labourer	...	2	0	
Anastace White, Spenster	...	2	0	
Morrish Buoghilly, Labourer	...	2	0	
Anastace, his wife	...	2	0	
Luke Quirke, Labourer	...	2	0	
Margarett, his wife	...	2	0	
Thomas Kennedy, poore broagmaker		2	0	
Katherine, his wife	...	2	0	
Teige Cahesy, Cobler	...	2	0	
Juane, his wife	...	2	0	
Teige Dullany, Broagmaker	...	6	0	

Names and Sir Names.	*Qualifications.*	*Summes in Figures.* £	s.	d.
Isabell, his wife	...	2	0	
Walter Hickes, Tucker	...	2	0	
Besse, his wife	...	2	0	
Walter Morrissie, Labourer	...	2	0	
Margarett, his wife	...	2	0	
James Mandeville, Labourer	...	2	0	
Margaret, his wife	...	2	0	
Paul Brenocke, Labourer	..	2	0	
Katherine, his wife	..	2	0	
Juan, his maid	...	2	0	
Roger Hally, Carrier	...	6	0	
Juane, his wife	...	2	0	
Thomas McGullypatricke, Labourer		2	0	
Giles, his wife	...	2	0	
John Gullypatrick, Labourer	...	2	0	
Anne, his wife	...	2	0	
William St. John, his servant	...	2	0	
Mahowne Ô Mulrian, Labourer		2	0	
Owny, his wife	...	2	0	
Roger Quinlin, butcher	...	2	0	
Juan, his wife	...	2	0	
William McOwny, Labourer	...	2	0	
Donnogh Hasey, Labourer	...	2	0	
Katherine, his wife	...	2	0	
Edward Bagh, Gardner	...	6	0	
Juan, his wife	...	2	0	
Owny Ô Mulryan, his servant		2	0	
Mahowne Ô Bryen, Labourer	...	2	0	
Mary, his wife	...	2	0	
James Brassill, Cooper	...	2	0	
Margarett, his wife	...	2	0	

SETTLEMENT OF 1666.

BLIND STREET.

Holdings.	*Present Possessors.*	*Late Possessors.*
Garden	Edmund Daniell ...	Thomas Prendergast
Malt house and thatcht house	Mr. Cole	Nicholas White fitz Henry
thacht house and garden	Richard Hamerton ...	Nicholas and Solomon White.
waste tenement ...	——	Solomon White
house	John Charpe ...	Nicholas White
house and garden ...	John ffryer ...	Stephen White
thacht house and garden	Joan Cleyton ...	Stephen White
waste tenement and garden ...	Edmund Vinn ...	Catherine Stritch
slated house	Joan McGilfoyle ... Mr. Bayly ...	Michael White, formerly Lord Caher

HIGH STREET.

Holdings.	*Present Possessors.*	*Late Possessors.*
house slated	Thomas Browne ...	Michael White
house slated	George Harden ...	Thomas Butler
house slated and backside.	Robert Cradock ...	James Mulrony
house slated and backside.	Widow Harper or Robert Price	Thomas White fitz Benet and Nicholas White fitz Benet
house and backhouse ... slated	——	Thomas White fftz Benet and John White fitz Benet
thacht house, house slated	Sir Thomas Stanley and Ralfe Bertles	Thomas White fitz Michael
waste tenement ...	Thomas peackett ...	Edmund Bray
slate house, garden and orchard.	Walter Brenock ...	Thomas White fitz Michael
slate house ...	ffrancis Hopkins ...	Thomas White fitz Michael
slate house	ffrancis Hopkins ...	Nicholas White fitz Henry
house and garden ...	Edmund Wright ...	Nicholas White fitz Henry
thacht house and garden	John and James Brenock	Nicholas White fitz Henry
thacht house and garden / house slated and garden	Richard Whitehand	Thomas Roth
thacht house and waste tenement.	Robert Lovelady ...	Thomas Roth
slated house and backhouse.	Robert Thompson ...	Thomas Roth
house slated and backside	Thomas Williams ...	Michael Bray
slated house	Charles House ...	Geoffry White
slated house	Gilbert ffryer ...	Geoffry White
slated house	Thomas Moake and John Parker	William Lincoll and Nicholas Mulrony
house slated, backside and garden.	Richard Settleworth	John Leech and John Wallis
house slated	Robert Carvell ...	John Lee
house slated and backhouse.	Richard Rickett ...	John Lee
garden	Richard Settleworth	John Lee
house slated and another thacht.	Edmund fflanegan ...	Lord Cahir

Holdings.	*Present Possessors.*	*Late Possessors.*
house slated, thacht house and garden.	William Waytes ...	John White fitz Henry and Patrick Walsh
house slated, part in Bridge Street.	Richard Baron ...	Nicholas Baron
house slated and waste and thacht house.	Thomas Turpin ...	John White fitz Henry
two houses slated and thacht house.	Henry Loveday ...	John White fitz Richard
house slated and thacht house.	Richard pickett ...	Michael White
garden adjoyning the churchyard. ...	Richard pickett ...	
house slated	Sarah Warren ...	John White fitz Benet
house slated	Anthony Laurence	Patrick Walsh
house slated	John ffryers ...	Edward Bray
house slated	John Sexton ...	John White fitz Laurence
waste plott	Mrs. Blount ...	Richard Mullroney
house slated, garden and thacht house.	Mrs. Blount ...	John Weite fitz Benet
two houses slated and stable.	Richard Hamerton ...	Thomas White fitz Michael
house slated and backside	James Cooke and William Manghan	Andrew Bray and David White, heires
house slated	Jeoffry Jenkins ...	
house slated	ffrancis Thomas ...	James Mulrony
house slated	George Carr ...	Thomas Creagh
house slated and lime yard	George Carr ...	Nicholas White fitz Geoffry

LOUGH STREET.

house slated and garden	Edward Batty ...	John White fitz Benet
thacht house	Edward Batty ...	John White fitz Benet
thacht house	William Henbury ...	Thomas White fitz Richard
house thacht and waste...	William Henbury ...	Thomas White fitz Richard
waste	William Henbury ...	Richard White
house slated	John Clarke ...	Thomas White fitz Mathew
house slated	John Clarke ...	Thomas White fitz Richard
stable	John Clarke ...	Thomas White fitz Richard

Holdings.	*Present Possessors.*	*Late Possessors.*
house slated	Richard Eyland ...	Thomas White fitz Richard
two waste tenements, etc.	Capt. ffolie ...	Edward Bray
house slated	Charles Alcock ...	James ffagan
two houses slated and brewhouse.	Charles Alcock ...	Richard White fitz Peter and Edmund Bray
waste tenement and garden. ...	Bishop of Waterford	Thomas White fitz Richard
house slated waste and garden. ...	Widow fford ...	James ffagan
thacht house and waste...	Thomas Jones ...	John Newman and James Wall
house slated and two gardens.	Deane Gore now Bishop of Waterford	Theodore Butler
garden	Deane Gore ...	John English
thacht house and garden	Henry Ansell ...	John English
waste tenements ...	John Walsh ...	Nicholas White fitz Henry
garden	John Batty ...	Nicholas White fitz Henry
two houses slated, two houses thacht and garden.	Mr. Witten ...	Nicholas White fitz Henry
three houses slated, thacht house and garden.	Deane Gore ...	James Mulrony
house slated and backside	Deane Gore ...	Patrick Walsh
house slated, backside court and garden.	Samuel Ladyman ...	David White
two houses slated, court and garden.	Mr. Ladyman ...	Nicholas White fitz Henry
garden	Mr. Ladyman ...	Thomas White
garden and waste ...	Mr. Ladyman ...	William Swyne
house thacht backside and garden.	ffrancis Browne ...	William Swinny, Thomas Rooth & Thomas White,
house slated, thacht house and stable.	Richard Moore ...	Nicholas White and Thomas White fitz Benet

SAINT MARYES STREETE.

waste, house slated and three gardens	James Hoomes ...	Nicholas White
cabin and forge ...	John Bayly ...	Edmund Brown
thacht cabin	Richard Peryman alias Perry	Thomas White fitz Michael and Henry Corr
house and kiln house slated and garden	Peter Butler ...	John Stretch

Holdings.	*Present Possessors.*	*Late Possessors.*
house slated	William Stydell ...	Nicholas White fitz Henry
malt house, etc. ...	Roger Coale ...	Nicholas White fitz Henry
malt house, etc. ...	Robert Lovelace ...	John White fitz Benet
garden	Deane Gore ...	
a poore house formerly belonging to the poore		
house thacht and garden	Robert Lovelace ...	William Lincoll
house slated and garden	Richard Taylor ...	John Butler
waste and garden ...	Richard Taylor ...	James ffagan
house thacht	Mrs. Pettyhoone ...	James ffagan
garden	Edmund Daniell ...	James ffagan
house slated and backside	Edmund Daniell ...	Henry Corr
house slated backside and garden	James Hoone ...	Nicholas White
house slated	——	John English
house thacht, stable, etc.	Gyles Maron ...	Thomas Donoghue
house slated	Edward Hill ...	Nicholas White fitz Henry

NORTH LANE.

house slated	Richard Perry ...	Nicholas White
house slated and backside	William Quirke ...	John White
thacht house	——	Nicholas White
kiln	Coll: Booker ...	Nicholas White
house thacht	ffrancis Rawbone ...	John Bray
house slated and kiln ...	Coll: Booker ...	Patrick Prendergast
house slated and garden	Bryan Reynolds ...	Stephen White
three houses slated ...	Coll: Booker ...	Nicholas White

MIDDLE ROW.

house slated	Lord Cahir ...	
house slated	Laurence Walsh and Nathaniel Taylor	Edward Brenock
house slated and garden	Ralph Chadraft ...	Richard Leynach and Nicholas White
thacht house	William Moakes ...	Nicholas White
thacht house	Edward Griffith ...	Nicholas White
thacht house	Richard Perriman alias Perry	Nicholas White

WEST GATE LANE OR STREETE.

Holdings.	*Present Possessors.*	*Late Possessors.*
waste house	John Weste ...	Patrick Gough
house slated and garden	John Weste ...	John Bray
waste tenements ...	Widow Pickett ...	Nicholas White
house slated	John Staper ...	Nicholas White fitz Henry
house slated	Widow Pickett ...	Nicholas White
thatcht house	Widow Pickett ...	John White fitz Edward
house slated and thatcht house	Richard Dennison ...	Nicholas White
thatcht house and garden	George Collett ...	John White
house slated	George Collett ...	William Lynach
waste	Thomas Batty ...	William Lynach
waste house	Thomas Batty ...	William Lynach
house slated	Thomas Batty ...	William Lynach
house slated	Thomas Batty ...	William Lynach
house slated	Henry Coale ...	William Lynach

BRIDGE STREETE.

house slated	Edward Comerford	Michael White fitz John
house slated	Humphrey Jones ...	Nicholas White
castle and waste tenements	Thomas Batty ...	Nicholas White
A myll	Coll: Booker ...	Thomas White fitz Mathew
stable	Thomas Turpin ...	Richard Mullroney

SHAMELL'S LANE.

house slated	Ignatius Lane ...	Thomas White fitz Mathew
house slated	John White ...	Thomas White fitz Mathew
thatcht house	ffrancis Thomas ...	John White fitz Benet
thatcht house	Richard Hamerton	Lord Cahir
malt house	Captain ffolie ...	John White fitz Benet
two houses and backside	Nicholas White ...	Thomas White fitz Mathew

BOATE STREETE.

Holdings.	*Present Possessors.*	*Late Possessors.*
thacht house	James Cooke ...	William Lincolne
two houses slated ...	Capt. ffolie ...	John White fitz Benet
house slated	Thomas Lee ...	Nicholas White fitz Henry
castle and house slated	Henry Wainwright	Nicholas White fitz and John White fitz Benet

SHEELANE STREETE.

waste, thatcht cabins ...	John Davys ...	Nicholas White
thatcht cabin and garden	John Sheerman ...	Nicholas White
thatcht house and garden	Walter ffryers ...	Edmond Bray and Patrick Neuraghan
thatcht cabin	John Jones ...	Edmund Bray
house slated	Mr. Derby ...	James Wall
garden	Mr. Derby ...	Edmund Bray
house slated	Mr. Derby ...	Thomas White fitz Richard
house slated	Thomas Salter ...	Thomas White and James Wall
house slated	John Hayward ...	George Conway
thatcht house	Hugh Mullady ...	John White fitz Benet and Lord Cahir
waste	Edmund Batty ...	William Lynach
kiln	Edward Batty ...	Edmund Bray

FFORT.

waste	Captain Smyth ...	John White fitz Benet
house slated	Captain Smyth ...	James ffagan
waste	Captain Smyth ...	James ffagan
waste	Captain Smyth ...	Patrick Walsh
house slated	Captain Smyth ...	Thomas White
waste	Captain Smyth ...	Nicholas and Thomas White
house slated	Captain Smyth ...	James ffagan
waste	Captain Smyth ...	John White fitz Benet
waste	Captain Smyth ...	Thomas White fitz Richard
house slated	Captain Smyth ...	James Mulrony
garden	Captain Smyth ...	

BRIDGE.

Holdings.	*Present Possessors.*	*Late Possessors.*
little mill and house ...	Robert Lovelace	
tuck mill	Robert Lovelace	
corn mill	——	Lord Cahir
hole mill alias millen foyle		
ffahen mill and house ...	John Staper	
Streaches Island ...	Captain Smyth	
thatcht cabin	James Bryan	
cabin	Widow Bath	
cabin	Daniel Haley	
cabin	Thomas Duggan	
cabin	Michael Coole	
waste		

Also all such benefitt and advantage of Commonadge in the Commons of the said town of Clonmel as the inhabitants of the severall houses aforesaid had therein on the three and twentieth day of October which was in the yeare of Our Lord one thousand, six hundred forty and one, other then what is set out to the adventurers and soldiers, and their heires and assigns possessed on the seventh day of May which was in the year of Our Lord one thousand six hundred fifty and nine.

CHAPTER XIII.

ST. MARY'S CHURCH.

THE history of St. Mary's begins with that of the town itself. The canonical dedication was the "Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary," but the popular appellation was "Our Ladye of Clonmell." Inspired with devotion to the Blessed Virgin the Anglo-Normans erected in Clonmel as elsewhere a shrine in her honour *(o)*. Of the original fabric not a vestige is now existing. Fortunately, however, when in 1857 the present structure was being put up, skilled antiquarians recorded the discoveries made. A few feet below the floor of the present church the entire area appeared to be paved with old monuments. Fragments of ancient "Edwardian cross-slabs, some of them with portions of inscriptions, had been used in the foundations of the piers of the work lately demolished. This fact combined with the discovery of many fragments of early English sculpture, shows that the perpendicular church which came down to our day, was rebuilt on the site and with the materials of an earlier church. What was more curious still was the discovery, beneath the foundation of one of the piers, of a skeleton buried with the head to the east, a wooden cross on the breast, and very perfect leathern buskins on the feet ornamented with rosettes" *(p)*.

The early English church whose remains were thus discovered, belonged, to the period of Richard de Burgh, and probably therefore, was erected by the great justiciar *pari passu* with Athassel. The general plan was not unlike that priory church, and the dimensions were almost certainly those of

(o) Compare the present Notre Dame de Rouen, Notre Dame de Paris.
(p) Kilkenny Archæological Journal, 1856-7, p. 360.

the church subsequently built in the fifteenth century. It had a nave and aisles, a long choir, and possibly transepts *(q)*. The fate of this fine old church we gather from the preamble of a grant to the citizens by James Earl of Ormond, in 1385. Irish enemies and English rebels had so harassed the people by unjust imposts that—

> By reason of them the citizens of Clonmel have been unable to repair the bridge, towers and fortifications thereof, and to maintain divine service in the accustomed manner in their parish church, so that the said town may fall into the hands of the enemy unless speedy redress is granted.

In the event the graceful arcade, the clustered column, the high-pitched roof disappeared, and a structure esthetically inferior, half church, half fortress, was raised on the old foundations. Yet this late fourteenth-century church, which came down to our own days, was not without a quaint picturesqueness of its own. If it lacked the dignity of height, yet the long roof line broken by stepped battlements, was some compensation. Interiorly too the square piers and plain arches, destitute even of a chamfer, bespoke quiet strength, and afforded fine masses of shadow. But its redeeming feature was the pair of noble windows in the chancel and west front. Not even the "restoration" craze of 1805 and 1857 could put these away. They are there still, almost the sole memorials of the pre-Reformation church.

The tracery of the two windows is in motive and execution similar to the contemporary work in Holy Cross and Kilcooly. The west window containing what is known as "net tracery," is, except in its smaller size, identical with the chancel window of Holy Cross. The great five-light east window is one of the best examples of a phase of Gothic which had more kinship with France than with England. The exact counterpart may be seen in the ruined Dominican abbey at Cashel, and details in the chapels of Holy Cross. The flowing lines with their many cusps are strongly suggestive of early flamboyant, and altogether removed from the perpendicular Gothic then being developed in England *(r)*.

Scarcely less deplorable than the loss of the old church, was the destruction of the ancient monuments. The burgher families for generations were buried beneath the shadow of St. Mary's, or within the building itself.

(q) The present tower would seem to occupy the site of a south transept. The plan of St. Mary's was the gridiron one (the long choir forming the handle) usually followed by the early settlers. Some examples may be seen in the neighbouring county at Thomastown and Gowran.

(r) The arms quartered in the spandrils of the sedilia of Holy Cross afford a clue to the date—closing years of the fourteenth century—which corresponds with the date above given for the rebuilding of Clonmel church. In Hall's Ireland is a small woodcut which shows the battlemented roof previous to the "restoration" of 1857. The writer obtained many particulars of the old church from the late Dr. Hemphill who, though not an architectural expert, had sympathetically and accurately noted them.

Not a few notable ecclesiastics, also, and barons of historic name found their last resting place there. But the memorials which the church bore of them have nearly all disappeared. In the south aisle stood an altar dedicated to St. Michael the Archangel, the aisle itself being the chapel or chantry of the White family. There they prayed in life, and at their death their bodies rested beneath its pavement. Henry White, "burgess of the towne of Clonemell," made his will in 1577. "ffirst I comend my soule to God almyghty through the merits of Christes passion and the intercession of his blessed Mother, the Virgin Mary, and the holy company of heaven, and my boddie to be buryed in the sepulture of mine auncestors within the parish church of Clonemell" *(s)*. Henry White fitz Thomas in 1614 commends his soul to "thalmyghtie God, the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the hole [whole] company of heaven, my bodye to be buryed in myne ancestors buriall within Saint Michaell's Chappell in the parish church of Clonmell aforesaid" *(t)*. James White fitz Robert in 1622 commends "my soule to Almightie God my maker and redeemer, and my body to be buryed in the sepulture of my ancestors within the parish church of Clonmell" *(u)*. This James was, it seems, the last buried within the ancestral "sepulture." Nineteen years before, on the death of Queen Elizabeth, Catholic service had been performed in the church, and Father James White, Vicar Apostolic of Waterford, had offered Mass there. But in the interval Protestantism had become firmly established. St. Mary's had passed irrevocably from the Catholics, and the Whites would not commit their bodies to desecrated soil. Accordingly on the death of Nicholas, the head of the family, in 1622, his widow began the erection of a mortuary chapel immediately adjoining the south aisle, the old place of interment. This appears to have been completed 10th May, 1623, and on 23rd December following, the body was exhumed and re-interred in the new chapel. A manuscript of 1813 in the Public Record Office, gives the following account of the White Chapel.

In the summer of 1805 the chapel belonging to the White family (the ancient proprietors of Clonmel) which joined the south-west corner [of the church], was thrown down. This chapel was built upon vaults, and against its southern wall inside was erected the family tomb and monument in form of a Roman Catholic Altar, at which, it is said, their chaplain was accustomed to celebrate Mass. About ten feet from the ground and over the tomb, was the arms of the Whites—an escutcheon bearing three roses and the following distich,

ET TRIAS EST NUMERO ET NATURA EST UNA COLORUM
EN UBI PRÆSIDIUM VITUS ET ARMA LOCAT.

(s) Prerogative Wills, P.R.O.
(t) Ibid.
(u) Ibid.

Below this were ornaments of stone work like a canopy, on small marble pillars and in the centre a long Latin inscription. Nothing remains now of this chapel but the tomb and vaults beneath, the stones bearing these inscriptions together with several other of its ornaments having being conveyed to a place called Patrick's Well about a mile to the west of Clonmel to mend an old Roman Catholic Church for several years in ruins in a most romantic valley on the estate of Simmons Sparrow Esq. *(v)*.

To a recent writer we owe a more graceful if less detailed description.

At the south-west corner of the present church of St. Mary, a little ecclesiastical edifice, in correct architectural style, stood for centuries, and was known as the private chapel of the White family. It cannot be more than seventy or eighty years since its removal, after it had become unroofed, and had fallen into complete decay. The appearance it presented in its ruined stage, was described to us not long since by one who remembered to have looked when a boy through its broken windows. He saw the long grass and rank vegetation that choked up the interior, hiding partly from view the richly sculptured tombs and tablets which, in silent language, seemed to tell the old, old story—"Sic transit gloria mundi"! Some of these monuments were carried off to enrich other buildings, while the western window in the present porch of St. Mary's, once lighted the ancient chapel of the Whites *(w)*.

From the foregoing accounts, and the fragments existing at St. Patrick's Well, there can be no difficulty in reconstructing the mortuary chapel with its altar-tomb. The chapel apparently ran north and south; its southern gable being "blind," light was obtained from triple Tudor windows in the sides. The hood-moulding of these windows terminated in fleur-de-lys and the characteristic rose of the Whites. The altar, standing against the southern gable, consisted of a table or slab which was supported in front by four cylindrical columns on shallow bases and bearing three semi-circular arches. Forming the reredos was the large inscribed stone with scrolls at the sides. This supported a slab of similar size divided into three panels on which are cut in low relief, the Virgin and Child, the Crucifixion and the Ascension respectively. Crowning the whole was the deep sunk panel containing the family arms and motto before described. On each side of the panel were placed the classic finials which at present rest on the altar table. One third of the inscribed slab is occupied by the sacred monogram in large interlaced text. In the centre of this is reproduced in minute form the same monogram. It

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(v) Here follows a description of the well. "There is a very excellent mineral spring and a well which is celebrated for curing sore lips, sore eyes, the scrofula and several other chronic diseases either by drinking or washing in the stream that issues from it. This the Roman Catholics say was made by St. Patrick on his visit to the sacred spot and [they] attribute the healing qualities of these impregnated waters to the power and sanctity of its patron. Thousands flock here in summer time from all places around to pilgrimage in the stream with bare legs in order to wash away their sins and exempt them from the burning flames of purgatory."—Monk Mason Survey of Ireland. Parish of St. Mary's, Clonmel.

(w) Mr. William Clarke in *Clonmel Chronicle*, October, 1877.

would appear that this is a sort of heraldic way of symbolising the widow and heir as founders. The inscription which occupies the remaining two thirds of the stone is as follows:—

Hic Jacet D. Nicolaus White
Armiger, vir pietate constantia mansuetudine
et integritate morum conspicuus et amabilis
obiit 30 die Augusti Ao. Dni. 1622 ejus corpus
ex antecessorum capella quae borealem sacelli
hujus partem respicit in hoc monumentum
22 die Decembris Ao. Dni. 1623 Translatum est
cujus animae propitietur Deus.

Sacellum hoc s. nomini Jesu ejusque genitrici B. Mariae Virgini
dicatum construxerunt in perpetuam dicti Nicolai memoriam Barbara White uxor ejus vidua et Henricus
White filius ejus et haeres.

The White arms are carved in bold relief—a chevron engrailed between three roses, two and one. Round the shield is stiff conventional foliage, the tendrils pendant at the sides being wound into double true-lovers knots. The crest is a dexter arm in armour, couped at the shoulder, grasping a branch with three roses. Underneath in Roman letters is the motto which, it may be observed, is divisible into two verses, a hexameter and a pentameter. The following is a translation of the motto and inscription:—

[*Motto.*]

Trinity in number. Unity in colour.
Herein White puts his faith and his arms.

[*Inscription.*]

Here lies Mr. Nicholas White, Esquire,
A man known and beloved
For his piety, staunchness, refinement and excellence of character;
He died 30th day of August, in the year of our Lord 1622.
His body, on the 22nd day of December, in the year of Our Lord 1623,
Was brought to this monument
From the chantry of his ancestors which faces the north side of this chapel.
May God have mercy on his soul.

Barbara White, his widow, and Henry White, his son and heir,
Have built this chapel as a perpetual memorial of the said Nicholas,
And dedicated it to the holy name of Jesus and of His Mother
the Blessed Virgin Mary.

On the left of the reconstructed altar at St. Patrick's Well is a panel with the White arms, beneath which is a skull and cross bones and the motto "Memento Mori" (Remember Death). Carved on the edge is "10 Maii 1623," the probable date of the completion of the chapel.

Within the south aisle of St. Mary's, the ancient "sepulture" of the Whites, a tomb of the family, may still be seen. It now forms part of the floor, but doubtless was once inserted in the side wall. Its presence there is due to the fact that it covered the remains of a member of the family interred when the Catholics again had possession of the old church, 1641–50. The flag measures about six by three and a half feet. It has the usual floriated cross, and ranged along each side are rudely carved symbols of the Passion, the scourges, pillar, spear, ladder, seamless robe, etc. There are two escutcheons—one charged with the White arms and the initials I.W.; the other shows a lion passant gardant on a chief indented—initials T.C. The inscription which is carried round the edge reads:—

Johannes gelido jacet sub hoc marmore Vitus
Charaque Johannae conjugis ossa piae
Bis Major Wentworth primum prorege secundum
Catholici subiente foedere martis
obiit 26 Augusti 1643.

[*Translation.*]

John White lies beneath this icy marble,
As also the bones of his beloved wife Johanna,
He was Mayor twice.
First, during the viceroyalty of Wentworth.
Second, at the beginning of the Catholic confederate war.
He died 26 August 1643 *(x)*.

Besides the Whites, most of the other Clonmel families had their burial places within the church. Among these were Walls, Barons, Leynachs, Daniels, Stritches and Brennocks. Patrick Wall fitz Piers in 1641 wills "my boddy to be buried in my auncestors monument within the parish church of Clonmell." Richard Leynaghe in 1627, "my boddye to be burried in our Laddye Churche in Clomell." James Brennock in 1676, "my body to be buried in the Parish church of Clonmell in my auncestors grave according the rites of the holly church." A few of their inscribed tombs are still existing. One of the oldest is that of the O'Donnells, or Daniells, as they came to be afterwards styled.

Hic jacet Terentius O'Donel qui obiit 4 Martii 1583
et ejus uxor Elena White quae obiit 24 Aprili 1591
Eorum filii hunc tumulum fieri fecerunt Aº Dⁱ 1592
Quibus sit propitius Omnipotens Amen.

(x) The last member of the White family buried in the mortuary chapel was probably Ellen Comerford *nee* White, who in her will dated 23rd August, 1748, states "I desire to be beryed in ye Whites Chapell. If no roume there, I leave foretteen pounds for a toume stone."

[*Translation.*]

Here lies Terence O'Donel who died 4 March 1583
And his wife Ellen White who died 24 April 1591
Their children had this monument erected A.D. 1592
May the Almighty be merciful to them. Amen.

This tomb is a huge limestone flag about six feet by four. The usual cross fleury fills the centre, on either side of which are blank escutcheons. Similar in size and character is the Barron tomb which lies close to it.

Hic jacet Galfridus Barron
qui obiit 22 Martii Aº Dni 1601.
Et Bellina White uxor ejus qui hunc tumulum fieri fecerit
Aº Dni 1605 et obiit Aº Dni 1610
Quorum animabus propitietur Deus.

[*Translation.*]

Here lies Geoffry Barron
Who died 22 March A.D. 1601
And Beale White his wife who had this tomb erected
A.D. 1605 and who died 1610
On whose souls may God have mercy.

The arms of the husband and wife are placed on each side of the inscribed cross. Those of the former are two lions passant. They point, therefore, to an origin of the Barrons different to that set down in the family genealogy, viz., that they are a branch of the Fitzgeralds.

In the corner of the south aisle is the fine tomb of the Stritches :—

Hic jacet Joannes Stritche burgensis hujus oppidi
Qui obiit 25 Maii 1622.
Et Margareta Daniel alias Smithe uxor ejus
Quae hoc monumentum superstes
In memoriam dicti Joannis fieri fecit Aº Dni 1625
Quae obiit
Quorum animabus propitietur Deus.

[*Translation.*]

Here lies John Stritche, a burgess of this town,
Who died 25 May 1622.
And Margaret Daniel alias Smithe, his wife, who surviving him
Had this monument erected in the year of Our Lord 1625,
In memory of the said John.
She died ———
May God have mercy on their souls.

This tomb which is of Kilkenny marble, is in excellent preservation; the date of the wife's death was never inserted.

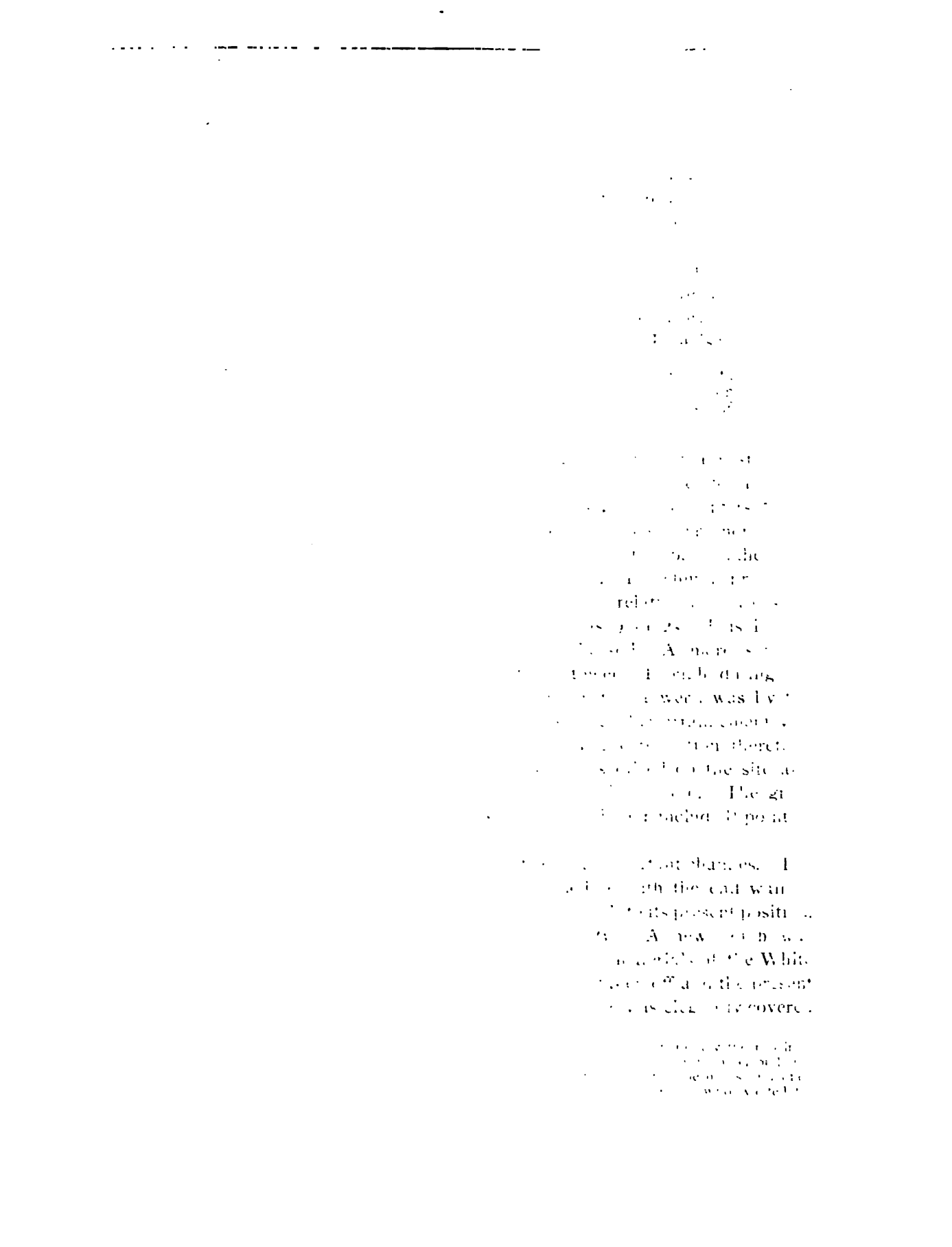
Besides these there are in different parts of the church and cemetery, about ten coffin slabs dating from the thirteenth century onward. With the exception of a fifteenth century tomb, none of them appear to have borne inscriptions. Opposite the south door is a square flag with large Roman letters rudely carved "N. L. ET SOCII VII." the period and meaning of which must be left to conjecture. These are all the sepulchral remains of old St. Mary's. But that they are so few, is less a matter for surprise than that they are so many. The following extract from the Vestry Book is instructive.

1779, 5 April. Ordered that the tombstones which were surreptiously taken out of the Churchyard of this parish, be sold by the Churchwardens and the money arising therefrom to be paid to the widow Gearin, after first paying the expense of removing and recovering the said stones, no owners appearing for the same.

The late fourteenth century church existed in its integrity almost to our own day. Its dimensions were, nave 96, choir 50 feet, total length 146 feet internally. The nave was 23 feet wide, with aisles 9 feet each, piers 2 feet 9 inches, giving a total width in the clear 46 feet 6 inches. The north aisle was 103 feet long and contained five bays. There were four bays in the south aisle, the fifth space being occupied by the tower. The church presented some peculiarities worthy of note. The first was the relative narrowness of the aisles, their proportion to the nave being as 9 to 23. This is also observable, though to a lesser extent, in Athassell. A more striking peculiarity however, was the position of the tower. Though during the Romanesque period, the normal place for the tower or towers, was by the side of the choir at its junction with the nave, yet this arrangement was rarely if ever copied by the Gothic builders. The explanation therefore, seems to be that the fourteenth century tower was raised on the site and partly on the walls of a south transept of the earlier church. The great dimensions of the basement of the tower, (27 feet, batter included) point to the same conclusion.

In 1805 the ancient structure underwent several important changes. The east gable of the choir which originally was in a line with the end wall of the old vicar's house (the present vestry), was set back to its present position, thus shortening the choir by twenty-nine feet *(y)*. A new porch was constructed at the west end, in great part out of the materials of the White mortuary chapel. The top storey of the tower was taken off and the present octangular pile raised on it. Finally the whole fabric was elegantly covered

(y) The original intention of the Vestry authorities appears to have been merely the repair of the old chancel. "1805 November 22. Chancel to be repaired to correspond with the other building, to erect battlements thereon and put two large windows therein instead of the side lights and open the lower part of the end window." But they probably employed an architect who wanted his percentage.





WHITE'S ALTAR TOMB.

with a coat of roughcast and limewash *(z)*. Internally the most notable change was the removal of the gallery belonging to the "patron" of the town, which was placed on the north side of the church *(aa)*. The Corporation gallery which occupied the corresponding position on the south side, was also removed. But fortunately the most valuable memorials of the post-Reformation church—the bells, were spared. These were four in number and were thus inscribed:—

No. 1. Ex dono RDI Chr. Patr. DD. HUG. Gower Quond. de Waterfd: et Lism. Ep. Tobias Covey fudit 1697.

[*Translation.*—The gift of the Reverend Father in Christ, Doctor of Divinity, Hugh Gower, sometime Bishop of Waterford and Lismore. Tobias Covey, founder 1697.]

No. 2. The gift of S^{r} JOHN MEADE, S^{r} THOMAS OSBORNE, JO. PERRY, RICHARD MOORE, CHARLES ALCOCKE, Esquires. T. C. Fudit 1697.

No. 3. THOS. BATTY, MAYR., THOMAS MOAKES, HERCULES BEERE BAYLIVES. T. C. 1697 Clonmel.

No. 4. Ex dono Rd. Doct. D. SAMUEL LADYMAN Quond. de Clonm. Vic. TOBIAS COVEY Fudit 1697 Clonmel.

[*Translation.*—The gift of the Rev. Samuel Ladyman Doctor of Divinity, sometime Vicar of Clonmel. Tobias Covey, Founder 1697. Clonmel.] *(bb)*.

In 1857 the church was almost entirely rebuilt from designs by Mr. Welland, architect of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. The only parts of the old work surviving in the present building are the east and west windows, the chancel arch, the lower storey of the tower, the walls of the aisles and the three-light window of the porch, which once belonged to the White mortuary chapel *(cc)*.

As Clonmel was a De Burgh foundation, its parish church was associated from the earliest period with the great Augustinian priory built by that family at Athassel.

William de Burc to all men to whom the present deed comes, greeting.

Be it known that I have granted, and by this present charter confirmed to God and Saint Edmund, to the prior and community of Athissel, all tithes and ecclesiastical

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(z) Pigott's Directory of Clonmel 1821 records "the interior boasts an elegant simplicity and possesses an excellent organ, the exterior corresponds with the rest of the town in appearance, being roughcast and white washed."

(aa) This with the rest of the patronage was transferred by Lord Mountcashel to John Bagwell 6th June 1801.

(bb) Monk Mason Survey, P.R.O., describing St. Mary's tower states "At present (1813) there are five very large bells in it, containing a very considerable quantity of silver, cast more than half a century ago at the expense of the Corporation, etc., these bells are at present in very bad order."

(cc) The basin of the ancient font of St. Mary's is now at the Franciscan House. It is of local sandstone, and its style Romanesque. Like most of the early 13th century fonts, it is square in shape with engaged pillars at the corners. Its dimensions are, sides 24½ inches, depth 15 inches, diameter of cup 21 inches, depth 9 inches.

benefices of Kylfiecle and their appurtenances; also all those of Lysrotherath [Lisronagh], as well as those of Clonmel and Kilsheelan; the whole land which I have given to Adam de Carrew, the whole land held by Adam de Penbrok, Kilmore and Lisbryn with all their belongings. Wherefore I wish and firmly enjoin that the said Canons shall hold the foresaid lands and all other benefices well and peacefully, freely and entirely as in "free, perpetual, pure alms," in everything which relates to tithes or the church, Witness Theobald Badd of Haviter, Baldwin Black, Walter Archdeacon, William Fitz Richard and many others *(dd)*.

It would appear, however, that at the time when the De Burghs exchanged to Ulster, and Clonmel was in the hands of the king, the abbot of Dunbrody set up a claim to these benefices, alleging probably a grant prior to the De Burgh settlement in Tipperary.

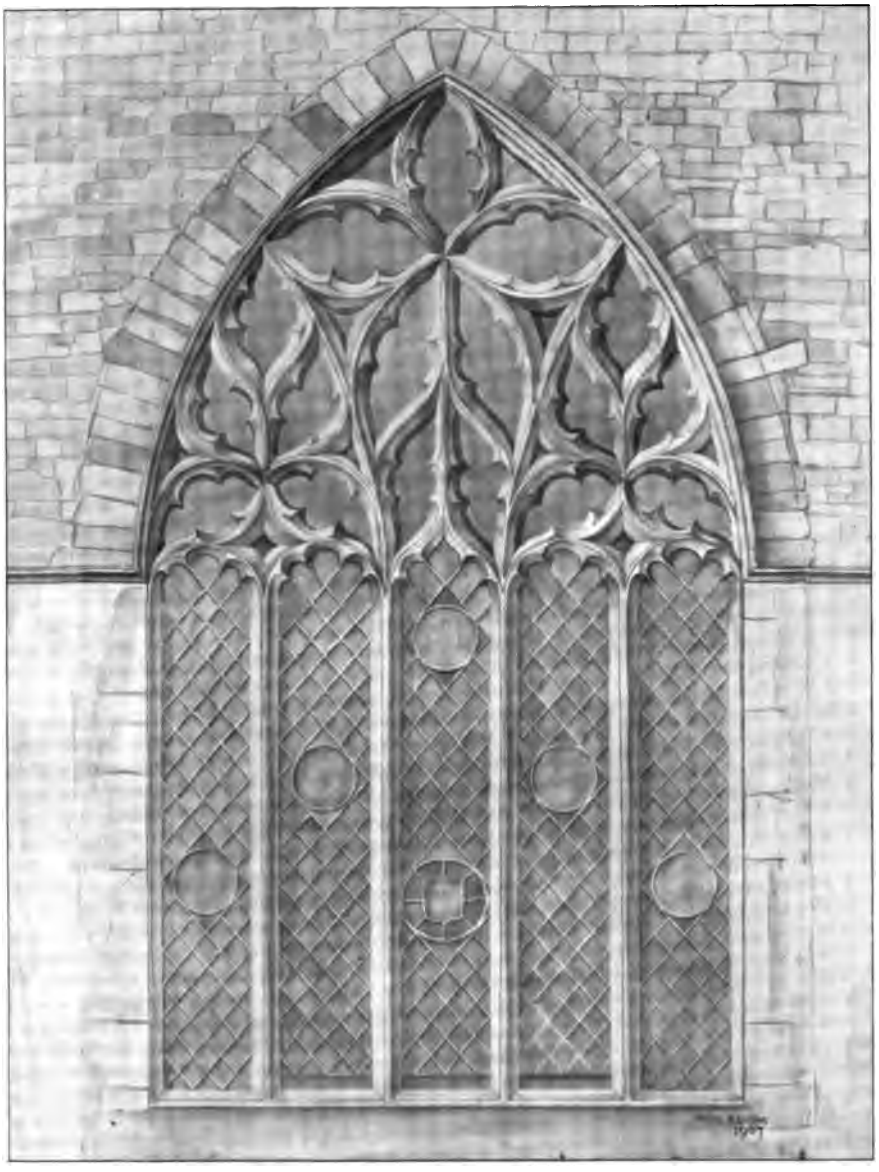
Brother Hubert, Prior of the House of St. Edmund of Athissell and Community, to all the faithful in Christ who shall see or hear these letters read, greeting for ever in the Lord.

We make known to you all, that whereas for a long time a law suit has been carried on between us and the Abbot and Brethren of the Port or St. Mary [Dunbrody] of the Cistercian Order in the diocese of Ferns, concerning the churches and benefices of Clonmel, Lysrotheran and Kylmoryssin with their appurtenances; which suit was pleaded before the Venerable Nicholas, then archdeacon of Ferns, principal judge delegated by the Pope, with his sub-delegates, on the one part and before Lord Alan [de la Zouche, Chief Judiciary 1255–9] likewise, on the other part. Wherefore the suit was settled between us on these conditions; that we for the sake of peace, and to avoid daily labour and expense, covenant to pay for ourselves and successors, to the said Abbot and Brethren and their successors sixty and eight shillings yearly of good money out of our chamber, which payment is to be made in their House by us or our messangers, one moiety at the Purification of the Blessed Virgin next to come, the other moiety at the Chains of St. Peter beginning in the year twelve hundred and fifty six *(ee)*.

The prior of Athassel was therefore rector or parish priest of the town, the Augustinian canon who actually discharged the duties of the parish being "Vicar of Clonmel." This arrangement continued down to the Reformation. Whether there were other priests attached to St. Mary's on chantries or mass foundations does not appear. The small clergy house (now the vestry), built in the fifteenth century at the north-east angle of the church, would indicate that the vicar himself was equal to all the requirements of the parish. Yet his stipend was a very modest one; in the Taxation of Pope Nicholas, 1306, it is set down at £9 6s. yearly. The other revenue of the parish, being two-thirds of the whole, was transmitted to the prior of Athassel. An inquisition held "on the next Wednesday after the feast of St. Patrick" 5 Edward VI. (1551), into the possessions of Athassel, found that the "rectory of Clonmel was worth £18 yearly, that Nicholas (Comyn) Bishop of Lismore and his

(dd) This, which is found in a Plea Roll 28 Ed. I. (1300), is probably an exemplification of an earlier grant. The Burkes had ceased all connection with Clonmel from about 1250, and the "William de Burc" is William fitz Adelm, founder of Athassel.

(ee) MS. T.C.D., F. I., 16.



CHANCEL WINDOW, OLD ST. MARY'S.

From Drawing by Miss Collins.

predecessors, in right of said see, had out of the said rectory 8s. 10½d. yearly, procuration fees, that the archdeacon of Lismore in right of said archdeaconry had 4s. 2½d. yearly, visitation fees" *(ff)*. The connection of Athassel with Clonmel is still traceable in the local topography; yet few realize that with the name "Prior Park" are associated memories that go back many centuries even to the very infancy of the town *(gg)*.

At the Reformation though the possessions of Athassel were granted in fee to Thomas, Earl of Ormond *(hh)*, yet that rapacious nobleman did not obtain complete control of Clonmel rectory. The earliest lease was one made to Bartholomew Cusack for 21 years, 18th April, 1551. Similar leases were made to Ormond, 8th December, 1570, 28th August, 1582, and February 11th, 1596. On the expiry of this last, King's Letters of 25th January, 1605, directed a further lease for 61 years to Viscount Tullophelim *(ii)*. Finally in 1683 (4 Nov. 33 Chas. II.), the rectory was granted to Hugh Gore in trust for the clergy, together with all tithes and appurtenances. The advowson of the vicarage seems to have become vested in the corporation probably by papal grant. A royal commission of 1588 set down as patron "Corporaco de Clonmel" *(jj)*. Some church endowments also remained in possession of the corporation.

(ff) Inquisitions, Tipperary P.R.O.

(gg) Inquisition taken in Clonmel 19 September, 1589, found that Edmund Butler, late Archbishop of Cashel, and Commendatory Prior of St. Edmund the Martyr at Athassel, before the dissolution of the said monastery was seized in right of said priory, of one messuage and appurtenances in Clonmel where at present Beale White, Widow, and Victor White fitz James are living, which messuage extends lengthwise from the street in the north to the Suir in the south; of four gardens —one lying at Lough Gate, east of Barior, two others west of Lough Gate and Barior, the fourth extending from Walter Wall's land on the west to the Royal Road on the east; of a piece of land in Richards Park from the Royal Road on the east to the land of Henry White on the west; of a piece of land called Priors Park extending from the land of Henry White on the north, to Richard White's land on the south, and from the highway on the west to the land of Henry White on the east; of three acres lying west of the Cashel Road adjoining Henry White's lands; of two acres and a stang in the north part of Bwolicke called Bwoin; of a stang alongside the Fethard Road in the east; all which possessions the said prior with the consent of the community previous to the dissolution of the priory by deed under the monastic seal bearing date 8 August, 1538, granted to James White of Clonmel, merchant, and his assigns for the term of one hundred years reserving a certain rent.

It would be interesting to know how much of this old church property could now be identified.

(hh) Letters Patent, Dublin, 16 Sept., 5 and 6 Philip and Mary.

(ii) Fiants Edward VI. and Elizabeth. State Papers Jas. I. The following report on the rectory and vicarage was drawn up 20th June, 1805, by Rev. Thomas May, Incumbent, and John Harvey and Thomas Gorman, Churchwardens, "The rectory and vicarage of Clonmel consists of Incumbent money levied on the Houses in the town agreably to the Act of Chas. II., likewise of the Tythes of the following articles, Wheat, Oats, Barley, Potatoes, Fleses and Lamb, out of the following Town lands in said parish Gortmalogue, Ardhavan, Bawnaud, last of Pontown, Isoglaimer all in the county of Tipperary, Raheens Shaw, Croan, Powlbee, Kilgeany, Poulnafenouge, Glinigal, Knocklucas, Bohernauske, Glenary, Gliniros, Glinilough, Linerarl, all in the county of Waterford. To above parish is annexed portion of Glebe ground bounded on the North by corporation ground, on the South by ground known by Bickets v. Walsh, on the West by Clonmel, on the East by corporation ground. No. 2, bounded by corporation ground on the North, on the South by the land of Clonmel, in the West by the church, in the East by Raheen. No. 3, bounded by the Town wall on the North, on the South by land called Mr. Howard and Brennock's garden, on the West by church Lane, on the East by Johnson's garden. No. 4, on the North by the churchyard, on the South by Long's garden, on the West by the town wall, on the East by Long's garden. No. 3 and 4 in the town of Clonmell."

(jj) M.S., T.C.D.—E. 3, 14.

An inquisition held in Cashel in the County of the Cross of Tipperary 11 April 21 Elizabeth (1578), before John Crofton, found that Lady Eleanor Butler, relict of the late Thomas Butler, lord of Cahir, during her lifetime, that is to say twenty years ago, was seized in fee of a castle called Ballycadam alias Adamstown [Ballymacadam] and of three acres of land, great measure, in the County of the Cross of Tipperary and while so seized, granted the said castle and lands to the Church of Blessed Mary of Clonmell and the priest serving therein, "in pure and perpetual alms" contrary to the Statute of Mortmain. That for the space of twenty years past, the provost and commonalty of the said town of Clonmel have received the rents and profits but by what right, deponents know not *(kk)*.

The Catholic vicars of St. Mary's, were accordingly nominated by the corporation until the Cromwellian period. When the corporation was no longer Catholic a body of laymen belonging to the old burgher families, was constituted the "Confraternity of the Blessed Virgin, of Clonmel." This body nominated the vicars down to 1755, when Rev. William Egan was appointed parish priest.

PARISH PRIESTS.

SIR NICHOLAS FITZ HENRY *(ll)* was born 1446, and was vicar of Clonmel about 1470 onwards. He retired in extreme old age and was still living in 1526.

SIR PIERS WHITE. At his request on 2nd July, 1526, an enquiry was held into the legitimacy of Thomas Levet, canon of Holy Trinity, Dublin. Levet was a native of Clonmel and the evidence was taken in St. Mary's church before four priests, two clerks and a notary public *(mm)*.

SIR THOMAS CLERE. His name appears in a State Paper 1565.

WILLIAM PRENDERGAST. He was at first, it would appear, Catholic vicar of St. Mary's. But during his time the Protestants took possession of the church and he conformed. The royal visitors of 1588, before whom he appeared, confirmed him in the office, and also in the Treasurership of Lismore Cathedral *(nn)*. He lived to an old age, and his end we learn from a letter of Fr. Hollywood to the general of the Jesuits, 29th January, 1605.

(kk) Inquisitions, Tipperary P.R.O. The later history of Ballymacadam is interesting. At the Restoration the Corporation recovered the place with some difficulty. In 1707 the Corporation appears to have undertaken certain trusts under the will of Dr. Samuel Ladyman, Protestant vicar, and Ballymacadam was conveyed to his representatives, as security for carrying out the trusts. Such is the purport of certain deeds among the Tipperary Palatine Records (P.R.O.) The most important is one dated 18 April, 1707. Robert Foulke of Clonmel, esq., and John Ladyman of Ballywalter, gent., grant to the Mayor, etc., of Clonmel, Ballymacadam, to hold for 9,999 years and for ever after, at a rent of £10 per annum. But if the Mayor, etc. do pay the sum of 50s. on 1 January and 50s. on 1 June every year, to the churchwardens of Clonmel parish (in accordance with provisions of Dr. Ladyman's will), and do also for the next 9 years, pay to Mr. John Walkington £5 a year, for teaching 10 poor children, and at the end of said 9 years, for ever after on 29 September, pay said £5 to said churchwardens for same purpose, that then such payments shall be deemed sufficient payment of said rent of £10.

(ll) "Sir" was the term applied before the Reformation to priests who were not university graduates.—Fuller Church History.

(mm) Public Records, 24 Report, p. 129.

(nn) M.S. E. 3, 14.—T.C.D.

A priest named William Prendergast had lived about sixty years in apostacy with a wife and children, and held many ecclesiastical benefices. He had been a great persecutor of the Catholics, but towards the end of his life he held converse with one of our Fathers and was converted. Having done public penance he received the Holy Viaticum and passed out of life to the great edification of everyone *(oo)*.

RICHARD MORRIS. He took the place of Prendergast on the latter turning Protestant. A solitary reference to him is obtainable from Catholic sources *(pp)*. But he can be traced for more than sixteen years in the reports of spies and Government officials *(qq)*. The last notice of him occurs in the Observations of Sir John Davys, Attorney General, Clonmel, May 4th, 1606.

My Lord President (Brounker)—whose zeal in matters of religion, tempered with good moderation, doth merit very much consideration—was desirous that a priest, one James [*sic*] Morice who was lately before apprehended, should have been indicted for publishing a slanderous and seditious bull, though without all question it be a forged and counterfeit thing, as you may perceive by the copy, which I have presumed to send to you herewith, albeit perhaps you have received it already. Before we would conceive any indictment hereupon, we thought meet to examine the evidence, which we found not to be ripe enough because the parties that should make the direct proof were not present, and therefore we deferred this business until another session *(rr)*.

WILLIAM CASEY. In the "Bibliotheca Scriptorum Capucinorum" (Geneva, 1691), is found the following notice:—"William O'Cahasa, an Irishman, Perpetual Vicar of Clonmel, a learned man, [wrote]—

The Dictionary of Anthony Nebrisensis, enriched with suppliments according to the Madrid edition of 1635.

He wrote also a work entitled—

An Apologetic Vindication of the Subtle Doctor.

This was approved of in 1638 for publication, according to Samaniego in his Life of the Subtle Doctor, Bk. 4, c. 9 (John à S. Antonio)."

THOMAS WHITE. A chalice still in use at St. Mary's Catholic church, bears the inscription :—

MARIA BRENOCK VIDUA, ME DICAVIT ECCLESIÆ B. MA. DE CLONMEL.
THOMAS WHITE VICARIO, AN. DNI. 1638.

Probably no parish priest of Clonmel, not even Father Morris himself, had a more chequered career. In 1641 the Catholics for the second time since they had been driven out in the reign of Elizabeth, took possession of the old church of St. Mary's. Nine years later the town was surrendered to Cromwell,

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(oo) Hibernia Ignatiana, p. 156.
(pp) Triumphalia Sanct., Crucis. 1602.
(qq) See Chapter III., *passim*.
(rr) State Papers, Jas. I.

and White had to flee for his life. Yet not far; for in 1661 we find him living in the Irishtown disguised as a servant. The Pole Money returns of that year have—

James Brenocke,	...	Yeoman	...	14s.
Katherine „	...	his wife	...	2s.
John Coffee	...	his servt.	...	2s.
Juan fitz James	...	servant	...	2s.
Thomas White	...	servant	...	2s.

He died in 1664, and his will which is dated 13th December, 1658, is as follows:—

To the honnor of God and of his moste holly Mother Mary, our ever Blessed Lady, I give herewith to her church being the parish church of Clonmell the sum of eighteen pounds and two shillings ster. eight pounds two shillings thereof now in the hands of my much esteemed friends Mr. James Brenock and his good and honest wife Catherine White fitz Nicholas, and alsoe them both or either of them to reeeive in my name from my good frinds Mr. James Everard and his loveing wife Anstas Donogho four pounds and ten shillings ster. from Mr. Richard Cor. fitz John four pounds and Mr. Mealmurry moc swyny four pounds more, or from his honest wife Ellen Shea, deduced out of the whole the sum of thirty shillings for our Lady is church of Kilmurry, and twenty shillings for our lady Marys church of grangmoclerii, these fifty shillings I give toward the mending and renuing of the two Images of our Blessed Lady in her said two churches, the remainder of the said eighteen pounds to buy and erect a statua or Image in vultu of the Assumption of our Ladie in her aforesaid church of Clonmell and what church stuffs or decent ornament shalbe found most needfull for the divine service to be practized in the said church to the glory and honour of God and honour of his most holly and imaculat Mother the Blessed virgin Mary et [Blank]. I have reposed such a trust and confidence in the aforsd frinds of myn Mr. James Brenock and Catherine White his honest wiffe that they will be as carefull to expend the said money for the uses for which I leave them as I would be myselfe when the tyme shall permitt things to be done to the honnor and glory of God in that church and to the honnor of our most Blessed Lady. I rest till I gett better leasure in the interim and always I comend and comitt myselfe to the greate mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ by the intercession of his most [*sic*] mother Mary, amen.

Thomas White vr *(ss)*.

LUKE WHITE. He was born in 1637 and was the son of John White fitz Benedict, mayor during the Cromwellian siege. He was educated at Nantes where he was ordained in 1659 by Dr. Robert Barry, Bishop of Cork and Cloyne, then a refugee there. He resigned the vicarage 16th January, 1700.

EDWARD TONNERY. Born in Clonmel 1654, educated probably at Paris, where he graduated D.D. Ordained in 1677 at Kilkenny by Dr. James Phelan, Bishop of Ossory. A few years later he co-operated with Dr. Ambrose Madden of Clonfert, in establishing the Irish College of Nantes. On the foundation of the royal college at Kilkenny he was appointed one of its professors. He succeeded to the vicarage of Clonmel 1700. He died in July 1711. The following is his will:—

In the name of God. Amen. I, Edward Tonnery Parish priest in Clonmel finding myselfe weake of body and of perfect sense and memory do make my last will and

(ss) Waterford Wills, P.R.O.

testament in manner and form following. Imprimis I bequeath my soul into the hands of Almighty God who gave it me and my body to be decently buryed neare the body of John Meagher in the Churchyarde of Clonmel. Item, 2ndly I order that my debts that are justly due of me, shall be paid out of what substance I now have. Item, 3rdly I bequeath to each Roman Catholicke priest of this Diocese of Lismore and to such others as my Executors think fitt three british crowns to each of them in consideration of twelve masses to be celebrated by each of them for my soul besides the months mind and anniversary. Item, 4ly I bequeath to Dr. John Day four pistolls. Item, 5ly I bequeath to Dr. Callinan three pistolls. Item, 6ly I bequeath to Dr. Yong one pistoll. Item, 7ly I bequeath to Derby Lonergan one pistoll or more at discretion. Item, 8ly my funeral expenses to be paid out of my present substance and also the expenses of the months mind and anniversary at discretion. Item, 9ly I bequeath my interest in my present house and garden vnto my brother Peter Tonnery with all my household stuff with my wearing cloathes and the bay horse with my boots, bridle and saddle. Item, 10ly I bequeath my watch, books and what gold and silver will remain after the aforesd charges and they shall be equally divided between my brothers Thomas and Pierce Tonnery. Item, 11ly I bequeath all my priestly ornaments and vestments for the use of the Roman Catholic Chapple of Clonmell and the blew vestment to Madam Jolly if she shall call for it (*tt*). Item, 12ly I bequeath to my servant Catherine fitz Patrick forty shillings ster. Item, 13ly I bequeath to the Roman Catholic Poor of the parish six pounds sterling. Item, 14ly I doe appoint and nominate Father Thomas Grace, Mr. Richard Stritch, Mr. Nicholas White, Mr. ffrancis Morony my Executors and that they shall have power to determine all differences between my brothers or any other persons comprised or concerned in the within mentioned will, which I doe hereby declare to be my last will and testament. As witness my hand and seal the 14th of July 1711.

Edward Tonnery (*uu*).

THOMAS ALOYSIUS HENNESSY. He was born in Clonmel, June 10th, 1677; entered the Jesuits February 13th, 1700; professed of the four vows August 15th, 1706; "came to Clonmel in 1712, and worked there to the great good of the flock, and great satisfaction of the Bishop who had given all faculties; he has converted some Protestants; is a learned man of sound judgment" (*vv*). A friend of his wrote 1st January, 1713, that he had sailed for Ireland "ready to undergo every danger." The anticipation was fulfilled, for during the forty years of his life in Clonmel, he had more than once to go into hiding, and at any time was liable to the penalties of high treason. The report of a spy who noted him on his arrival has been already given, but he long received similar attentions. In the Jesuit correspondence, to evade identification, he passed under the name of "Quades." He seems, however, to have impressed the Clonmel authorities as favourably as he did his own superiors. In 1727 the lease of the "Mass House" was renewed by the Corporation, while two years later he became provincial of the Irish

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(*tt*) Madam Jolly was wife to Robert Jolly of Knockelly. Her daughter was married to Cornelius O'Callaghan "the Counsellor," ancestor of the Lords Lismore.

(*uu*) Waterford Wills, P.R.O.

(*vv*) Catalogue of Irish Province by E. Hogan, S.J., p. 62.

Jesuits *(ww)*. The Protestant interest being declared to be in danger, a committee of the Irish House of Lords was appointed in 1731 to collect evidence on the "state of popery in this kingdom." The mayor of Clonmel sent the following return :—

To the Right Honorable the Lords Committee appointed to enquire into the present state of Popery in this kingdom, and to prepare such Heads of Bills as they shall think most proper to prevent the growth of Popery and to secure this kingdom from any danger that may happen from the greater number of Papists in this Nation.

May it please your Lordships.

In obedience to your Lordships Order of the sixth November instant, and to me directed, I humbly lay before your Lordships the following account viz. there is one large reputed Mass House in the West Suburbs of this Town of Clonmel, some part built before the reign of King George the first, and then was thatched, and some large additional buildings made thereto since, which Mass House has been since the said first year of His said Majestie King George the first, repaired and all slated and very much improved with three large gallereys therein. There is no other Mass House or reputed Mass House in said Towne, Subburbs, or Liberties thereof. I find on the strictest Inquiry that the five following persons officiate in the said Mass House (viz.) Thomas Hennessy, Patrick Fitzgerald, John Leo, Michael Dwyer, and James Walsh, that the said Thomas Hennessy is the reputed Popish Parish Priest, the said Patrick Fitzgerald his assistant, and the said Leo, Dwyer, and Walsh, are Fryers, or reputed so. I do not find they [*sic*] are any private Popish Chappels or Nunnerys in this town or Liberties thereof. But I do finde there is a Popish Fryery in the West Subburbs of the said Towne, wherein the above Fryers live and cohabit. There is but one Private Popish Schoolemaster as I can finde in the said Towne, whose name is Cornelius Lynch, and goes from house to house to instruct Popish children. All which is most humbly submitted to your Lordshipps by your Lordshipps' most obedient humble servant

JAMES CASTELL, Mayor of Clonmel *(xx)*.

The old chapel, of which such precise glimpses are afforded, did not offend the critical eye of Smith, the historian of Waterford, who writes in 1740:—

The Romanists have a very neat Mass House pleasantly situated on the side of the Suir and adorned with a grove of trees, it being a few years ago splendidly rebuilt with many others in Munster by large contributions raised in Spain *(yy)*.

The "neat Mass House" as it appeared in its last stage about seventy years ago, is thus described by an old resident :—

It was separated from the street by a range of houses. Through these a steep narrow lane led across the chapel grounds to a flight of seven steps which brought one down to the door in the north transept. The chapel was T shaped and low: its dimensions may be gathered from the fact that the present Church of St. Mary was built and roofed, thus perfectly enclosing it; so that mass was celebrated in the old building on one Sunday and in the new, the next Sunday. It ran east and west and unlike the present Church made no pretension to architecture. It contained three

(ww) The following notices of the "Mass House" are found in the Corporation Minute Books:— "23 June 1758 Ordered that a lease of 31 years to commence last March be made to Michael Fitz Patrick and Patrick Brenock of that part of the Mass House belonging to said Corporation at twenty shillings a yeare, being the old rent payd for the same." On 24th June, 1789, a fine was paid for the renewal (for 31 years) of the land demised to John Brenock. 24th June, 1810, a lease was ordered of "that part of the chapel and poor houses" belonging to the Corporation to John Bagwell for ever at £1 per annum. It does not appear that this lease was ever executed.

(xx) Parliamentary Return, No. 135, P.R.O.

(yy) Smith MSS., R.I.A.

galleries which were reached by stone stairs on the outside of the building. It was lighted by long, circular-headed windows. As the floor was seven or eight feet below the present level, not unfrequently divine service was suspended by floods from the river.

Father Hennessy died April 14th, 1752. In his will which is dated 28th November, 1751, he desires his "burial may be most frugall" and bequeaths £10 each, to his brother William and his sisters, Mary and Catherine. "Mr." James Hennessy is named as executor and heir to the residue, while Nicholas Baron is one of the witnesses. These two were his fellow Jesuits in Clonmel at the time *(zz)*.

WILLIAM EGAN. Born in Waterford, he was baptized there 14th January, 1726. Educated in the Irish College, Seville, where he began the study of philosophy 1743. Ordained probably early in 1750, and spent some months in the parish of Holy Trinity, Waterford, that year. On the death of Fr. Hennessy, Rev. William O'Donnell obtained a papal brief collating him to the parish of Clonmel. But Rev. William Egan being nominated, in accordance with ancient custom, by the Society of St. Mary of Clonmel, appealed to Rome. The litigation in the *Curia* lasted more than two years, until 1755, when Fr. Egan was appointed.

During the period of his pastorship he conciliated the ruling classes, and was the first priest since the Reformation permitted to attend prisoners at the scaffold. He built the present presbytery of St. Mary's, where he regularly entertained the leaders of the bar on circuit. Dr. Creagh, Bishop of Waterford, being in failing health postulated for a coadjutor. Fr. Egan was named by brief dated 8th March, 1771, Bishop of Sura *in partibus*, and was consecrated in his brother's house, Taghmon, Co. Wexford, the following Pentecost. In 1792 an effort was made by some Munster bishops to have him translated to the archbishopric of Cashel, but he firmly declined. He died 22nd July, 1796, and was interred in the churchyard south of the nave of the old chapel—the site is now within the western vestry of the present church. A table tomb was placed over the remains, containing the inscription :—

I.H.S.
HIC SEPULTÆ SUNT
EXUVIÆ MORTALES
GUILELMI EGAN
WATERFORDIÆ ET LISMORENSIS
EPISCOPI DOCTI ET ILLUSTRIS
HAS UNITAS ECCLESIAS TEMPORIBUS TEMPESTUOSIS
SOLERTER PRUDENTER FIRMITERQUE
PER ANNOS 25 REXIT
OBIIT DIE 22 JULII A.D. 1796
AETATIS 75.

(zz) Waterford Wills P.R.O. The will is in Latin, but an English copy was proved.

[*Translation.*]

I.H.S.

Here lie the mortal remains of
William Egan
The learned and distinguished
Bishop of Waterford and Lismore.
In trying times for 25 years
He ruled these united dioceses
Skilfully, prudently, firmly.
He died on the 22 day of July A.D. 1796
In his 75th year.

THOMAS FLANNERY. Born at Stradbally, Co. Waterford, in 1756; entered the Irish Pastoral College, Louvain, in 1774. Ordained in 1783; appointed parish priest of Ardfinnan in 1793; administrator of Clonmel 1796–1810; parish priest of Clonmel 1810; erected SS. Peter and Paul's about 1814 as a chapel-at-ease to St. Mary's. Vicar General in 1817. He died 8th January, 1836, in the same room in St. Mary's presbytery in which he had been ordained priest 53 years before. The white marble monument has a medallion from a cast of his face taken after death; the inscription reads:—

Sacred to the Memory
of the Very Reverend Dr. Thomas Flannery
late Parish Priest of St. Mary's Clonmel,
who from the period of his ordination
in the year 1783, for the space of fifty two years,
devoted his assidious attention to the pious and
careful fulfilment of the various duties of his ministry.
Placed in the situation in which the Rev. Dr. Flannery was,
it required in the arduous times in which he lived,
much judgment and discretion to guide him on his way,
Yet in him was so fully evinced the character of a
simple, high-minded, charitable tho' unpretending
Christian minister, that not only his own congregation
but persons of all religions persuasions,
joined in their admiration of the Piety Worth and integrity
of this estimable person.
He died on the 8th January 1836
Aged 80 years.
Abi et imitare si poteris.

JOHN BALDWIN. Born in the parish of Carrickbeg, 1791; educated at Maynooth College and ordained 1817; same year appointed to curacy of St. Mary's. Arrangements for dividing the parish into equal parts had been made by Dr. Abraham, Bishop of Waterford, during the life of Dr. Flannery.



ST. MARY'S CATHOLIC CHURCH.

Fr. Baldwin appointed parish priest of the present parish of St. Mary's, 8th February, 1836. On 9th November following, plans for the erection of the present church were adopted. Building completed in 1850, and opened for public worship that year. On October 12th, 1856, the church was solemnly blessed by the Bishop of Waterford, and dedicated to the Blessed Virgin under the title of the Assumption. The entire cost of the building was borne by the parish, the money being raised mainly by the efforts of Rev. Patrick Meany, curate. The superb stucco ceiling, which cost £2000, was the gift of Mr. Nicholas Cott; Mr. William Hudson and Mary, his widow, erected the high altar at a similar cost. The design for the altar was furnished by Mr. George Goldie, of London, the sculptor being Mr. Ross. The altar of the Blessed Virgin was presented by the representatives of Mr. Patrick Quinn, and St. Joseph's altar by Mr. James Myers. The pulpit was erected as a memorial to Mr. John Prendergast, solicitor. Fr. Baldwin died 27th June, 1867; his memorial tablet is inscribed:—

I.H.S.
In Memory of the
Revd. John Baldwin
who for 19 years discharged with assiduity and edification
the onerous duties of a curate in this parish
And for nearly 32 those imposed by the responsible position of Pastor
His life was blameless and his disposition most kind
His manners gentle and unobtrusive
They who knew him best, loved and esteemed him most.
Cheerfully and generously aided by his people
And with only little assistance from others he built this church
A noble and lasting monument of his and their zeal and piety
By a happy coincidence the High Altar
attained completion as his career reached its honoured close
And the Holy Sacrifice was first offered at it
on the occasion of his interment.
He died on the 27th of June 1867, in his 76th year,
and his remains are deposited opposite the High Altar
and mid-way between both transepts.
Eternal Rest give to him O Lord,
And Let perpetual light shine upon him.

THOMAS ENGLISH. Born in the parish of Cahir, 1814; administrator of Trinity Within, Waterford, 1862–7; appointed parish priest of St. Mary's 1867; resigned parish 12th June, 1874; retired to Maitland, Australia, of which diocese he was Vicar General until his death in 1894.

EDMUND WALSH. Born in St. Patrick's, Waterford, 1816; educated at Maynooth College and ordained 1840; curate at St. Patrick's and Trinity Within 1840–1869; appointed parish priest of Gambonsfield 1869; translated to St. Mary's 12th July, 1874. During his pastorate the tower was erected at a cost of £2,800, and at death he bequeathed funds to complete the church by the portico. He died 22nd July, 1885, and is interred in front of the High altar, the tomb covering his remains bearing the following inscription :—

Of Your Charity
Pray for the soul of the Rev. Edmund P. Walsh
Who was appointed Parish Priest of St. Mary's on the 12 July 1874
And who died on 22nd July 1885 in the 69th year of his Age
And in the 44th year of his sacred ministry.
His administration of the Parish was distinguished for zeal for prudence
And devotion to the interest of the people
Confided to his care.
R.I.P.

TIMOTHY O'CONNELL. Born in Tallow, 1831; educated at Maynooth and ordained 1856; appointed parish priest of Mothel, 1885; translated to St. Mary's, Clonmel, 1886; died 8th May, 1891.

CORNELIUS FLAVIN. Translated from parish of Ardfinnan, May, 1891.

PATRICK SPRATT. Translated from Cappoquin, August, 1906.

PARISH PRIESTS, SS. PETER AND PAUL'S.

MICHAEL BURKE. Born in parish of Kilsheelan, 1789; educated at Maynooth College and ordained 1817; appointed first parish priest of SS. Peter and Paul's 8th February, 1836; an eloquent speaker; wrote *Observations on the Queen's Colleges*, and *The State Endowment of the Irish Clergy*. Died 10th August, 1866. The memorial in the church reads :—

Of Your Charity pray for the soul of
The Very Revd. Michael Burke, V.G.
Who died on the 10th day of August 1866 aged 77 years
During the 30 years of his ministry as pastor of this parish, he laboured
To promote the glory of God, the growth of religion and the relief of the poor.
To his zeal and munificence is chiefly due
The establishing in Clonmel of the institute of the Sisters of Charity
He was the learned advocate of a religious education
As evinced by his having introduced and liberally endowed a branch of
The order of the Christian Brothers.

An ardent lover of country, he laboured to advance
Her religious political and social progress.
To the orphan he was a kind father.
To the repentant sinner a consoling friend
And in all the relations of private life he won universal esteem.
R.I.P.

JOHN POWER. Born in Cappoquin, 1809; educated at St. John's College, Waterford, and ordained 1832; appointed to parish of Powerstown 1852; translated to SS. Peter and Paul's 1867; consecrated bishop of Waterford and Lismore 20th July, 1873; died 6th December, 1887.

ROGER POWER. Brother of preceding; born 1815; ordained 1841; appointed to parish of Kill 1853; translated to SS. Peter and Paul's 1873; translated to Tramore 1875; died 11th May, 1884.

From November 1875 to December 1887, the parish was retained by the bishop as a mensal parish.

JOSEPH A. PHELAN. Born in Waterford, 1841; educated at Carlow and Maynooth Colleges; ordained 1866; president of St. John's College, Waterford, 1881–7; appointed to SS. Peter and Paul's 6th December, 1887; died 12th October, 1891.

FRANCIS O'BRIEN. Born in parish of Ring, 1883; educated at St. John's College, Waterford, and ordained 1858; appointed to parish of Ballyporeen, 1881; translated to Cappoquin, 1881; translated to Clonmel, February, 1892; translated to Dungarvan, September, 1894; died 13th February, 1896.

THOMAS MCDONNELL. Born in Tallow, 1832; educated at Maynooth College and ordained 1859; appointed to parish of Tooranena, 1886; translated to Cappoquin, 1892; translated to Clonmel, 1894; died July 1st, 1906.

CORNELIUS FLAVIN. Translated from St. Mary's to SS. Peter and Paul's August, 1906.

CHARITIES.

1. When during the reign of Charles II. all hope of recovering the old church of St. Mary vanished, the Catholics built a thatched chapel on the holding of James Brenock in the Irishtown. Similarly they built an "Alms House" to replace the old one at St. Mary's, destroyed during the Cromwellian occupation. This stood on the street in front of the present church, and in its ruinous state, is remembered by persons still living *(a)*. It was occupied principally, if not exclusively, by aged women, and was maintained by

(a) An "Alms House" is still annexed to St. Patrick's, Waterford.

contributions from those frequenting the chapel. Mention of the "Alms" house is occasionally made in old wills. James Brenock, "Apotecary," in 1676:—

I leave one of my boyleing potts which is of the largest, to the poore of the hospitall of Clonmell.

Ellen Cumberfort in 1748:—

I leave ye poore house of this town ffortie shillings.

During the early years of the last century, as the public gradually undertook the care and support of the poor, the "Alms House" and other private charities disappeared.

2. Susanna Keily by will dated 26th July, 1862, named as executors and trustees Dominic O'Brien, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, Michael Burke, parish priest, John Baldwin, parish priest, and James J. Shea, coroner. The said trustees or survivors of them, their heirs, administrators, etc., to invest the residue of the estate after payment of debts; the said James J. Shea to be paid £20 annually for life on account of his trouble, and his executors afterwards; the sum of £3 yearly on All Souls Day to be paid for masses to a clergyman named by the trustees; the residue to be devoted to "the support and maintenance of certain respectable Roman Catholic females, resident of or in Clonmel aforesaid and who should have suffered reverse of fortune, or became reduced in circumstances but to be selected and chosen by her acting trustees or the majority of them, as fitting objects for such bounty at the rate of twelve pounds for each and every such female, by equal quarterly payments to be continued at the discretion of the trustees."

3. Johanna Hackett of Gravel Walk, Clonmel, by will dated 12th April, 1883, bequeaths residue of her estate to E. C. Hackett, Mayor of Clonmel, Timothy A. Ryan, Merchant, and David J. Higgins, Justice of Peace, "to invest the same in Government stock and stand possessed thereof upon the trust following, that is to say, out of the income thereof to pay the sum of five shillings per week to as many deserving poor women of Clonmel as the said income will permit, each of said women to be chosen by the trustees at discretion." The present trustees are Mr. D. J. Higgins and Rev. John Everard.

4. John Morris, merchant, by will 8th August, 1876, appointed James J. Shea and Mary Hickey trustees to dispose of the residue of his estate for charitable purposes at their discretion. The residue amounted to £178. Most Rev. Dr. Sheehan, bishop, and Rev. John Everard appointed trustees by deed 13th January, 1898.

5. James John Shea, Abbeyview, coroner, by will 6th November, 1896, named as executors and trustees David J. Higgins, Rev. John Everard and James Prendergast Mulcahy. Bequeathed £300, the interest to be devoted to annual masses, etc., in St. Mary's Catholic Church. "I bequeath to the Trustees for the time being of the Keilly charity at Clonmel, which I have administered for many years, the sum of one thousand pounds, the income thereof to be applied upon the same trusts as said charity funds are now applied." After legacies, debts, etc., paid, the residue of the estate to be invested and the income to be spent similarly to the Keily charity or otherwise as the executors think fit.

PROTESTANT RECTORS OF ST. MARY'S.

WILLIAM PRENDERGAST. He was vicar of Clonmel in 1588, and appeared before the Royal Commission of that year. His office of vicar and also of Treasurer of the Chapter of Lismore was approved of by them *(b)*.

(See under Parish Priests).

RICHARD DANIELL. Vicar of Clonmel in 1607, also archdeacon of Lismore, but this latter was leased in 1603 for 61 years at the small rent of £6 by the Archbishop, Miles McGrath, and the Dean and Chapter [State Papers, Jas. I.] In 1615 the Royal Commission reported "Rectory impropriate; farmed by the Earl of Ormond; the vicar Richard Daniel is a reading minister and resident; the church and chancel in repair and books provided" *(c)*.

JOHN ALDEN. On the 13th February, 1616, John Alden was presented by the King to the vicarages of Clonmel, Cahir, and Grange Mockler, united *pro hac vice* on account of their poverty. He also held simultaneously the archdeaconship of Lismore, the precentorship of Cork, and the prebend of St. Munchin's, Limerick *(d)*.

HUGH GORE. Born in Dorsetshire 1613; educated at Oxford and Trinity College, Dublin; vicar of Innislounaght in 1638 and prebendary of Tullaghorton; instituted vicar of Clonmel 21st April, 1638 *(e)*. Fled to England in 1641 and taught school at Swansea. Returned to Ireland in 1660; appointed vicar of Cahir 1661. Appointed by patent, Dean of Lismore and vicar of Clonmel, Cahir and Innislounaght 1663. Succeeded Hugh Baker in the sees of Waterford and Lismore 21st February, 1666, being consecrated in St. Mary's, Clonmel, 25th March following. During the troubles of 1690–1 he took refuge

(b) MS., T.C.D., E. 3, 14.
(c) British Museum Addit. MSS. 19, 836.
(d) Patent Rolls, Jas. I.
(e) First Fruits Records II., 30, P.R.O.

in Swansea where he died in March, 1691. In his will is the bequest "Item, I give and bequeath towards a ring of bells for the church of Clonmel one hundred pounds sterling" *(f)*.

SAMUEL LADYMAN. Educated at Corpus Christi, Oxford; came to Clonmel in 1652 as "Minister of the Word." After the Restoration accepted the dominant form of religion, apparently in order to retain the vicarage, being ordained 24th February, 1666, and instituted vicar of Clonmel 19th May, 1666 *(g)*. He subsequently obtained also the rectory of Knockgraffon, and in 1667 was appointed archdeacon of Limerick. He died in 1683 and was buried in the chancel of St. Mary's. The mortuary tablet inserted in the wall contains the following inscription :—

Underfoot w^th^ five of their children, Samuel ffrancis and Grace (who died in their Infancy) John at his 20^th^ yeare X^ber^ 9^th^ 1675 and Jane in her 22^nd^ yeare 7ber 27th 1681 are interred the bodyes of Doctor Samuel Ladyman and Grace his wife the daughter of Doctor William Hutchinson De Exon she deceasing on y^e^ [ ] day of March 1663 and her husband on y^e^ 5th of ffebruary 1683 who left this Epitaph to be fixed over their Graves.

Sleep dearest heart and now thy mourner may
Put off this flesh to mix it with thy clay
Sleep infant dust freed from Earths Toyle and Strife
By deaths surprise in th' nonage of y^r^ life
Sleep vigorous youth whose keener soul break through
Its crazy case and bade this world adieu.
Sleep virtuous maid Wife mother and all in one
Alive beloved by all bewailed now gonn
Sleep till that trump w^ch^ rouseth from their graves
Both men and children princes and their slaves
Shall call us thence to wake with Sts and sing
Eternal praises to our heavenly King.

His will which was executed 12th December, 1683, is equally curious. He bequeathed £5 to be distributed in six penny worths of bread at the church door on the day of his funeral. "Itm, I doe give and Bequeath one hundred and fifty pounds Sterling sealed up in one Bagg marked with Clonmell, whereof fifty pounds and its interest till that time shall come to be out, towards a ringe of Bells in this church when that work shall be gonn about; and fifty pounds to be improved for ever, of which improvement or Interest fifty shillings sterling to be laid out in six pennies and distributed on ye first day of June, and fifty shillings more on ye first day of January in each yeare, ye Like having been done by me some yeares past on that day; the said bread to be distributed still by the churchwardens care at ye church porch in Clonmell, and soe that every poore man and woman without distinction may have one Loafe if ye hundred will hold out. Also I doe

(f) Life by Rev. S. Gimlette, B.D., Waterford, 1888.
(g) First Fruits' Records III., 63, P.R.O.

further give five pounds ster as ye Interest of ye remaining above fifty pounds for ye yearly teaching of tenn poore children to read English and to learn the Church Catechism with the Perkins six principles" *(h)*.

JONATHAN BRONNSWORTH. He was instituted and admitted vicar of Clonmel 14th June, 1684. He died in 1688 in which year his will was proved *(i)*.

JOHN WALKINTON. He was admitted 4th May, 1688 *(j)*. During the Revolution he fled the town, and his name occurs on a list of those attainted unless, in accordance with King James' proclamation, they return before 1st October, 1689. He was a member of the town council, and as such, was elected mayor for the year 1712–3. But a strong party in the council disapproving of the election, appealed to the Lord Lieutenant to quash it. The name of Thomas Tothall was sent forward as a rival candidate. Walkinton replied in a petition 12th August, 1712, that he was minister of Clonmel parish for the previous twenty-four years; that in his election he was supported by the great majority of the bailiffs, free burgesses and commons; that his office of vicar was no disqualification, in fact he had been Justice of Peace for the County of Waterford for twenty years past. As for the accusation of outlawry made by his enemies, it was true that two years ago, while in England, he was outlawed in a private suit, but he had hopes to reverse it.

He was approved of as mayor 26th August, 1712 *(k)*.

RICHARD MOORE, A.M., was, 17th March, 1717, "admitted, collated and inducted" to vicarage of Clonmel void by the natural death of John Walkinton, clerk *(l)*. In the porch of St. Mary's may be seen a square tablet with an inscription in raised Roman letters.

HERE LIETH THE BODY OF THE
REV. RICHARD MOORE
TREASURER OF THE CATH.
CHURCH OF LISMORE AND REC-
TOR OF THE PARISH OF CLONMEL
WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE THE
18th DAY OF OCTOBER 1729 AGED
38.

(h) Waterford Wills, P.R.O.
(i) First Fruits' Returns, Michaelmas, 1684, Vol. VI., fol. 12, P.R.O.
(j) Ibid VI., fol. 59.
(k) Magistrates' Elections, etc., P.R.O.
(l) First Fruits, Michaelmas, 1718, P.R.O.

As the Moores were patrons of the town, the patronage was exercised liberally in favour of their own family. This Richard was a friend of Swift, who appealed to Lord Arran in his behalf. The rectorial tithes, Swift states, were granted to the church by patent of Chas. II. But Lord Arran's present agent renewed the claim of the Ormond family to these tithes. The trial came off at last assizes and lasted six hours, Arran being non-suited. "The living of Clonmel is one of the largest yet poorest parishes in the kingdom, being upon the whole (including the valuation of the houses) scarce worth one hundred pounds a year, out of which to a curate assistant, being absolutely necessary on account of its extent, a salary of forty pounds must be paid. The tithes in and around Clonmel are very inconsiderable, never being let for above twenty-four pounds a year, made up of very small pittances collected from a great number of the poorest people so that the recovery of them by an expensive law suit, if it could be effected, would not be worth attempting" *(m)*.

JOSEPH MOORE. Admitted and instituted 3rd April, 1730, to vicarage vacant by death of Richard Moore *(n)*. But probably owing to the Corporation disputes the legality of the presentation was questioned. For the Corporate Minute Book records his further presentation to the living of Clonmel 8th April, 1745. His tomb affords a good example of 18th century mausolean composition.

This Monument near which are laid the
Remains of the Rev. Doctor Joseph Moore,
Was erected by the Parish and neighbour-
hood of Clonmel, in grateful memory of the
strict pastoral care,
exemplary piety,
ample charity
and universal benevolence
With which he discharged his Functions as
Rector of this Parish for sixty six years.
His friends and Acquaintance lament the
irreparable Loss of his
sweet and warm friendship,
Kind and salutary Counsel,
agreeable and instructive manners,
liberal yet prudent Hospitality
And every social virtue that sweetens and
Adorns private life.
He died on the 13th day of January 1795,
in the 88th Year of his Age.

M. Shanahan, Cork.

(m) Swift's Letters *ad ann*, 1729.
(n) First Fruits, Michaelmas, 1732, P.R.O.

THOMAS MAY. Presented by the corporation (being a grandson of Thomas Moore of Marlfield) and instituted April 14th, 1795 *(o)*. He immediately applied for a revision of the valuation under the "Ministers' Money" Act (17 & 18 Chas. II.). William Moore, Thomas Delandre and John Roberts being appointed 4th January, 1796, commissioners for the purpose, the whole town was thrown into a ferment. Petitions were sent to Lord Camden, viceroy, from the "Parishioners and Proprietors of Houses," from the "Proprietors and Inhabitants," from the "Quakers of Clonmel," objecting to the valuation on the grounds that houses already valued could not be re-valued, that the Commissioners had subdivided houses, had over-valued them, had valued out-houses, factories, etc., that in fine the whole valuation had been raised from £38 to £178 a year. Neither party however was satisfied. May obtained on 4th August, 1800, a new commission, and this was met by a counter petition signed by John Bagwell, Richard Jones, Thomas and Samuel Morton, Phineas and Arthur Riall, and the other principal inhabitants *(p)*. The victory eventually was with the rector, and a still higher assessment levied. May died in August, 1810.

DANIEL WALL, M.A. Presented by the corporation 4th January, 1811, in the place of Rev. Thomas May; he was instituted 29th January, and inducted 2nd February *(q)*.

JAMES PETER RHOADES. He was M.A. Oxon. and Fellow of Wadham College. Presented by the corporation 28th December, 1832, on the resignation of Rev. Daniel Wall. "He was," said the Municipal Commissioners of 1833, "recommended by the patron, and chosen by the council. No other person was proposed to the council on the occasion."

JOHN BURY PALLISER, Born 1790; he was the second son of John Palliser of Derryluskan, by his wife Grace Barton. Educated at Trinity College, Dublin; rector of Kill St. Nicholas, 1825; presented by the corporation 15th October, 1842, on resignation of Rev. James P. Rhoades. During his incumbency the advowson of St. Mary's, after prolonged

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(o) First Fruits' Admiss. Return, Easter, 1811, P.R.O.

(p) "Ministers' Money" was for nearly 200 years one of the most intolerable burthens laid on the inhabitants of Clonmel generally. Under the Act 17 & 18 Chas. II., c. 7, a rate of one shilling in the £ was levied on each householder (in no case valuation to exceed £60) for the support of the Protestant vicar. In case of default the churchwardens were to enter and distrain the goods of defaulter. An "Incumbent Book" for the year 1704 is in possession of Mr. F. J. Quinn of Springfield. The warrant is signed by "Mr. Simon Gibbons, clk.," and directed to "Richard Stritch and James Keating, churchwardens." The list of distresses in the end is curious: "15 May 1704 John Boughell 1 brass pot and 2 candle sticks—deld. ye 19th to your wife." "A spade from Tho. Gillypatrick S. Suburbs for Teig Dermot." "Aug. 25 deld. 1 blanket 1 tub and 1 can of Ja. Reed S. Suburbs." "1 old Petty coate from John Nunan's wife," etc., etc. As Quakers on principle would not pay, we find "6 stone 6 li [wool] from Jo. and St. Collet for £1 17s. 0d."

(q) First Fruits' Returns, Easter Term, 1811, P.R.O.

negociations, was sold by the corporation 20th August, 1853, for the sum of £1,000. The purchase was effected by Guinness, Mahon and Company in trust for Rev. John Prior, Kirklington, Yorkshire. Palliser died in 1855 *(r)*.

HUGH PRIOR. Presented by Rev. John Prior in 1855. As the difficulty of collecting "Ministers' Money" from the Catholic inhabitants of the towns increased year by year, Parliament attempted to settle it by the method adopted in the Tithe Act. In 1854 the town councils of the eight cities and towns concerned, were made liable for the tax in the first instance, they being empowered to raise the sum as part of the borough rates. But the Clonmel council would not levy "the Ministers' rates," and accordingly Rev. Hugh Prior served a writ on the mayor for the amount. Clonmel, among other towns, petitioned parliament, and as a result of the agitation the Act 17 & 18 Vict., c. 111 (1857), was passed. Henceforward a sum of £300 10s. 1d. was paid by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to the incumbent in lieu of Ministers' Money.

CHARES SEYMOUR LANGLEY, D.D. Appointed to the living January, 1857. During his period the church was practically rebuilt from designs by Mr. Welland, architect of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. His incumbency came to an end October, 1860.

FRANCIS TEMPEST BRADY. Born 1809; he was son of Francis T. Brady of Willow Park, Dublin, by Charlotte, daughter of William Hodgson of Whitehaven. Educated at Trinity College, Dublin; rector of Kilshannig, Cork, 1847-49; appointed rector of Clonmel, 1860. He died 8th March, 1874. The pulpit which was erected as a memorial to him, contains the following inscription:—

> I Cor. xv. 20—In Memory of Rev Francis Tempest Brady
> A.M. Rector of St. Mary's; called to his rest March
> 1874 aged 65. He sleeps in Jesus—Heb. iv. 9.

WILLIAM SANDFORD, M.A. Born 1814; educated at Trinity College, Dublin; curate of Templemore 1849; rector of Kilvemnon 1864; translated to Clonmel 1874; died 1882. His tomb, which occupies a recess in the old town wall adjoining the western entrance to the churchyard, reads—

(r) The valuation of the advowson for the purpose of sale was:—

	£	s.	d.
Tithe composition under Goulburn's Act, £300; of which one fourth off, for Stanley's Act	225	0	0
Ministers' money for 1843	295	13	2½
Glebe land, South suburbs	20	0	0
Rectory and land attached (Poor Law Valuation)	90	0	0
	£630	13	2½

In Loving Memory of
The Reverend William Sandford, M.A.
Rector of Clonmel, Chancellor of Lismore Cathedral
And Prebendary of Rosduff, Diocese of Waterford,
Who entered into his rest December 1, 1882.
God called him from His service on earth
In the 68 year of his age and the 44 of his Ministry.

Steadfast immoveable, always abounding in the work of the Lord.—1 Cor. xv. 38.

His servants shall serve him and they shall see his face.—Rev. xxii. 3, 4.

ARCHDEACON WARREN succeeded 1883.

CHARITIES.

1. Edward Batty of Clonmel, gent, by will dated 1st November, 1669, named John Drew of Kilurneen, Co. Waterford, Richard Moore of Clonmel, and Thomas Batty of Abyslonaght "overseers." "I bequeath to the English poore of this parish of Clonmel £20 to be and enure [*sic*] to their use for ever as to the Mayor, Churchwardens and Vicar for time being shall seem meet, and taking such security as in such cases usual."

2. Rev. Dr. Samuel Ladyman, by will 12th December, 1683, bequeathed £10 per annum for ever, of which £5 to purchase bread to be distributed among the poor on 1st January and 1st June, each year, and £5 to be expended in educating ten children chosen by the minister and churchwardens for the time being. (See will *infra*).

3. Mrs. Mary Pomeroy paid to the Corporation of Clonmel £100 sterling, for which they on 2nd August, 1707, made over a rent charge of £10 for ever on the lands of Mooneculagh, with the tuck mill and holdings then leased and in possession of Mr. Richard Whitehand, sen., and his under tenants situated in the County of Waterford, within the Liberties of the said Corporation, part of the Commons thereof, unto Mary Pomeroy, Thomas Batty, John Carleton and Richard Hutchinson, their heirs and assigns for ever, to be paid quarterly at the Feasts of Saints Philip and Jacob [*sic*] Lammas Day, All Saints' Day and Candlemas, at the dwelling house of said Thomas Batty in Lough Street, between the hours of 10 and 12 in the morning, and on failure of payment as aforesaid, or within 21 days, a power of distress and re-entry to be given to said Trustees. The rent charge

was held upon trust to lay out £2 yearly towards the support of two widows of the Protestant religion born and living in Clonmel parish, £2 to the poor and £6 in apprenticing to trades 3 Protestant boys educated on the foundation.

4. Hercules Beere, by will in 1741, bequeathed 40s. yearly, to be paid by his executors out of his mountain farm at Clonmel to such poor thereof as they shall think proper.

5. Robert Lowe of Knokelly, Esq., by will in 1742 bequeathed his interest in house in Mary Street, Clonmel, to his trustees Michael Cox, Archbishop of Cashel and Richard Chenevix, Bishop of Waterford, to pay the rent in equal shares to such poor of Clonmel and Cashel as cannot live otherwise than on alms.

6. Peter Cheshire, by will dated 21st November, 1749, left £100 for which he had a mortgage from the Corporation of Clonmel on lands of Ballymacadam, dated 13th and 14th July, 10th George II. (1736), at 6 p.c., and assigned to him by the late Mrs. Mary Moore, the widow of Guy Moore, late of Abbey, Esq., wife to the Rev. Dean Gore, now Lord Bishop of Limerick. The interest to be distributed among the poor in such proportions as the trustees should think fit *(s)*.

7. Mrs. Mary Page, by will 6th December, 1758, bequeathed £377 6s. 1½d., the interest of which is to be paid yearly as a fee for apprenticing one poor boy to some useful trade at the discretion of the minister of the parish.

8. Richard Moore of Barne, Esq., by will 1771, left £200, the interest thereof to be distributed, yearly, among the poor of Clonmel by the minister of the parish; secured and payable by Stephen Moore of Barne, Esq.

9. Thomas Moore of Barne, Esq., by will in 1781 bequeathed £50 to the poor of Clonmel.

10. Thomas Chidley Moore of Abbey, Esq., by will 1781, bequeathed £30 to each of the two poorhouses of Clonmel, Protestant and Catholic, £30 to the poor housekeepers of Clonmel, £10 to debtors in Clonmel Jail, and £100 to bind out and apprentice children of Protestant parents, together with all his carriages, harness and four horses: the whole was sold by public auction to Guy Moore Coote, Esq., for £99 2s. for which that gentleman passed his note to the Rev. Dr. Moore who put out the money at interest for the benefit of the trust.

11. Mrs. Anne Cooke by will dated 27th June, 1788, bequeathed £300, always to remain at interest, to be applied yearly in sums not less than a crown, to poor roomkeepers indiscriminately as the Vestry held in the

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(s) In November, 1898, the Corporation discharged this ancient mortgage for the sum of £96 6s. 2d.

church of Clonmel shall think most wanting of it £5; and £6 to the Protestant and Catholic poorhouses respectively, £50 "to support the school lately established in Clonmel for the tuition of poor children as long as same school shall continue, and whenever it shall be dissolved the £50 to be added to the fund for the benefit of the poor roomkeepers."

12. Rev. Dr. William Downes late of the city of Waterford, by will 27th June, 1790, left £25 yearly, to be paid after the death of his wife to Dr. Moore, vicar of Clonmel, Rev. James Denny, vicar of Ardfinnan and their successors, and to Phineas Riall of Clonmel, for apprenticing to Protestant masters and mistresses, the sons and daughters of poor Protestants of the Church of Ireland living and residing in the town of Clonmel, to be by them instructed in useful trades and occupations. Two-thirds to be applied to Clonmel, one-third to Ardfinnan.

13. Rev. James Denny by will in 1805, bequeathed £200 to the Protestant poor of Clonmel.

14. Mrs. Carrigan bequeathed to the rector of Clonmel and his successors £81, the interest on which to be equally divided among five poor widows of the Established Church within the town of Clonmel.

15. There are several recent bequests by Edmond Woods, Morgan Jones, Robert Lester, for the maintenance of the fabric of St. Mary's, etc. The last mentioned, bequeathed £1,000 to his trustees, Messrs. A. L. Doran and D. J. Higgins; the interest to support the Cottage Hospital and should that cease to exist, then for the benefit of the Protestant poor of Clonmel.

CLONMEL DISSENTERS.

During the Cromwellian period, Dissent was established in Clonmel. The ancient church of St. Mary was the "Public Meeting House" and the accounts of Thomas Batty, Treasurer of the Precinct, show the yearly salaries paid to the preachers:—

	£	s.	d.
Mr. Samuell Ladyman Preacher of Clonmel	130	0	0
Mr. Robert Carr Preacher at Clonmel and the Guarrisons adjacent	100	0	0
Mr. Anthony Ward Preacher of Cashell	100	0	0
Mr. Andrew Chaplin Preacher of Dongarvan ...	80	0	0
Mr. Richard ffitz Gerald for preaching the Gospell in Irish at Dongarvan and in the Barrony of Deasies *(t)*. ...	52	0	0

The quarrels of Episcopalianism and Dissent in the town, consequent on the Act of Uniformity of 1662, have been already narrated in Chapter VII. It

(t) A List of the yearly Salaries of Such Civil officers as were imployed in this Precinct until the 25th of September, 1654.—P.R.O.

is probable that the great bulk of the new settlers followed the example of the preacher, Ladyman, and attached themselves to the Church by Law Established. Among these were Charles Blount, Richard and Edward Hutchinson, Charles Alcock, Samuel Foley, Richard Moore and others less prominent. But sturdy Cromwellians such as Thomas Batty, William Vaughan, Phineas Riall and Richard Perry, refused to accept the new order of things, and formed themselves into a dissenting congregation with Mr. Wood for preacher. A lease of the old Franciscan church was obtained by Batty, and Dissent thereby, some years later, obtained a local habitation. The preachers for the second half of the seventeenth century, were Messrs. Wood, Palmer, Ford and Carr. Phineas Riall was treasurer to the congregation in the opening years of the eighteenth century, and from his accounts we glean some particulars. John Shaw was minister in 1706, and was paid £100 a year, made up by a personal levy. Offerings for the poor were taken on Sundays and averaged 2s. 6d., but on the first Sunday of the month they rose to £1 5s. The trustees of the congregation in 1725, were John Perry, John Bagwell and Joseph Barret, as appears by a loan of £100 to Jeremiah Vickars of Dublin, for which he paid 7 per cent. The following year a momentous decision was come to by the Munster Presbytery which met in Clonmel, 21st July. This was a resolution adopting the Unitarian creed, and supporting the Presbytery of Antrim against the Synod of Ulster which had endeavoured to impose the Scotch Confession of Faith.

> We do think ourselves in duty bound in compliance with the request and application of the Presbytery of Antrim to hold ministerial and Christian unionism with them—being persuaded we shall thereby be enabled to contribute to maintaining the truth and interests of the Protestant cause, and rights and liberties of the Christian Church.

The minister at this period was Rev. William Jackson who died before 1734, as his will was proved that year. He was followed by Rev. Mr. Mears who as minister of Newtownards rejected the Westminister Confession, and in a catechism for children unequivocally put forth Unitarian views. On the removal of Mears to Strand Street Chapel, Dublin in 1747, Rev. James Mackay succeeded. John Perry, 15th October, 1747, leased for 999 years at a pepper corn rent, to Mathew Jacob of Mobarnane, and John Bagwell of Clonmel, "a parcel of ground being part of the Fort containing in front to Kilsheelan Street fifty feet from the new wall of the late John Hosken's garden by forty eight feet and a half in depth towards the old Abbey." A manse was erected upon this, towards which John Bagwell contributed £140, John Damer (of Shronell) £61 7s. 6d., and Jeremiah Vickars £50. John Bagwell, Richard Hutchison and John Perry, by deed 27th November, 1747, agreed to secure Mackay during his residence £15 each a year.

Rev. John Patten succeeded Mackay in 1756, and the trustees renewed the agreement for his maintenance "as long as his deportment and behaviour as their stated minister and preacher of the Gospel shall be agreeable to the majority of said congregation and no longer." During this period the congregation continued to dwindle, for in September 1770, a prominent member, William Perry describes it as "sinking" *(u)*. Patten lived in later years at Annerville, which he built, dying there in 1787.

About 1789, Dr. William Campbell came to Clonmel fresh from his conflict with Woodward, Protestant bishop of Cloyne *(v)*. He had previously been minister at Armagh, and in earlier life a tutor with the Bagwells. To this, his introduction to Clonmel is probably traceable. Though writing in defence of the Irish Presbyterians, it is clear from his description of the teaching of St. Athanasius as "vain questions of a vain philosophy," that his real principles were Unitarian. His first pamphlet was "A Vindication of the Principles and Character of the Presbyterians of Ireland," (74pp. Dublin, 1787). He subsequently wrote a reply to the bishop's "Apologists" extending to 216 pages. A friendly carricaturist of the day published a woodcut representing the Bishop of Cloyne sitting in an arm chair, Campbell busy shaving him, with Father O'Leary holding the basin. During his incumbency, the Unitarian congregation (as it had now become), removed from the old Abbey to the present meeting house in Nelson Street, which was built on a site given free of rent by John Bagwell. Dr. Campbell died in advanced old age in 1805.

Rev. James Worrall succeeded in 1807. He was a native of Limerick, a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, and for some years "minister of the first congregation" Larne. After Gilbertian fashion he, for a considerable period, held the position of post master of Clonmel simultaneously with his religious office.

Rev. William Crozier followed about 1824. During his period, the establishing of the distillery at Marlfield, and the opening of the Provincial Bank, considerably enlarged the congregation. The new-comers, mainly Scotch or Scoto-Irish, characteristically took an active part in the controversy which broke out again in 1827 as to Unitarian or Trinitarian doctrine. Eventually the great mass seceded and formed the Scots' Church in Anglesea Street.

(u) W. Perry to G. Maquay, 12th September, 1770—Perry Papers. Patten married Margaret Colville, and their daughter Jane became wife to Thomas Addis Emmet, brother of the celebrated Robert Emmet. William Colville, brother of Margaret, was founder of the Dublin mercantile house, corn merchants, bank and railway directors. Their association with Clonmel is still recorded by the "Colville Road."

(v) This was a pamphlet war on tithes carried on by Woodward, Rev. Robert Burrowes, Rev. Dr. Stock, Dominick Trant, B.L., A Layman, etc., on the one side, Rev. Arthur O'Leary, Rev. Dr. Campbell, Rev. Samuel Barber, on the other.

Rev. James Orr succeeded in 1833. With his death in 1882 passed away the oldest Protestant body in the town. Founded by the Cromwellian settlers on puritanical principles, it followed these principles consistently to their issue in Unitarianism.

The Society of Friends date their origin in Clonmel to the Restoration period. The earliest member was George Collett, a glover from Highworth, Wiltshire, who took a house in West Gate Street. He was followed by John Jolly of Lancashire, Robert Bird, Charles Howell, Samuel Cherry and others. As they refused to pay tithes, they afford the earliest example of "passive resistance."

1675. John Fennel for tithes claimed for the Bishop of Waterford, had taken from him by John Mac Keogh, David Hussey, and William Kelly, by order of Richard Dennison, 48 fleeces of wool, 40 lambs, 6 loads of Bear, 16 loads of Peas, 8 loads of Wheat and 16 loads of Barley, all worth £9 19s.

George Collett for One pound two shillings eight pence demanded for the maintenance of Samuel Ladyman, Priest of Clonmel, had taken from him by John West, Warden, pewter worth one pound ten shillings.

Joshua Fennel had taken from him by John Farrel of Clonmel, Tithemonger, 15 truckle loads of Hay worth about one pound.

1681. George Collet of Clonmel, for £1 2s. 6d. demanded by Samuel Ladyman, Priest, had taken from him by Edward Kippin, Warden, 1 warming pan, 1 kettle, 1 copper tankard, 1 pewter beaker, 1 spit, worth £1 17s. 9d. *(w)*.

Bv the end of the seventeenth century the Quakers had grown sufficiently numerous to have a meeting house. Stephen and Joseph Collet granted, in 1699, a site for the purpose in Mary Street, and contributed £30 to the building fund. Education was also provided for. At Knockgraffon meeting 12th August, 1701, it was ordered that Samuel Cooke—

Write to William Dower an English young man, being a scullmaster and hier him for one year to teache friends children belonging unto this and our six weeks meeting. Clonmel is the place opinted too settle said scull in the meeting house for the present untill Remuft by concent and order of this meeting.

Ordered by this meeting that all such friends that have sons abroad at scull do bring them home and send them to our Schull at Clonmel *(x)*.

Towards the middle of the century the body was largely increased by new-comers from Waterford and elsewhere. Among them were Richard Sparrow from Wexford, Solomon Watson from Carlow, John Malcomson, Robert Dudley, Thomas Rigg and several others. Unlike the English and American Quakers, they devoted themselves almost exclusively to trade and

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(w) "The Great Cry of Oppression, or a Brief Relation of some part of the Sufferings of the People of God, in scorn called Quakers, in Ireland 1671-1681. Printed in ye year 1683."

(x) Information *penes* J. E. Grubb, Esq.

manufactures. They monopolized the corn trade at the period of its greatest prosperity; they founded the provision trade in Clonmel; they engaged in brewing, in farming, and in general shopkeeping. Indeed, during the early years of the nineteenth century, Clonmel was known as one of the "Quaker Towns" of the south. And they used their wealth sanely. Music apart, they reached a high level of culture. It is impossible not to admire the exquisite judgment with which they selected for their houses, the beautiful sites of the neighbourhood. They took a leading part in all charitable and social movements: the sick, the prisoners in jail, the destitute, all occupied their attention. They made the first effort, on a large scale, to relieve suffering—the House of Industry—"a building," to use the language of a contemporary, "that redounds immortal honour on the Society of Friends, and especially on Robert Grubb, whose unremitted labours and charitable exertions towards meliorating the situation of the poor inhabitants of Clonmel, will never be forgotten" *(y)*.

John Wesley visited Clonmel three times, June 1750, May 1756, and May 1787. On the occasion of his second visit he recorded in his Journal the following description of the town:—

It is the pleasantest town beyond all comparison, which I have seen in Ireland. It has four broad, straight streets of well-built houses, which cross each other in the centre of the town. Close to the walls on the south side, runs a broad clear river. Beyond this rises a green and fruitful mountain which hangs over the town. The vale runs many miles, both east and west, and is well cultivated throughout.

(y) Monk Mason Survey, 1813.—P.R.O. Mention must here be made of a religious development to find a parallel to which, one must go back to the early years of the Reformation in Germany. This was "White Quakerism." About 1830, Joshua Jacob, a member of the Society of Friends, in Clonmel, began to have revelations. He was at the time a young man of twenty-five and possessing a great power of Scriptural phraseology, soon obtained an ascendancy over the younger members of the body. Clad in white, he began a public mission, exhorting all persons to simplicity and purity of life, and on one occasion filled the town with sightseers to witness his walking on the waters of the Suir. Being disowned by the Friends in 1838, he retired to Mountmellick, where in the years 1843-4 he published "Some Account of the Progress of the Truth as it is in Jesus." This is in four volumes, over 2000 pages, and is made up of narratives, ejaculations, hymns and letters by Jacob himself and some of his followers, especially Abigail Beale and Mary Pym, no small portion being devoted to abuse of members of the Jacob family and the Friends in general. From Mountmellick he removed to Dublin where he rented a disused hotel on Arran Quay, now known as Ganly's wool mart. Here the sect took definite shape; they dressed in white, destroyed ornaments in houses and interpreted the Bible in a sort of spiritual sense. Being summoned before the Chancellor, Lord St. Leonards, and Master Litton in connection with some trust property, Jacob anathematized "Edward Sugden and thy man Litton," and was committed to prison for contempt of court. While in the Marshalsea he addressed to Mullins, the governor, a series of letters "The word of the Lord to the Governor of the prison called of men the Four Courts." Indeed throughout this period, Jacob divided public attention equally with O'Connell. In 1849 he established a community at Newlands, near Dublin, who used no meat, lived on bruised corn and afforded hospitality to all comers. The police had more than once to put the house in order. Some years later he re-entered business at Celbridge, and marrying secondly a Catholic, brought up a large family all Catholics. His closing years were spent in Wales, and when he died, 15th February, 1877, Joshua Jacob and the "White Quakers" were only a memory. He is buried in Glasnevin.

The Methodist community in Clonmel, probably dates its origin to the third visit. The earliest chapel was built in Gordon Street about that period. In 1817 a schism occurred among the Irish Methodists upon the question of "the administration of Baptism and the Lord's Supper by the preachers." Those who adhered in Clonmel to the older practice, seceded and formed a Conference of the "Primitive Methodist Society." They built a chapel for themselves in Mary Street, on the site now occupied by the Protestant Parochial Hall. The old chapel in Gordon Street, was replaced in 1843, by an imposing structure with a good classic façade. The schism of 1817 was closed, and a re-union of the Methodist churches effected in 1878. Finally in 1900, Rev. Thomas Moran, superintendent minister, and Mr. J. R. Hadden, circuit steward, encouraged by a grant from the Methodist Twentieth Century Fund, secured a site in Anglesea Street. Funds were collected by Mr. Moran in the United States and Canada, as well as throughout the United Kingdom, for a new church and manse. The buildings were completed and the church opened for worship, December 1st, 1905 *(z)*.

(z) For many years Clonmel formed part of Waterford circuit. Since then the Superintendent Ministers have been James Murdock, Robert Hazelton, John Higgins, Thomas Cooke, John C. Storey, Martin Hynes, Mortlock Long, William B. Monohan, Thomas Rothwell, John Carson, James C. Waugh, W. R. Carson, W. J. Clayton, Thomas Moran, Nath. R. Haskins, Harry N. Kevin and Thomas Forde.

The authorities for foregoing account of Dissent in Clonmel, are mainly papers of late Rev. James Orr; information supplied by J. E. Grubb, Esq., Carrick-on-Suir, Rev. Thomas Forde, Clonmel.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE FRANCISCAN HOUSE.

THE great Franciscan movement of the thirteenth century was somewhat late in reaching Clonmel. Though the Friars were established in Waterford previous to 1240, and in Cashel about 1250, they did not obtain a permanent settlement in Clonmel until 1269 *(aa)*. That year, according to the contemporary annals of the Friars' Minors of Multifernan, "there was a location at Clonmel" *(bb)*. In the early freshness of the Franciscan spirit, there could be no question of taking *possession* of a house; St. Francis' threat of pulling down "the Friars' House" at Bologna was not yet forgotten, and their first "location" was probably a simple hut close to the river in the most obscure corner of the town.

The introduction of the Friars is variously assigned to the Earl of Desmond, to the townsmen, or to Otho De Grandison *(cc)*. The truth appears to be that the actual founder was Henry III. For throughout the period 1244–81 the town was in the hands of the king. De Grandison's connection with Clonmel did not date for twelve years after the arrival of the Friars, nor Desmond's for seventy. And there is abundant evidence that the spread of the Franciscan Order in Ireland was largely due to the influence of the king *(dd)*. But that Otho De Grandison and the Desmonds enlarged the original foundation is certain; the tradition of their association with the house was still fresh in the seventeenth century, if not actually recorded in the Friars' obituary.

(aa) Ward's account of the Irish Franciscan Houses, written in Louvain in 1630, states that they were in Clonmel earlier, but he gives no authority.

(bb) Locus captus est apud Clonmele.—Archæol. Socy. Tracts. II., p. 15.

(cc) Wadding, Ware, Allemande, etc.

(dd) For instance, Henry gave building grants to Dublin and Waterford, and yearly grants to purchase 100 tunics for the Irish Friars, etc.

As the years lapsed and the gifts of the people increased, the original "location" gave way to a stately church and convent. Luke Wadding who in the early seventeenth century saw the church in its last phase, enthusiastically describes it as "a temple lofty and spacious, its great windows filled with representations in stained glass" *(ee)*. It was built in that noblest of Gothic styles, the Early English, the probable dimensions being 100 feet long by 24 feet 2 inches wide; a transept at the south side forming the Lady Chapel gave additional space *(ff)*. The finest feature in the church was the choir; the east window had a triplet of lancets, the inner jambs of which were ornamented with nook-shafts having elaborate Early English capitals. The moulded bases and annulets closely resembled some in Christ Church, Dublin, and were suggestive of the "Glastonbury School"; the wall space in each side was filled by a row of seven tall lancets whose interior splays meeting, gave lightness to the whole, while the great depth of the walls gave strength. In the fifteenth century the changing spirit of the Franciscan Order led to corresponding alterations in the fabric itself. The Friars had approximated to the rule of the older Cisterciansand Benedictines, a choir being formed and the divine offices regularly recited in church. The present tower was therefore erected in the centre of the building, dividing it almost into equal parts. The east end formed the conventual choir; the west end was the public church. The narrow arch (11 feet 6 inches) in the tower communicating between the two parts of the church, afforded space in front of its piers in the lay church for two altars. The original pitch of the roof can be seen in the line of the dripstones in the tower.

Round the old Friary naturally clustered many a tradition. Wadding has recorded a few.

Edmund Butler, Baron of Cahir, according to his custom, was one day hearing mass in this church when word was brought that the Earl of Ormond and the Baron of Dunboyne, with their followers in great force, were invading his territory. Without the least sign of being disconcerted, he made up his mind to remain to the end of mass. For he thought it unworthy for any human consideration, to lose mass by which, through the power of prayer, the enemy might be more easily overcome than by military force. Moreover, one could suffer no great loss who neglected everything rather than leave the divine, propitiatory sacrifice, uncompleted. Nor was he disappointed. For when mass was over, he with a few relatives and fighting men, delivered an attack, recovered spoils and prey, upset the design of a powerful enemy, and put them to disgraceful flight *(gg)*.

(ee) Templum altum et amplum, fenestris magnis vari-colore vitro depictis emblematibus specionem.—Annals ad an, 1269.

(ff) These particulars of the ancient church were obtained in 1883 at the rebuilding. The total length is conjectured from the position of the tower.

(gg) This is an echo of the incident related by Fordun (Scotichronicon p. 722, Ed. 1722), of Robin Hood who—

> Every day or [before] he woulde dyne
> Thre messes wolde he here.

God manifested the power of St. Francis by one or two miracles in this convent. A certain man treated the Friars with contumely. Being told to beware of the knotty cord or cincture of St. Francis, he said he cared little about St. Francis or his cord. That night in bed, he received such a scourging that he actually died in the arms of his friends, crying out St. Francis was killing him and the cord torturing him.

For many years the statue of St. Francis was kept in the sacristy. By it more than once, perjurers were confounded. A woman on one occasion denied on oath she had stolen certain clothing. But no sooner had she sworn, than the clothing hidden away in some corner, at once appeared at her very feet. In terror she confessed her sin and did penance.

The "Gray Friars of Clonmel" was the *Campo Santo* not only of the town but of the district. "Many tombs of the old families" says Wadding "made of black marble, may be seen in the church—Prendergasts, Mandevilles, Walls, Whites, Brays, Moronys and other notables." The wills also give evidence of this. Thomas Prendergast fitz Geffery of Newcastle in 1626. "In Nomine Dei, Amen. I comit my soule to the Holye Trinitye, to the Blessed Virgin Marye, and to all the Saints in Heaven, and doe appoint my body to bee buryed in Saint Francis at Clonmelle with my ancestors." John White fitz Geffery in 1614 commends "my sole to God Almyghtie my Creator and Redeemer and my body to be buryed in S. ffrancis abbay in myne ancestors buriall." Catherine White fitz Thomas in 1625 "ffirst I comitt my soule to the holy Trinitie to our blessed Lady, the virgin Mary and to all the saintes in heaven. I doe constitut that my boddie be buried in y^{e} abbie of St. ffrauncis in Clonmel." John Bray in 1632 "calling to mynde how certayne is death to every creature living in this world and how uncertaine is the tyme of the same" bequeaths "my sowle to the father, son and holly Ghoste, three persons in one deitie, and to the blessed and imaculat virgin Marie, and all the holly company of heaven, and my boddy to be buried with my auncestors, in the holly confessor St. ffrancis his monastery in Clonmell." Of the black marble tombs described by Wadding but two remain. These however, are of the highest interest. "In the middle of the choir" he writes "lies the distinguished Baron of Cahir, in an elevated marble monument adorned with effigies and statues." The monument has been partly reconstructed in a recess beneath the tower, and from the existing remains one may realize its original appearance. It was a table-tomb of the fifteenth century type. Round the sides, under canopies supported by pillarettes, were figures of the apostles carved in high relief. These though exceedingly rude, are touching from their sincerity and earnestness. Surmounting the whole were the recumbent figures of the baron and his lady, carved "in the solid" on a huge block of Kilkenny marble, eight feet in length by four feet four inches wide.

The figures of the baron and his lady still exist, together with five of the apostles. The former is clad in plate-armour with a hauberk or cowl of chain mail. The figure as usual, has sword and belt, but the hands lie loosely on the body instead of being joined in the customary way. The lady exhibits the costume of the early fifteenth century, stiff-plaited skirt and tight-fitting boddice, with huge, horned head-gear. At the feet of the baron is the lion emblematic of strength, while beneath the wife is the dog, to typify her fidelity. The shield, which is placed between the heads of the figures, is charged with the arms of the Cahir branch of the Butlers; in dexter chief three covered cups, in base a fesse indented on which is a cross. The inscription begins at the left corner and is carried along the length and so round the edge to the starting point when it takes the inner line. Except where broken it is quite legible.

Hic Jacet jacobus galdy filius comitis ormonie anno domini 1431. Obiit petrus buttiler ✠ [MCCC] CLXIIII thomas petri buttyller anno ✠ domini MCCCCLXVIIII. Obiit Edmundus thome filii petri buttyller anno domini 1533 [Catherina] poer uxor edmundi ✠ buttyller anno domini 1512 Orate pro animabus thome buttyller et ✠ Elene buttyller uxoris ejus qui hoc opus fieri fecerunt anno domini 153 . . . .

[*Translation.*]

Here lies James Galdy,
Son of the Earl of Ormond, in the year of the Lord 1431.
Peter Buttiller died 1464.
Thomas fitz Peter Buttyller in the year of the Lord 1468.
Edmund the son of Thomas fitz Peter Buttyller, in the year of the Lord 1533.
[Catherine] Poer wife of Edmund Butler, in the year of the Lord 1512.
Pray for the Souls of Thomas Buttyller and Ellen Buttyller his wife
Who had this work made in the year of the Lord 153—

James Galdy, the founder of the Cahir house, was an illegitimate son of James, third Earl of Ormond, by Catherine, daughter of Lord Desmond. He was called Gallda or the foreigner, possibly from expeditions as a soldier of fortune abroad. He obtained the Cahir estate from his father who had been granted it 1375. Peter Butler named was grandson of James Galdy; the others, Thomas, Edmund and Thomas are the successive generations, the last-named being created first baron of Cahir, 10th November, 1543.

Perhaps of even greater interest, though not so old, was the tomb of John White fitz Geoffrey, first mayor of Clonmel. This was removed from the church very many years ago to St. Mary's Catholic church, where it may still be seen. It consists of a deeply sunk panel, well moulded. In the centre are

the White arms. For distinction there are two angels as supporters. These are very crude, though their drapery shows Renaissance influence. An esquire's helmet, surrounded by pipey foliage, is placed over the shield, the crest being an archer demy. The inscription is—

Insignia Joannis White armigeris
Quondam comit Palatini Tipperariae Seneschal
Comitati Waterfordiae vici-comitis Clonmel primi majoris
Sic Transit mundi gloria
Benedictus Vitus haeres dicti Joannis
Et Alsona haec fieri fecerunt 1615.

[*Translation.*]

The arms of John White Esquire,
Sometime Seneschal of the County Palatine of Tipperary,
Sheriff of the County of Waterford, First Mayor of Clonmel.
So the glory of the world passes away.
Benedict White heir of the said John, and Ellice
Got this made 1615.

The subtle parade of family honours is pardonable, since no less a personage than Richard Boyle (afterwards the great Earl of Cork) was proud to count these people his cousins *(hh)*.

Thus for centuries stood the old Friary, a light to the living and a shelter to the dead. And when the Reformation came the friars were not unprepared. Some years earlier they had gone back to the primitive rule with its fearful austerities *(ii)*. Men who had sacrificed everything else could easily give up life itself, and therefore they offered Henry a strenuous resistance. Those who surrendered their monasteries peaceably to the king received life pensions; but we read the pension lists in vain for the names of the Friars Minors. The fate of Clonmel house we learn from the following:—

Monastery of St. ffrancis.

An inquisition was held in Clonmel, in the Co. Tipperary, on the Monday after Dominica in albis, in the thirty first regnal year of Henry VIII. (1540), in presence of John Alen, Chancellor of Ireland, by the undersigned etc. who state upon oath

That the monastery of St. ffrancis in Clonemell otherwise called "The graye ffreyres of Clonemell" was founded at a time of which the memory of man does not exist to the contrary, and that the said monastery contains within its precincts a church, a bell-tower, a dormitory, three chambers, a kitchen, a stable, etc., two gardens, an acre and four messuages, four gardens, six acres of arable land, a stang and a weir with its belongings, all in Clonmell aforesaid, and two acres of arable land in "le Newton de la Annor" with their appurtenances, as also two acres with their appurtenances in le [blank.]

(hh) Jan. 1615, my Cozen John White ffitz Geffrey of Clonmell owes me that I lent himself £31 10s. ster. and to his son Bennett in England other £8. . . . . my cozen Alsen White and her son Bennett Whyte ow me by their bill £20.—Boyle's Diary.

(ii) The House of Clonmel adopted the Strict Observance in 1536.

That Robert Travers, late guardian or custodian of the said monastery, was seized in fee and by right of the said monastery, and being so seized and so forth, the said monastery and so forth on the 28 day of March in the thirty first of the said King, was taken in virtue of a Commission dated, and so forth. And also that the said Robert late guardian and the friars then left, so that the said monastery was totally dissolved and continues so.

That the provost of the town of Clonemell and all his predecessors, enjoyed a chief rent of 6s. 8d. yearly, derivable from the foresaid monastery, and that Robert Travers late guardian by his deed indented bearing date 20 March, 1536, conveyed to James White of Clonmel, merchant, a haggard for a term of years at the yearly rent of 6s. 8d.

That the said late guardian by his deed indented, bearing date the Vigil of the Annunciation 1530, conveyed to Nicholas Mulroney, his heirs and assigns for ever, a piece of ground within the said town with its appurtenances, paying 2s. rent yearly at the Feasts etc.

That the said guardian by his deed indented bearing date 12 February, A.D. 1537, conveyed to John O'Homan, cleric, a messuage with its appurtenances within the said town, for the term of 27 years paying a yearly rent of 6s: that the said Robert by his deed etc. on the Vigil of the Annunciation 1530, conveyed to Nicholas Mulrony his heirs and assigns for ever, a piece of ground ten feet long, paying yearly 2s. rent; that the foresaid Robert on the said 28th of March was seized in fee of the foresaid rents of said premises with their reservations and reversions.

But of what person or persons, the said monastery and its possessions, are held, and by what services, who was or were the founders of the said monastery, the jurors are altogether ignorant *(jj)*.

Two years later, 1st September, 1542, a commission was directed to the Lord Deputy, the Chancellor, Gerald Aylmer and William Brabazon, to sell and dispose of all the sites and possessions of friars' houses in Ireland, reserving a reasonable rent to the Crown *(kk)*. In pursuance of this commission the Friary was sold May 9th, 1543, the price paid being apparently £48.

1542. The halfindell of the Friary Clonemell to the Sovereign and Commonalty there, 24*li.*

The other half to the Lord of Ormond, 24*li.*

The following are abstracts of the conveyances.

Grant to John Stridche, Sovereign of the town of Clonmell and the commonalty, of a moiety of the house or monastery of Friars Minors of Clonmell, and the church, belfry, dormitory, hall and cemetery, and all lands and messuages within the site and precinct of the monastery; and of a moiety of all messuages in Clonmell, Newton de Annour and near to Annours-bridge, in the county of Tipperary, which were lately reputed parcel of the possessions of the monastery. To be held by the sovereign and commonalty, their heirs, successors or assigns for ever, by Knight's service, viz., by the eighth part of a Knight's fee—May 9, 1543.

Grant to James Butler, Earl of Ormond and Ossory, of a moiety of the monastery of the Friars Minors of Clonmel, and of the church and its possessions; To hold for ever by Knights' service, viz., by the one-eight part of a Knight's fee. Rent by the name of a twentieth part—12d.—May 15, 1643 (*ll*).

(jj) Chief Remembrancer, Inquis. Tipperary, Hen. VIII. No. 5.
(kk) Pat. Rot. Hen. VIII., Morrin p. 90.
(ll) Morrin, p. 88.

During three quarters of a century following the dissolution, the friars for obvious reasons, disappeared from observation. They are discovered occasionally in the reports of spies. On 28th July, 1592, for instance—

There is one Sir Teig O'Swillivan an earnest Precher of Popery still preaching from house to house in Waterford, Clonmel and Fethard (*mm*).

When, however, the storm had partly spent itself, they returned again to the neighbourhood of their old houses. In 1615 Donough Mooney, superior of the Irish Franciscans, visited Clonmel and to his visit we owe the following graphic account:—

The convent of Clonmel in the diocese of Waterford and Lismore, occupies a delightful position on the bank of the Suir, in an angle formed by the walls. The Earl of Desmond is said to have been the founder, but the citizens claim that honour for themselves. At the dissolution of the monasteries the Earl of Ormond obtained possession of the convent and buildings belonging to it, while the church, cemetery and sacristy were granted to the citizens. The church is still in good repair and contains the burial places of many distinguished persons. Among others that of the Baron of Cahir, whose monument made of marble and embellished with images and statues, is raised in the centre of the choir. In my time a heretic who held the position of magistrate in the town, and who was a notorious priest hunter, selected a burial place for himself within the church, and was actually interred beside the seat of the priest and sacred ministers, near the High Altar. Certain Jesuits and other ecclesiastics, living in the town, were consenting parties to this and connived at the sacrilege. Even the friars made no protest, being prevented, it is said, by the machinations of the others. Thus through their carelessness the sacred place, which had hitherto escaped pollution, was desecrated. For they permitted this burial to take place fearing a greater evil, they said, whereas a single word would have prevented it. When on visitation of the Province in 1615, I had the body exhumed by night and removed to unconsecrated ground, and having got permission from the Archbishop, I purified the place by *Asperges* (*nn*).

The church is much frequented by the townspeople who there meet in prayer. On Sundays and Holidays, the magistrates as well as the people assemble with great devotion and make the *Station* as they call it, when offerings or alms are contributed for the souls of the dead. These are received by persons appointed for the purpose, who afterwards expend them on the repair of the church buildings and in support of the priests and the poor. This custom has existed from time immemorial, but a distribution of a portion of the offerings among the priests and the poor is believed to have commenced with the introduction of the Heresy, for before that time the clergy had property of their own, and even now offerings are made to them privately. It is easy therefore to believe that this pious custom was originally introduced for the purpose of keeping the convent buildings in repair, or for the benefit of the friars themselves. This is the reason why the other ecclesiastics are unwilling to have the Franciscans take up again their residence in the town. For twice, in my recollection, members of the Order were appointed to Clonmel and were refused admittance by the townsfolk, acting, it is thought, under their influence. The Jesuits have even alleged that they have obtained a grant of the convent from the Pope, but their efforts to obtain such, have been frustrated, and will be frustrated again if renewed.

It is thought, and with good grounds, that all the buildings from Kilsheelan Street, as it is called, to the thoroughfare known by the name Suir Quay-Gate Street, belonged

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(mm) Rawlinson MS., Bodleian.

(nn) Dr. Kearney was Archbishop of Cashel; there was no Bishop of Waterford from 1578 to 1629.

to the convent, and that the houses occupied by the townspeople along these streets were built by permission of the friars. This is very probable; judging from the situation of the houses round the convent, as also from the fact that the domestic offices of the monastery, such as the bakehouse and the like, lie among these buildings. Again, the building lease of one of the houses which overlook the cemetery, contains a covenant securing free access from the street to the monastery and cemetery. Besides these houses have neither gardens nor back yards, but simply stand between the streets on the one side and the convent grounds on the other. The mill at the Gate and the fishery close by, also formed part of the possessions of the friars. These are called "The Earl's Mill," "The Earl's Fishery." The large house near the convent, known by the name of "The Earl's Court," is also supposed to have been their property. For it was customary among Irish noblemen to erect edifices of this sort as places of retreat, within the bounds of the monasteries they founded, and hand them over to the friars that they might be always kept in readiness for their reception. Others however, say that this house never belonged to the monastery.

All the buildings (except those mentioned above as being in possession of the citizens, and except the cloister), have fallen into ruin. The Earl of Ormond has put into repair some parts of what was formerly the infirmary. This he has for a residence with the adjoining garden. Helen de Barry has by dower, these premises—she was widow of the late Earl of Ormond and is now married to Sir Thomas Somerset. I went to her with the request that she would bestow the place on the friars, but she refused to hear me, acting it may be on some such advice as I have alluded to when treating of Cashel (*oo*). Mass is sometimes celebrated and sermons preached in the church. A citizen notwithstanding my opposition, has constructed a burial place for himself in one of the chapels in the very spot where stood a wooden Altar, on which I have often seen the holy sacrifice offered. I promised to keep this in mind, that in happier times the brethren may know what to do.

I have no information regarding the friars of Clonmel except that I read in an ancient manuscript that they took possession of the convent in 1269. A priest named Maurice, who was put to death for the faith by the heretics in Clonmel about 1589, was interred here. His relics were placed at the back of the High Altar (*pp*).

Mooney's account may be supplemented by some details obtained from a seventeenth century map of the town.

Where the Main Guard now stands was a row of small holdings, extending halfway down Duncan, or as it was then styled "Boat" Street, as far as Bank lane which appears from the map to have been a passage enclosed by a gateway, leading into "The Abbey Grounds"—a great open space, thinly planted with trees. In the centre of these grounds stood the Franciscan Friary, a large building in the olden time and one of the most splendid houses of the Order in Ireland as regards its internal decoration. The town wall, which formed the boundary, extended from the end of Dublin or as it was then called "Sheelane" Street, where the eastern gate stood, down to the verge of the river. Two circular embattled towers stood side by side, nearly opposite Abbey Street; while a heavy quadrangular structure called "The Bastion" at the end of Boate Street protected "The Water Sate." Some two or three large corn stores now occupy the site of "The Bastion." About midway between "The Bastion" and the eastern wall of the town stood "His Grace's Mansion." It was a long building stretching across the present Abbey Street, which at that time had no existence. Immediately to the rere of the mansion was "His Grace's Kitchen," while in front was "His Grace's Orcharde" occupying an angle of the Abbey grounds (*qq*).

(oo) This advice was that she could retain the property *salva conscientia* on condition of distributing alms each year, the amount to be determined by her confessor.

(pp) Original in Latin.—Archives O.M., Merchants' Quay, Dublin.

(qq) Abridged from some papers by Mr. William Clarke in *Clonmel Chronicle* September, 1877. The map which belonged to Mr. Joseph White of Irishtown, is now lost.

A papal brief being obtained for the purpose, the friars in 1616 again took up residence in the town. "Father Thomas Bray, a theologian and an eloquent preacher, was appointed superior. He was most remarkable for reconciling parties in dispute, and by his own, and the preaching of his fellow labourers, did good without measure, and brought a great increase to religion "*(rr)*. Henceforward the connection of the friars with Clonmel was unbroken. Though their discovery meant death during the Commonwealth, and transportation during the penal times of William III. and Anne, we know that at each of these periods, one at least remained in the locality. In the comparatively tolerant reign of Charles II. they established themselves in the Irishtown, where they built a thatched chapel. This stood nearly opposite the present St. Mary's, a little to the rere of the street *(ss)*. From there James White, the guardian, wrote to his superiors in 1669:—

> Praised be to God the persecution has not reached me yet. In all the towns throughout Munster every chapel is closed, and mass can be offered up nowhere unless with the greatest secrecy. This place is the only exception. Up to now we have had ample freedom even in public. There are two chapels with three altars for sacrifice, large congregations, sermons on Sundays and Holidays. But I fear we shall soon lose these privileges. There are with me five novices, promising young men, well advanced in the Humanities, in fact they write Latin verse and composition very well. God give them the grace of perseverance, and quiet times *(tt)*.

This state of things, with a few interruptions, lasted until the Revolution. The friars had then to go into hiding; if taken they were transported, and should they return, they were liable to the penalties of high treason. Throughout the penal days, though their presence in the town was often connived at, there could be no question of opening a public chapel again. They lived in a house in the Irishtown, and officiated at the parish chapel. Occasionally they occupied the attention of the authorities. The mayor in 1731, upon an inquiry made by a committee of the House of Lords, reported that "John Leo, Michael Dwyer and James Walsh are Fryars or reputed so. I do finde there is a Popish Fryery in the West Subburbs of the said Towne wherein the above Fryers live and cohabit." Rev. Joseph Moore, Protestant vicar, on 23rd April, 1766, certified to Parliament *inter alia* that in Clonmel there were "two reputed fryars," and in Innislounaght "one fryar" *(uu)*.

The old Franciscan church had as chequered history as the friars themselves. When in 1650 Clonmel was taken possession of by the Cromwellians, they proceeded at once to convert the whole precinct of the friary into a huge

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(rr) A Synopsis of the Province of Ireland, 1630.—Ward.
(ss) In an old Corporation rental the holding is described as the "Old Friary."
(tt) Latin original, Archives O.M., Dublin.
(uu) Parliamentary Returns, P.R.O.

fortress, so that in future the Irish population should not surprise the town as they had done in 1641. The popular tradition therefore, that Cromwell stabled his horses in the church, rests on a historical basis. At the Restoration the "Ffort of Clonmell," with the great part of the town, was granted to the Duke of Ormond. It does not appear that the corporation of the period raised any question as to the moiety of the Franciscan house which had once belonged to them. The burgesses were Cromwellians; they were tenants of the Duke, and were probably unwilling to incur his all-powerful enmity. Ormond's disposition of the friary may be gathered from the map before described. On 4th September, 1702, a fee-farm grant of the "Fort" (except the abbey and courthouse) was made by the second Duke of Ormond to Phineas Ryall of Clonmel, merchant *(vv)*. Five years later Captain Thomas Batty who acted as Ormond's agent, and probably occupied "His Grace's Mansion," mortgaged to Ryall the abbey itself for the sum of £1,440 *(ww)*. It would appear that some time previously, the Protestant Dissenters of Clonmel had obtained the choir of the church for a place of worship, as Ryall, their treasurer, on 23rd March, 1705, made payments to "John Foster y^{e} Slater, for all Abby work" *(xx)*. On the removal of the Dissenting congregation to Nelson Street about the year 1789, one John Coman, an apothecary, obtained from Samuel Perry a lease of "the old meeting house and steeple or castle belonging thereto." The nave of the church was long incorporated with other holdings, and its last vestiges were removed when the present Abbey Street was opened directly through the centre of it in 1760 *(yy)*. Portion of the ground was leased for building by Rev. Joseph Moore, Protestant rector, and while the work was proceeding, tradition tells us, a strange discovery was made:—

In a vault was discovered a priest in his robes, sitting in a chair, having a chalice and mass-book on his knee. But on being touched by the workmen he fell into dust. St. Mary's Parish was engraved on the cup, and Dr. Egan, the then titular Bishop of the diocese, demanded it, but the Rev. Dr. Moore replied that it should remain in the church to which it belonged. In the same vault was also found a large chest of vestments and religious books, which were sent to the Clonmel friary, among which was the life of St. Patrick, Bridget and Columba in Latin, now in the possession of a friend of mine *(zz)*.

(vv) Palatinate of Tipperary Records, P.R.O. It would appear from Ryall's ledger that John Perry was joined with him in the grant, though there is no mention of the fact in the document itself. The fine paid to Ormond was £106 13s. 4d., of which half was charged to Perry; the rent reserved being £27 11s. 10d.

(ww) "By a mortgage on your lease of the Abbey dated this 1st of June 1707."—Ryall Ledger.

(xx) They paid a yearly rent of £5 to Ryall.

(yy) Abbey Street was originally Warren Street, the custom being to name the streets after British admirals—Duncan, Hawke, Nelson.

(zz) Monk Mason Survey 1813, P.R.O. The Latin life of St. Patrick etc., was probably Messingham's (Paris 1625). This circumstance and the mention of Rev. Dr. Moore lend some probability to the story which otherwise would appear a *rechauffe* of the celebrated discovery of Charlemagne.

The friars, doubtless, were not impassive spectators of the destruction of their old church, but nothing was more improbable than that they should ever again possess a stone of it. When on 1st June, 1799, a Catholic brewer, Richard FitzPatrick, obtained a lease of the ruined choir for 31 years from John Coman, it was only on the following condition :—

> Provided that if the Parish Priest of Clonmel and the Roman Catholic Inhabitants thereof, or a Committee thereof of which the said Priest shall be one, shall at any time hereafter be disposed to convert the said Premises into a Chappel, that in that case it shall and may be lawful to and for the said John Coman to resume the possession of the said premises (*a*).

Yet six years before this lease had expired, the Franciscans were once more established in their old habitat. On 23rd May, 1825, Rev. Charles Dalton purchased "the castle and store in Warren Street" from Patrick Rivers as representative of Richard FitzPatrick, covenanting to pay all arrears of rent due to Samuel Perry and the representatives of John Coman. The ancient choir now formed the body of the church, a wing was added at the east end, and in this L shaped structure two galleries were placed to increase the accommodation. Such was the church of the friars as it was re-opened in 1827—177 years after they had been driven out by Cromwell, and 558 since their first coming to the town.

For two generations this church served the needs of the congregation. But in 1883 Rev. J. B. Cooney, encouraged by the princely munificence of Father Cuddihy, a former member of the Franciscan community in Clonmel, determined upon building a church that might replace, if it could not rival, the old 13th century structure. Some considerable difficulties had to be overcome. On the one hand space was limited; on the other, Father Cooney wished to preserve intact the parts that remained of the ancient building. In the result, room was provided for the congregation by giving an unusual width in proportion to the length, 68 feet to 87. The roofs of the nave and aisles were made of equal height so that the fifteenth century tower should not be dwarfed by a clear-storey. Finally the row of noble lancets in the north wall of the original 13th century choir, now light the north aisle of the new church. In the details also, the old remains were followed as closely as possible; the jamb shafts in the chancel windows with their bases, annulets and capitals, are exactly reproduced from those of the former east window, while fragments of early tombs discovered, were inserted in the wall spaces of the tower *(b)*. A better example of judicious restoration

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(a) Original lease *penes* Rev. J. B. Cooney, O.M.

(b) A beautiful cross which doubtless crowned one of the 13th century gables, is still preserved in the church. It measures with its socket 30 inches by 22, the centre is pierced and the arms terminate in scrolls.

could hardly be found. On 1st August, 1886, Mass was offered up for the first time in the new church; the 27th October following, the solemn dedication by the Most Rev. Dr. Pierce Power, took place *(c)*.

ALTAR PLATE.

The old altar plate in possession of the Clonmel Franciscans consists of two sixteenth century chalices with their patens, two seventeenth century chalices, and a monstrance of the same period. There is not on any article a solitary mark to indicate its fabric or maker. The seventeenth century chalices and monstrance, are unquestionably of Irish manufacture; one of the earlier chalices, from its superior design and finish, seems to be of foreign origin. The following is a description of the several pieces:—

No. 1. This chalice is 8 inches high; the cup is 3 inches in diameter and 2½ inches deep; the base is 4½ inches in extreme width. The cup is bell-shaped, the lip being very slight; fixed to the bottom are six foils. The cup rests on a six-sided stem, divided by a spherical knob. The knob is ornamented by bold leaf-like loops on the faces of which is cross hatching with points between the hatches. The stem at each end of which is a collar, rests on a base which spreads itself into six panels. The panels, convex at their extremities, are supported by a milled bandlet firmly set on a flat plate.

The inscription which was cut on the under side of the flat plate of the base, is now almost worn away. The date however "1570" is still legible. The incised ornament on the chalice consisting of a rude representation of the Crucifixion on one of the panels, together with the cross hatching already described, is unworthy of the general design. It probably therefore may be referred to the period indicated by a second inscription carved round the foot of the panels.

HUNC CALICEM PROCURAVIT FR. EDMUNDUS DE BURGO
CONVENTUI FRAT. MINORUM DE CLONMEL, 1664.

[*Translation*]. Friar Edmund Burke obtained this chalice for the convent of the Friars Minors of Clonmel.

No. 2. This is probably the most beautiful chalice of its period existing in Ireland. It is not however a Franciscan chalice. The Protestant Ecclesiastical Commission report of the diocese of Lismore, dated November 2, 1588, has "Vicarage of Kylcassy [Kilcash]--Mr. Thomas Goffrey, cleric, is vicar. The Bishop [has the advowson]." But Goffrey firmly adhered to the Catholic faith for in a subsequent report we find:—

"Vicarage of Kilcassy—Thomas Goffrey absent from our inquiry, a papist, extremely contumacious. The fruits of the living sequestered: He is suspended from his benefice and deprived of his office" *(d)*.

And again—

"Thomas Goffrey vicar of Kilcasy received sentence of deprivation for his manifest contumacy and notorious irregularity" *(e)*.

During the episcopate of Dr. Lloyd 1736-1747, a Franciscan named Richard Hogan was appointed to the parish of Kilcash and through him doubtless, the chalice came into possession of the Order.

(c) The total cost of the re-construction was £6,000. Mr. Walter Doolin was architect, and Mr. J. Delany of Cork, builder.

(d) MS. E. 3, 14. T.C.D.

(e) Ibid.

The chalice stands 9⅜ inces high; the diameter of the cup is 4 inches and its depth 3 inches *(f)*. The cup which is pear-shaped rests on a hexagonal stem. The knob is a flattened sphere, a bead being carried round the centre; approaching the bead on each side is serrated fluting. The stem being slightly longer than usual, the base is flatter so that the whole membering is distinctly Gothic. The six panels of the base rest on a band which is chased with a minute Maltese-cross pattern. At the angles formed by the concave segments of the foot-plate, are placed projecting flowerets like anthemions. The graceful design, and the character of the ornament, suggest that this chalice is of foreign design, probably French. The inscription runs:—

TOMAS GOFFRIE PRESBYTER ME FIERI FECIT 1599.

[*Translation*]. Thomas Goffrie, the Priest, got me made 1599.

No. 3. This chalice though of the usual Irish 17th century pattern, is exquisitely proportioned. Indeed it would be difficult to conceive a more harmonious arrangement of cup, knob and base. A line drawn through the lip of the cup and the centre of the knob, flows directly into the curve of the base. The dimensions are, height 7¼ inches, width of base 5½ inches, diameter of cup 3¼ inches, depth 2¾ inches. The cup is bell-shaped, and has an incised ornament of conventional flowers on its lower side. The flattened knob is divided into facettes by deep incisions of the figure 8 shape, the interstices being filled with star designs. The base is like the stem, six-sided, the extremities being concave segments. On one of the panels a curved tendril bears the thistle flower, above it the Tudor rose, and on top the shamrock *(g)*. The inscription is:—

JACOBUS DANIEL CLONMELIEN^{s} ME FIERI FECIT, ANNO 1614.
ORATE PRO EJUS ANIMA.

[*Translation*]. James Daniel of Clonmel got me made in the year 1614.
Pray for his soul.

This James is doubtless the person named as a burgess in the Charter of James I. being one of "the best and discreetest men of and in the said town and borough of Clonmel."

No. 4. This chalice is altogether inferior to the others in design and workmanship. Its height is 8⅞ inches; width of base 5 inches; diameter of cup 3⅜ inches, depth 3 inches. The cup is tulip shaped; stem and base hexagonal. The ornament is characteristically rude,—mere lines and points. A panel of the base exhibits the figure of Our Saviour crucified, *but no cross*. This is not a mere oversight of the engraver, for I have met the like on contemporary chalices. The purpose seems to be that the chalice itself is the cross, as Christ is offered up in it just as He was on the cross. The inscription is as follows:—

ORATE PRO ANIMABUS EDMUNDI EVERARDI ET JOANNAE
NAISH UXORIS EJUS, 1645.

[*Translation*]. Pray for the souls of Edmund Everard and
Joan Naish his wife, 1645.

This Edmund was a son of Nicholas Everard, of Fethard, who was proprietor of some land in the Burgagery *(h)*.

No. 5. This is a monstrance, the ostensory being modern while the base, with the stem, is 17th century work. The style and proportions of the latter indicate that the

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(f) The cup is modern, being made when the chalice was restored in 1871, but it was presumably copied from the older one.

(g) This is the earliest example of this combination, known to the writer.

(h) On 7th July, 1634, John Everard son of Nicholas of Fethard, and grandson of Sir John, devised to Johanna Everard alias Nash a piece of land in Kiltully, and a stone house in Fethard, for the term of 47 years.—Inquis. Tipp., P.R.O.

article is a converted chalice. For on one of the panels the usual representation of the crucifixion, ladder, spear, etc. is engraved; the knob also is lower on the stem than it would be in a monstrance. The base is as usual, hexagonal but the foils are convex. The inscription is :—

> JACOBUS EVERARD ET ANASTASIA DONOGHOW ME FIERI FECERUNT AD USUM FRATRUM MINORUM CLONMELIENSIUM ANNO 1667.
>
> [*Translation*]. James Everard and Anastasia Donoghow had me made for the use of the Friars Minors of Clonmel in the year 1667.

These are evidently "the good frinds" mentioned by Thomas White, parish priest of Clonmel in his will *supra*. As there was no hope that the Catholics should ever possess old St. Mary's again and that his purpose of erecting a statue of the Blessed Virgin therein, should be realized, "Mr. James Everard and his loveing wife Anstas Donogho," probably devoted £4 in their hands to the making of the chalice *(i)*.

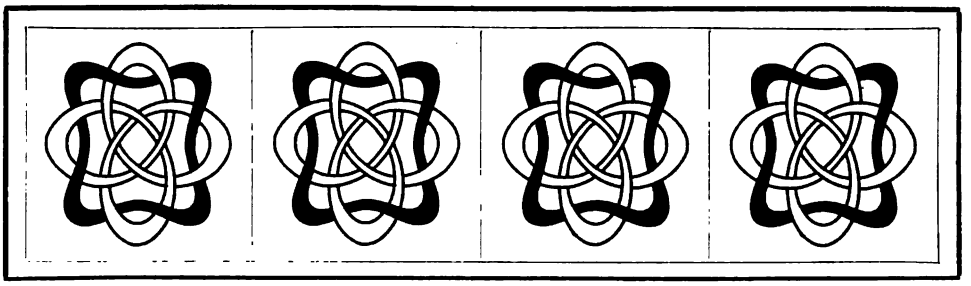
FRANCISCAN GUARDIANS *(j)*.

1536 Robert Travers.
1590 Timothy O'Sullivan.
1616 Thomas Bray, S.T.L.
1645 Thomas De Vin.
1647 Edmund Bray, jun.
1650 Edmund Bray, S.T.L.
1659 Thomas De Vin.
1661 James De Vin.
1666 James White.
1669 Thomas De Vin.
1670 Francis Fleming.
1672 Francis Fleming.
1675 James White.
1676 James White.
1678 Francis Fleming.
1679 Benedict Sall.
1680 Benedict Sall.
1681 Bonaventure Magrath.
1683 Francis Fleming.
1684 Francis Fleming.
1685 Bonaventure FitzGerald.
1687 Bonaventure FitzGerald.
1689 Bonaventure McGrath.
1690 Francis Flèming.
1693 Owen Callenan.
1697 Benedict Sall.
1700 Francis Doyle.
1703 Francis Doyle.
1705 Francis Doyle.
1706 Michael Dwyer.
1708 Michael Dwyer.
1709 Benedict Sall.
1711 Anthony Mandeville.
1714 Patrick Flood.
1716 Bonaventure Mandeville.
1717 Bonaventure Mandeville.
1720 John Baptist Sweeny.
1729 Michael Dwyer.
1731 Michael Dwyer.
1744 Thomas White.

(i) At the Franciscan house in Waterford is a chalice which once belonged to the Clonmel convent. It is of the ordinary hexagonal-based style, with tulip cup, the knob being disproportionately large. The inscription is "Joannes English Burgensis de Clonmel et Margarita Power uxor ejus, me sibi posterisque fieri fecerunt quibus propitius sit Deus An. Domini 1645." *Translation*—John English, Burgess of Clonmel and his wife Margaret Power got me made for themselves and their posterity. May God be good to them. In the year of the Lord 1645.

(j) The foregoing list is taken from the "Chapter Bills" of the several years, preserved in the Franciscan Archives, Dublin.

1751 Joseph Ormond, S.T.L.
1759 Patrick Purcell.
1761 John Davis.
1770 Laurence O'Donnell.
1772 Patrick McNamara.
1773 Laurence O'Donnell.
1776 Francis Lynch.
1778 Francis Lynch.
1779 Bonaventure O'Connor.
1781 Bonaventure O'Connor.
1782 Anthony FitzGibbon.
1784 Anthony FitzGibbon.
1785 Bonaventure O'Connor.
1788 John Power.
1791 John Power.
1793 John Power.
1794 John Shea.
1796 John Power.
1800 Anthony Prendergast.
1803 Anthony Prendergast.
1804 James Quinn.
1806 James Quinn.
1815 Anthony Prendergast.
1819 Anthony Prendergast.
1822 Anthony Prendergast.
1824 Charles Dalton.
1827 Charles Dalton.
1830 Charles Dalton.
1831 Michael Lonergan.
1834 James Prendergast.
1836 James Prendergast.
1837 Patrick Cuddihy.
1839 James Prendergast.
1842 James Prendergast.
1848 John Magner.
1852 John Magner.
1853 Michael Burke.
1858 John H. Bergin.
1860 Joseph Power.
1864 Aloysius O'Regan.
1866 Anthony Slattery.
1867 Bonaventure Prendergast.
1873 Joseph A. Power.
1876 Anthony Walsh.
1882 Bernard Cooney.
1885 Bernard Cooney.
1895 Bonaventure Bradley.
1899 Bernard Cooney.
1906 Anthony Slattery.



CHAPTER XV.

MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT FOR CLONMEL.

THE earliest notice of a parliamentary summons to Clonmel, is in the Patent Rolls, 33 Edward III. (1359). The following is a translation of the writ:—

The King to the provost and bailiffs of his town of Clonmel, greeting. Whereas we, with the help of God, purpose holding a council at Waterford, on the Monday before the next feast of St. Ambrose, to treat about arduous affairs intimately connected with us, which council is to be held with you, the prelates, magnates, and other distinguished men of our land of Ireland. In virtue of the fidelity and allegiance by which you are firmly bound to us, we command that you have sent, said day and place, two of the more discreet men of your town, who shall have full power on behalf of the commonalty, to deal with the matters above mentioned, and together with our justiciar, the rest of our council, prelates, etc., to consent to the things which with God's permission, may be there ordained for our honour and convenience. Witness James le Botiller, Earl of Ormond, Justiciar, Dublin 18 March *(k)*.

For a period of two centuries subsequent, there is no evidence that Clonmel was represented in parliament. Down to the middle of Elizabeth's reign that assembly in Ireland was a rather shadowy one, and it is yet a question how far the summons lists, even of Tudor times, represent the actual attendance. The parliament of 1541 enacted that members should be resident in the counties or boroughs for which they had been elected. Hence the first representatives of Clonmel were all natives of the town.

1559, January	...	John Stritche, Clonmell. Henry White, Clonmell.

(k) Pat. Rot., Ed. III.

The Stritches gave their name to the island in the river which lies north of Suir Island. John Stritch here mentioned, was sovereign of the borough, 1539–1543. In a list of the freeholders of the Cantred of Clonmel, he is set down as holding an estate of £20 a year.

Henry White was head of the senior branch of the family at this period. He resided in Lough Street, where he died 5 August, 1577. An inquisition held 13 Nov., 19 Elizabeth, found that he was seized of sixty messuages in the town and suburbs of Clonmel; of a water mill on the Suir; of three hundred acres "in the plains near Clonmel"; of six acres great measure in the land of Fethard called Robages land.

1585, April ... ... { Geffry White, Clonmell.
John Bray, Clonmell.

Geoffry White was sovereign of Clonmel 1581–2, 86–7, 89–90. His name occurs in a protest made in parliament against the attainder of Desmond, until Ormond's right to lands escheated in the liberty of Tipperary, should be secured. By his wife Anastasia Comerford, he was father of John White, first mayor of Clonmel.

The name De Bray occurs in the Anglo-Irish records from the first invasion. But in due course the Brays became Hibernicised, for in 1552 a "grant of English liberty" was made to "Edmond O'Brohe" of Clonmel with his children Michael, John and Anne and their issue (*l*). The John named was member of parliament.

1613, April 16th ... { Nicholas White, Gent., Clonmell.
John Bray, Gent., Clonmell.

As this parliament was to determine the great issue not only of the confiscation of Ulster, but of the enactment of penal laws against the Catholics, the representatives chosen by the Clonmel freeholders, were evidently picked men. During the two previous years, the English authorities were carefully manufacturing the constituencies. But Sir Richard Moryson, Vice-President of Munster, in October 1611, had to report of Clonmel "No hope of any conformable" (*m*).

Nicholas White was second son of Henry White, member in 1559. He was the wealthiest burgher of the period, and throughout the reign of James I. suffered most from religious persecution. The epithet "constant" applied to him therefore by his widow, was not an empty one (*n*). He died 30 August, 1622.

John Bray was son of John, member in 1585. He was, it would appear, cousin to Nicholas White; and his will was proved in 1632.

1634, June 19th ... { Henry White, Gent., Clonmel.
Geffrey Barron, Gent., Clonmel.

Henry White was son of Nicholas White *supra*. He was mayor of Clonmel 1639, and died about 1642, leaving a son Nicholas who was transplanted to Connaught in 1654.

Geoffry Barron; he was expelled from parliament 3 December, 1634, by direction of Lord Strafford. (For his biography, see Chapter XVII).

1639, February ... { William Smith, Gent.
Richard Gethings, Gent.

(l) Fiants, Edward VI.
(m) State Papers, Jas. I., p. 165.
(n) See his tomb at St. Patrick's Well, and also Chapter XIII.

As the burghers proved intractable, these members who had no connection whatever with Clonmel, were nominated by the Dublin officials.

William Smith or Smyth, was born at Long Ashen, near Bristol, 1590. Through the influence of Lady Thurles, he became secretary of James, Earl and after Duke of Ormond. His name is signed to the marriage articles of the Earl with Lady Preston in 1629. He died in 1655, and was the founder of the family of Damma and Carrick-on-Suir, all Catholics like himself.

Richard Gething came to Ireland as captain in the army; subsequently became secretary to Sir William St. Leger, president of Munster; on the death of St. Leger in 1642, he obtained a similar office under Lord Inchiquin. When in 1647 certain whispers were made against Inchiquin in the London Parliament, Gething was sent over to represent his case. He appears to have subsequently joined the Parliament party and during the Commonwealth acted as agent for the Percivall estate in Co. Cork. At the Restoration he became member for Limavady, obtained a grant of land in Cork, and 1 August, 1665, was created baronet. He was ancestor to the Gethins of Sligo and Cork.

1654, July 27th
1656, September 17th } Captain William Halsey.
1658, January 27th

During the Commonwealth a legislative union was effected between England and Ireland. In the parliament of "Praise God Barebones," a group of six officers represented Ireland; in the first and second parliaments of Cromwell, and in the parliament of Richard Cromwell, some constitutional pretence was made and certain districts were supposed to send representatives. Clonmel and Waterford formed one constituency, but it is more than doubtful that the member named, ever crossed the channel to take his seat.

William Halsey was captain in the Cromwellian army. In the Mallow Court for hearing the claims for dispensation from transplanting of the old natives of Cork, Youghal and Kinsale, he was constituted assistant judge with John Cooke. The following year, 1656, he sat at Athlone to discriminate the guilt of the Irish transplanted to Connaught. He made in 1657 an unsuccessful attempt to wrest the clerkship of the Hanaper from Carleton, on the grounds the latter had lived some time within royalist quarters in England. At the Restoration, he obtained on December 17, 1660, the office of Chief Justice of the Munster Presidency Court.

1661, April 3rd ... { Sir Thomas Stanley, Knt., Tickincorr.
Sir Francis Fowke.

Sir Thomas Stanley. Some particulars of his earlier career have been already given in Chapter VI. In 1656 he was one of the agents for the regiments whose lots fell in Munster; sheriff of Co. Waterford in 1658; towards the close of 1659 he threw in his lot with Broghill and others in promoting the King's restoration, and went to besiege Colonel Phair in Cork. But he subsequently fell under the suspicion of Ormond and made his way to England. He returned with the King's Letter dated February 20, 1661, that as he was coming to Ireland to plant, he should be duly encouraged. In the discussions in parliament over the Acts of Settlement and Explanation he took an active part. By patent enrolled 27 July, 1666, he was granted 9,155 plantation acres in Munster and 392 in Leinster. He established himself in the old Tudor house of Tickincorr, built by Alexander Power, and among the lands granted him were Kilganey, Kilganeybeg, Tickincorr, Ballymacarbery, Ballymackee, Ardpadden, etc. He died August, 1694, and was buried at St. Michan's, Dublin. He is ancestor of Lord Monck.

Sir Francis Fowke. On 17 September, 1646, the committee of the Long Parliament for Irish affairs, issued a commission to Colonel Richard Townsend for a regiment of 1000 foot. At the recommendation of Sir Hardress Waller, Foulke was appointed major. The regiment being sent over to the assistance of Inchiquin, occupied Cork and

Youghal. When Inchiquin in 1648 changed sides, though the Parliament auxiliaries followed him, he was not quite assured of their loyalty. Cromwell in the beginning of his campaign opened private communications with Townsend. Robert Foulke was despatched from Dublin to Camphire where his brother Francis was in command, and it was resolved that Francis Foulke, Townsend, and others should surprise Youghal. Though unsuccessful at first, Youghal was secured for Cromwell shortly after. At the Restoration, Foulkes abandoning the republican cause was rewarded by an appointment as a captain of foot 13 December, 1660; was granted the wardship of the Earl of Clanbrassil; and by King's Letter 12 December, 1660, was made "Governor of the town and citadel of Clonmel."

1661, June 14th—Sir James Shaen, Knt., *vice* Stanley for Co. Louth.

Sir James was son of Sir Francis Shaen, Knt., one of the planters on the lands of the Farrells of Longford. Like most of the Puritans of the time Sir James' principles were of a variable character. From a petition which he presented to the Lord Protector Cromwell in 1656, we learn that he was a loyal servant to the Commonwealth—one of his greatest "crosses" being that he was a cornet of horse in Ulster when there was a great defection from the Parliament. But he afterwards, he said, declared for the Parliament at the risk of his life. On the representation of Colonel Venables, Cromwell gave him a commission in a troop of horse. But when adherence to Cromwell meant risk of life, Sir James ranged himself on the side of the king. In 1661 as the hopes of the Irish rose and the possessions of the Cromwellians were threatened, Sir James went to London with a fund of more than £20,000 with which to purchase the patronage and influence of the English Privy Council in behalf of the adventurers. He was now loaded with honours; made registrar to the Commissioners for Settlement; granted Malahide Castle and estate; created a baronet. But the honours were short lived. "He has no reputation to lose," wrote Ormond, "and to patronise him can be no addition to that of any man, either in point of probity or intellectuals." He died 13 December, 1695, and the baronetcy became extinct in 1725 with his son.

1689, May 7th ... { Nicholas White, alderman.
John Bray, alderman.

In this, the parliament of James II. the Anglo-Irish burghers of Clonmel make their last appearance in history. Nicholas White is the first name on the list of aldermen contained in the new charter granted to the town 1687. He may be identified with "Nicholas White, Stritch," living in 1676 in Lough Street, east side *(o)*. If so he was son of Solomon White, and grandson of Thomas Stritch, mayor of Limerick, hanged by Ireton on the surrender of that city 27th October, 1651.

After the Restoration the Brays made a vain attempt to recover their property in Kilsheelan Street and elsewhere in the town. They subsequently obtained from Captain Mathew a farm at Galbertstown, near Thurles. On 11 May, 1691, at the Tholsel of the City of Dublin, John Bray ex-alderman of Clonmel and "member of the pretended parliament," was declared attainted *(p)*.

1692, September 26th { Robert Blenerhassett, Esq.
Richard Moore, Esq., Kilworth.

Robert Blenerhassett was second son of Arthur Blenerhassett, of Tralee, by Mary Fitzgerald, of Ballynard. His connection with Clonmel was due to the fact that he married Alice, daughter of Sir Thomas Osborne, 4th baronet. Appointed seneschal of the Co. Palatine of Tipperary, 22 June, 1705, and Master of the Rolls of the Palatine same year. By patent 11 August, 1711, he was named Prime-Sergeant; died the following year.

(o) Ministers' Money Returns. *(p)* Jacobite Attainders.—P.R.O.

Richard Moore was son of Stephen Moore who purchased Kilworth in 1684, and grandson of Richard Moore who came from Barnstaple to Clonmel in 1654. He married in 1692 Elizabeth Ponsonby, daughter of William Ponsonby, afterwards created Baron of Bessborough. Moore died in 1701.

1695, August 8th ... { Robert Blenerhassett, Esq.
Richard Moore, Esq., Kilworth.

Same as preceding.

1703, August 27 ... { Thomas Medlicott, Esq., Dublin.
Robert Hamerton, Esq., Ballyneale.

Thomas Medlicott born in Berkshire, settled in Dublin; purchased lands in Tipperary and Waterford in 1698, from James second Duke of Ormond; member of parliament for Westmeath 1708-10; appointed chief Commissioner of Revenue 1713. His will was proved in 1743; he is ancestor to the Medlycotts of Portlaw.

Robert Hamerton was grandson of Richard Hamerton who settled in Clonmel in 1654 *(q)*. He is an ancestor of the Hamertons of Orchardstown, and sat for the borough until his death in 1733.

1713, October 23rd ... { Robert Hamerton, Esq., Newtown.
Stephen Moore, Esq., Barne.

Stephen Moore was grandson of Richard (who established the family in Clonmel) and son of Thomas of Chancellorstown by his wife Eleanor, daughter of Alderman Lovett of Cork. He was mayor 1724, and to his efforts was mainly due the conversion of Clonmel into a pocket borough. He died in 1750.

1715, October 29th ... { Robert Hamerton, Esq., Newtown.
Stephen Moore, Esq., Barne.

1727, October 13th ... { Guy Moore, Esq., Abbey.
Stephen Moore, Esq., Barne.

Guy Moore was brother of Stephen. Born 1691; married in 1717 Mary daughter of Chidley Coote of Ardmaile; High Sheriff Tipperary, 1722; died 21 June, 1735.

1727, October 13th ... { Robert Hamerton, Esq., Newtown.
Robert Marshall, Esq., Dublin.

(q) Some notice of this Richard has already been given. "Edmund Prendergast made faith that in the month of March last he shewed the Proclamation of the 9th January, 1660 prohibiting the destruction of woods, to Richard Hamerton, who doth from time to time employ carpenters and others in cutting the woods of Curraghnemoney and Glenbreedy . . . . . And they and the other persons have made more destruction thereon since the said proclamacion than hath been done since the beginning of the Rebellion. 9 Novr., 1661."—Affidavits, etc., P.R.O. On 1 May, 1663, Hugh Radcliff leased to Hamerton for 21 years the west part of the lands of Clonmel, Carr's Island, Lawlestownbeg, Cahir Clough, Rathronane, etc., in all 2,300 plantation acres, "Bray to be left to law on his claim."—Decrees' Court of Claims, P.R.O. On 18th October, 1712, John Marshall of Clonmel purchased from Robert Hamerton and Sarah his wife, their interest in part of the burgagery lands for £1,200.—Palatinate Fines, 199. At this period the burgagery lands were the subject of intricate chancery proceedings, 14th July, 1713, etc.—Calendar of Chancery Decrees, P.R.O.

At the election in 1727, the voting was Guy Moore 169, Stephen Moore 161, Robert Hamerton 136, Robert Marshall 133. But the two latter petitioned the House of Commons against the return on the grounds that Stephen Moore "the Colonel" when mayor, had created two groups of freemen 43 and 49 in number, only two persons in each group being resident in the borough. Out of these, 73 had voted for the Moores. The Committee therefore declared that the 92 freemen were not properly qualified, and returned Hamerton and Marshall.

1733, October 25th—Guy Moore, Esq., Abbey, *vice* Hamerton deceased.

At this election the candidates were Guy Moore and Sir Thomas Prendergast. Moore polled 140, Prendergast 81. Of Moore's majority 53 were "faggot" freemen created by Stephen Moore. Prendergast being still in a minority of 7, petitioned parliament on the grounds of bribery and intimidation. Moore was unseated.

1733, November 3rd—Sir Thomas Prendergast.

Sir Thomas Prendergast was son of Sir Thomas Prendergast of Gort, by Penelope, daughter of the first Earl Cadogan *(r)*. He married Anne, daughter of Sir Griffith Williams, but dying without offspring, his estates passed to his sister Elizabeth, ancestor to the Lords Gort. Besides Clonmel, he also represented Chichester in the English Parliament. While he was dying in 1760 a patent was in actual preparation creating him Vicount Clonmel.

1755, October 20th—Guy Moore, Esq., Abbey *vice* Marshall appointed Justice of Common Pleas.

Guy Moore Coote was son of Guy Moore who unsuccessfully contested the borough against Hamerton and Prendergast. He was placed on the Irish Pension List in 1758, receiving an annuity of £200 a year. On 23 November, 1769, he received an additional pension of £200.

1755, October 20th—William Bagwell, Esq., Clonmel *vice* Moore miselected.

This the most notable election in the history of the borough, has been already referred to. Bagwell had the united support of the *bourgeoisie*. He was a dissenter, and the dissenting bodies then included the most influential traders in the place. He also stood for the resident freemen against the country party who made up two-thirds of Moore's supporters.

William Bagwell was the second son of John Bagwell of Clonmel, draper, merchant and banker. He married in 1749 Jane Harper, daughter of John Harper of Cork, head of the private banking firm of Harper and Armstead (*s*). He died in 1756.

(r) This Sir Thomas was son of Thomas Prendergast of Newcastle (born 1614, died 1725). He held the position of Captain in the army, and betrayed the Jacobite plot to seize King William, 15th February, 1695. As a reward he was granted the estate of Roger O'Shaughnessy at Gort, 7,082 acres, besides the Spittle lands, Ardfinnan and the estate of Reechestown. As brigadier general he was killed at Malplacquet in 1709. He is now best remembered by Swift's biting satire.

(s) Marriage Settlement, 8th & 9th April, 1749, by which part of the Burgagery called Cooleens was entailed on William and his male issue, but charged to secure the portions for daughters.

1757, October 24th—Guy Moore (Coote), Esq., Abbey, *vice* William Bagwell, deceased.

1761, April 22nd ... { Richard Moore, Esq., Moore Park.
Guy Moore (Coote), Esq., Abbey.

Richard Moore was the eldest son of Stephen Moore, first Vicount Mountcashel. Born 1725; he died 29 September, 1761. Jeffry Walsh was nominated a candidate in opposition to the Moores. He claimed the second seat in a petition to the House of Commons. Some extraordinary allegations were made in the petition. The mayor, Theobald Lewis, would not, said Walsh, permit the town clerk to read the freemens roll, but with the bailiffs read a roll of his own. Eventually the mayor as returning officer closed the poll and declared Richard Moore and Jeffry Walsh elected. Some hours after Walsh and his supporters had left the Court House, the mayor signed a document purporting to return the two Moores, Walsh who was impecunious, withdrew the petition 26 November, 1761, probably for a consideration.

1761, December 23rd—Colvill Moore, Esq., *vice* Richard Moore, deceased.

Colvill Moore was third son of Stephen, Vicount Mountcashel, and brother of preceding.

1768, July 7th ... { Hon. Colvill Moore, Esq.
Guy Moore (Coote), Esq., Abbey.

1776, June 11th ... { Stephen Moore, Esq., Marlfield.
Guy Moore (Coote), Esq., New Abbey.

Stephen Moore was son of Thomas, of Marlfield, and nephew of his namesake of Barne, "the colonel"; married Alice, daughter of Sir Thomas Maude of Dundrum; High Sheriff of Tipperary 1757; built the Marlfield Mills, described by Arthur Young, subsequently got into financial difficulties, his fee-farm grants of Abbey being sold for the benefit of the creditors.

1783, October 14th ... { Stephen Moore, Esq., Barne.
Hon. William Moore.

Stephen Moore was son of Richard, of Barne, and grandson of "the colonel." He was High Sheriff of Tipperary 1786; obtained the office of Controller-General of Ireland, a comfortable sinecure.

Hon. William Moore, fourth son of Stephen, first Vicount Mountcashel; married Anne, daughter of Dudley Fowkes, and founded the Moores of Saperton. He died in 1810.

1790, May 20th ... { Hon. William Moore.
Hon. Stephen Moore.

Hon. Stephen Moore was nephew of his fellow member, Hon. William Moore. Born 1770; married Margaret, eldest daughter of Robert, Earl of Kingston; died 1822.

1790, July 24th—Hon. John Moore, *vice* Hon. Stephen Moore, succeeded to Earldom of Mountcashel.

Hon. John Moore, brother of preceding. Born 1772, so that he became member for the borough in his 18th year.

1798, January, 9th { Stephen Moore, Esq., Sapperton, Tallow.
Thomas Newenham, Esq.

Stephen Moore was eldest son of Hon. William Moore, member in 1783. He was absent from the first division on the Union 25 January, 1799, but in the division of 6 February, 1800, voted for that measure. He was rewarded with a postmastership, a valuable sinecure. He died 1838.

Thomas Newenham. Born 1763 of a family related by marriage to the Mountcashels. In the division 25 January, 1799, he voted against the Union; he was absent from the final division, having accepted the escheatorship of Munster. He died in 1831.

1800, February 10th—John Dennis, Esq.

John Dennis, called to the bar 1785; was a nephew to Lord Tracton to whose estates he succeeded.

BRITISH PARLIAMENT.

1801, February—William Bagwell, Esq.

In accordance with a provision in the Act of Union, Stephen Moore and John Dennis resigned. William Bagwell was eldest son of John Bagwell who purchased Marlfield. Born in 1776; educated partly in Germany; held the lieut.-colonelcy of the Tipperary militia; member for Rathcormack in the Irish parliament 1797–1800; mayor of Clonmel 1804–5; member for Tipperary 1819–26; a privy councillor and Muster-Master-General for Ireland. Died unmarried in 1826.

1801, December 9th—John Bagwell, Esq., Marlfield.

John Bagwell was brother of preceding. He was member for Tipperary in the Irish parliament 1797–1800, voted for the Union, and made a speech in favour of it, "rather eloquent," Cornwallis says, "in point of composition." Mayor of Clonmel 1806–7–8–9. Died unmarried.

1802, July 19th—William Bagwell, Esq.

1806, February 27th—William Wickham, Esq.

Wickham was a member of an old Yorkshire family claiming relationship with Bishop William of Wykeham. Subsequently appointed a Lord of the Treasury.

1806, November 20th—William Bagwell, Esq.

1807, June 5th—William Bagwell, Esq.

1812, October 23rd—William Bagwell, Esq.

1818, July 3rd—William Bagwell, Esq.

1820, March 18th—James Hewitt Massy-Dawson, Esq.

He was born at Ballynacourte, Tipperary, 1782, and was grandfather of the present representative of that family there. He died in 1834.

1826, June 19th—James Hewitt Massy-Dawson, Esq.

1830, February 22nd—Eyre Coote, Esq., *vice* Massy-Dawson resigned.

During this period the "patron" of the borough was a minor, and it does not appear upon what principle the trustees of the Bagwell estate selected the member of parliament. Eyre Coote was son-in-law to Massy-Dawson. He resided at West Park, Southampton, and died 1834.

1830, August 6th—Eyre Coote, Esq.

1831, May 9th—Eyre Coote, Esq.

The Parliamentary Commissioners in December of this year, visited Clonmel. The constituency, they reported, consisted of the mayor, two sheriffs and seventeen burgesses, who formed the Corporation, and seventy-four freemen—in all ninety-four. Eight burgesses and twenty-one freemen were not resident within seven miles of the place of election.

1832, December 15th—Dominick Ronayne, Esq., Ardsallagh.

On this occasion the first contested election since the Union took place. The votes on the register numbered 521; of these 262 were recorded for Ronayne and 252 for John Bagwell, the former "patron" of the borough.

1835, January 16th—Dominick Ronayne, Esq.

Dominick Ronayne was by profession a barrister. In the tithe war, the agitation against tolls at fairs, and against the payment of ministers' money, he took a leading part. The opposition to the old corporation at the Irish Municipal Commission of 1833 was also conducted by him. He obtained a reputation as a minor wit in the House of Commons.

1836, February 20th—Nicholas Ball, Esq.

In this election which was contested, Ball obtained 284 votes against 141 recorded for his opponent Hutchinson. Ball was a judge on the make, and being a Catholic received the Catholic support in its first fervour after Emancipation. He was born in Dublin 1791; educated at Stonyhurst and Trinity College, Dublin; called to the bar 1811; he was appointed in rapid succession Sergeant-at-Law November 10, 1836, Attorney-General for Ireland 11 July, 1838, and Justice of Common Pleas 23 February, 1839 *(t)*. Ball died 15 January, 1865.

1837, August 8th—Nicholas Ball, Esq.

1838, July 16th—Nicholas Ball, Esq.

1839, February 18th—David Richard Pigot, Esq.

David Richard Pigot was the son of Dr. Pigot, of Kilworth. Educated at Trinity College, Dublin; called to the bar in 1826; Solicitor-General 11 February, 1839; Attorney-General July, 1841; one of the leading connsel for O'Connell and others in State Trial, 1844; appointed Chief Baron September 1, 1846; died 1873. Like his predecessor Ball, he owed his election to the fact that he was a Liberal and a Catholic.

1840, August 21st—David Richard Pigot, Esq.

1841, July—David Richard Pigot, Esq.

1846, September 12th—John Cecil Lawless, Esq.

Hon. John Cecil Lawless, born 1820. He was the second son of the second Lord Cloncurry. His credentials to the Clonmel electors appear to have been that his father gave a general support to the popular movements. Though he attended a Tenant Right meeting in 1852 at Cashel, in parliament he voted consistently against the measures introduced by Crawford, Duffy and the tenant-leaguers. He died in 1853.

(t) He was known in the House for his convivial qualities "Ball and Supper."

1847, August 10th—John Cecil Lawless, Esq., Maritimo, Dublin.

1852, July 17th—John Cecil Lawless, Esq.

1853, December 21st—John O'Connell, Esq.

John O'Connell was third and favourite son of Daniel O'Connell. Through this circumstance he filled a part in the politics of the time out of all proportion to his capacity. Ironically termed the "Young Liberator," his election in Clonmel, like Lawless, was on his father's account. A witty priest of the day described the situation :—

His brother's brother (we'll ax no other),
'Tis he'll go bail for his father's son.

Some three years later O'Connell hit his mark, becoming a clerk in the Hanaper *(u)*. He died in 1858.

1857, March 30th—John Bagwell, Esq., Marlfield.

John Bagwell was son of Rev. Richard Bagwell, Dean of Clogher, and nephew of William Bagwell, member for Clonmel 1806–1819. He was born 1811; educated at Winchester; succeeded to the estates of his uncle William in 1826; High Sheriff of Tipperary 1834; Lord of the Treasury 1859–61. In politics he was a Liberal of the old school; an Irishman who in the strife of party and creed, never defamed his country by voice or pen (*v*). And it is probable that had he, like others, given a nominal adhesion to Butt's Home Rule proposals, he would have represented Clonmel to his death. He died in 1879.

1859, May 2nd—John Bagwell, Esq., Marlfield.

1859, July 1st—John Bagwell, Esq., Marlfield.

1865, July 14th—John Bagwell, Esq., Marlfield.

1868, November 17th—John Bagwell, Esq., Marlfield.

1874, February 11th—Arthur Moore, Esq., Mooresfort.

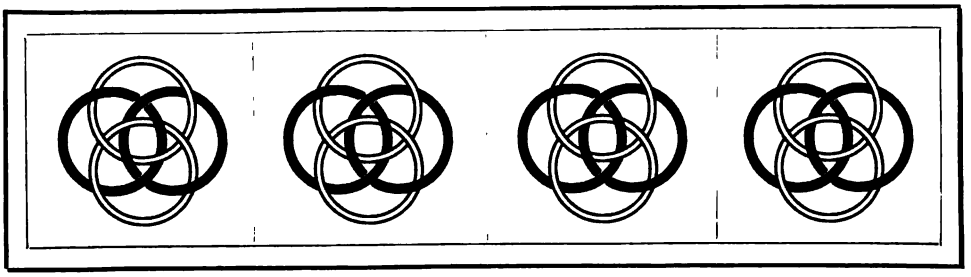
Arthur John Moore, born 1849; was second son of Charles Moore of Mooresfort, to whose estates he succeeded in 1870; Count of the Holy Roman Empire; interested in educational, social and religious questions; co-operated with Horace Plunket, Esq., M.P., in industrial movement; member of parliament for Derry 1898–1900; died 1903.

1880—March—Arthur Moore, Esq., Mooresfort.

In June 1885, consequent on the Redistribution Act, Clonmel ceased to be a separate constituency, and now forms part of the East Division of Tipperary.

(u) In Sir Charles Duffy's League of the North and South, pp. 280-3, will be found an account of the Clonmel Election of 1853. It is saddening reading, and probably true in every line.

(v) In the House of Commons he was long known by the *sobriquet* "Umbrella Bagwell." On one occasion, during a debate on the renewal of the Insurrection Act, a northern member declared that the life of any man of property, or even of any man with a good coat, was not safe in Ireland. Bagwell replied that he lived in Ireland, had considerable property there, and would go at any time through the most disturbed district, fortified with no other weapon than his umbrella.



CHAPTER XVI.

CLONMEL WILLS.

MANY important details concerning the past of the town have been obtained from wills. Besides the insight which they afford into the religion, social status, and civilization of the former inhabitants, they are valuable as a directory of the most prominent citizens of each generation. The following list, therefore, contains the names of the men who in the last three centuries have made Clonmel what it is.

The wills are "Prerogative" and "Diocesan." When a testator had property to the value of £5 *(bona notabilia)* in two or more dioceses, his will was proved in the Prerogative Court of the Archbishop (Protestant) of Armagh. Otherwise his will was proved in the Consistorial Court of the diocese (Protestant) in which he lived. Obviously the Prerogative wills, as a rule, represent the more important members of the community. In the following list they are distinguished by heavier type.

The earliest Clonmel will extant is characteristically one of Henry Whit, burgess. It is dated 6th August, 1577, but was not proved until 1589.

1806 **Acheson, Robert.**
1782 Airay, William.
1721 **Alcocke, Charles, esq.** [1]
1654 **Arnold, Clement** (Col. Sankey's regiment).
1761 Atkins, Charles.

[1] In 1643 according to the "Adventurers Act," Thomas Alcocke of London, haberdasher, subscribed £300 for the land forces, and £100 for the sea forces, to carry on the war against the Irish. William Alcocke junior, "merchant taylor in Cannon street," subscribed £100 for the same purpose. According to the scale fixed by the Act, the united subscription would entitle them to an estate of nearly 1700 acres in Munster, at the conclusion of the war. But the war proved much longer than was anticipated, and only ten years later the Alcockes came in sight of the promised land.

In July 1653, however, at Grocers' Hall, London, the drawing of the lots—province, county, barony—began, "Alcocke and Co." drew lands in Tipperary, September 1, 1653. Within the next six months the firm was reduced to Charles Alcocke, on whose behalf, John Lane drew the allotment in the barony of Iffa and Offa, 23 February, 1654. To

prevent the saints from quarrelling, the baronies were quartered geometrically and each adventurer had to set down in sequence according to his number. The lot therefore of Charles Alcocke was No. 2, East Middle Division, Subdivision 2, No. 4, the acreage being 1799ac. 3r. 9p. By the Acts of Settlement and Explanation (1662-5) the Duke of Ormond and John Walsh former proprietors recovered nearly 500 acres.

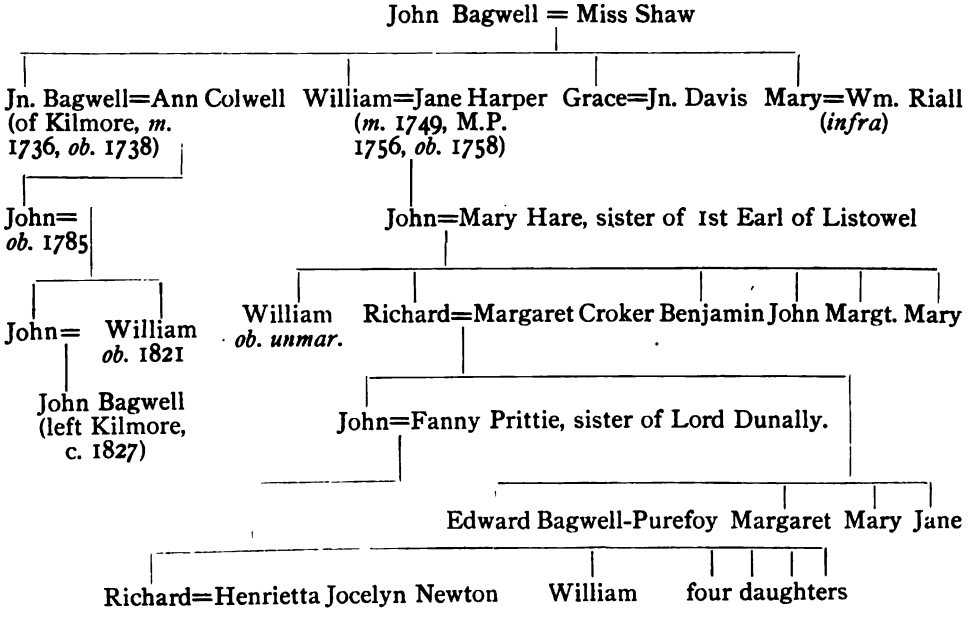
Like many of the adventurers, Alcocke preferred to live within the shelter of Clonmel walls, rather than encounter the dispossessed "Tories," by occupying Rathronan or Milerstown castles. Accordingly he made his abode in the house of Edmond Bray of Lough street. It was the best house on the east side, having according to the Hearth Money Returns for 1666 "seven smoaks," i.e. fire places. Here he brought his wife Catherine, and his son Charles was born. This is the Charles whose will was proved in 1721.

The only child of Charles Alcocke junior, Catherine, married in 1707 Sir Emanuel Moore of Ross Carbery. He dying in 1733 left a son, Sir Charles Moore, who lived at Powerstown, and enclosed the park there. Sir Charles Moore dying unmarried in 1754, the estates reverted in equal shares to his aunts, Catherine and Anne, daughters of Sir Emanuel Moore. These married John Putland of Dublin, and Lieut. General John Gore, in whose families the estates still continue.

1732 Attwood, John.
1791 **Bacon, Rev. Edward.**
1693 Bacon, Hanna.
1828 Baggott, John.
1739 **Bagwell, Ann.** [2]
1754 **Bagwell, John.** [3]

[2] Will dated 31 January, 1738, Anne Bagwell, widow of John Bagwell junior, late of Kilmore, bequeaths diamond ring "that was his fathers" to her son John and five guineas; four guineas each to her brother William Colwell, Rev. David Tweed, Rev. Thomas Cuthbert: rings to her sister-in-law Grace Bagwell, Mary Goddard, Elizabeth Wrasall: residue to her father James Colwell who is guardian of her son John until he is 21 years.

[3] This will (or wills for there are two separately executed on same day) is dated 7th December, 1750. It sets forth the various purchases of land in fee and leasehold, effected by John Bagwell draper, and general merchant, during his life. The pedigree of the family which he founded, may here be set down.



The history of the family previous to 1730, is like the origin of the Amazon, obscure. John Bagwell, merchant in Clonmel, had two brothers—William, merchant in Dublin, and Phineas. He had one sister, a Mrs. Airy. The earlier ancestors given in Burke's Landed Gentry, are imaginary.

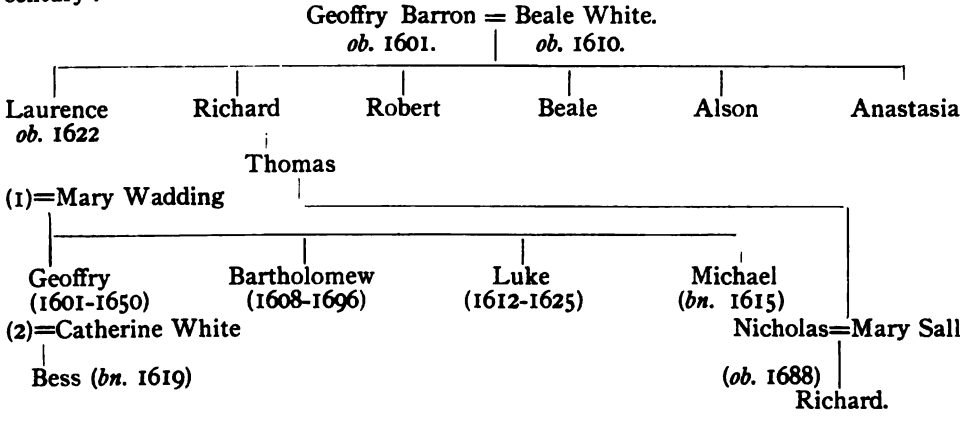
The senior branch settled in Kilmore, had a short career but a notable one. The place was previously occupied by Charles Meagher, "Counsellor-at-law," whose tenure was even shorter. At the marriage of John Bagwell to Ann, daughter of James Colwell, in May 1736, his father settled on him the lands of Ballydoyle, Ballyduff, Loughkent Upper and Lower, which he had purchased shortly before from "Edmund Butler commonly called Lord Dunboyne." But in less than thirty years, the son of John Bagwell and Anne Colwell, John Bagwell, had mortgaged these estates to William Barton a prosperous claret importer of Bordeaux, and finally in 1778, they were sold to Phineas Riall, the banker, for £11,809. This however did not liquidate the whole of Bagwall's debts, for Cahirclough soon followed the other lands. The Bagwells however dragged out an existence for another generation in Kilmore. In August, 1821, we read the death "at lodgings in Main Street the relict of the late John Bagwell of Kilmore" (*w*).

1772 Bagwell, William.
1756 **Bagwell, William.**
1690 Bainbrigge, Richard (chandler).
1674 Barron, Geoffry. [4]

[4] For the will of Geoffry Barron written on the eve of his execution by Ireton, see Chapter XVII.

1688 Barron, Nicholas.
1622 **Barron, Laurence.** [5]

[5] The following is the pedigree of the Barrons of Clonmel during the seventeenth century :—



1670 **Batty, Edward.** [6]
1741 **Beere, Hercules.**

[6] Will dated 1 November, 1669, Batty names Ellin his wife, executrix; bequeaths to Stephen Thomas, Ann, Jeremy and John, the children of his brother Thomas Batty, £100, £100, £50 and £50 respectively, 30s. to his "sheapherd Henry White," and 50s. each to Stephen and Thomas the sons of Richard Moore.

(*w*) *Waterford Mirror.*

The Battys appear to have been soldiers in the army of Cromwell. Thomas was appointed Treasurer of Revenue for Clonmel Precinct 14th May, 1652, Edward farmed the lands of Darlinghill. At the Restoration the former settled in Innislounaght. A tomb in St. Mary's is the only record of them existing in the district. The inscription runs:—"Here lieth the Body of John Slaughter Born in Gloucester Shere who died on the First of August 1687. Here also lies the Body of Cornet John Batty Grandson to the above named Sloughter who Dyed the 17th of January 1711 son to Thomas and Elizabeth Batty of Clonmel. Also the Body of Elizabeth the wife of Thomas Batty who Dyed on the 20th of May 1714. Also the Body of Cornet Thomas Batty of Clonmel who Departed this life at Killoughter the 7th February 1722 and in the 62nd year of His age. Here lies the Body of Lieut. William Kennet as also The Body of Elizabeth Kennet who died September 7th 1736."

1719 **Bertles, Judith.**
1752 **Bigg, Boleyn.**
1786 Blake, Michael.
1829 Blake, Michael.
1663 **Blount, Charles.** [7]
1779 **Boardman, Robert.**

[7] Will dated 18 April, 1663, wife Valentine sole executrix; the annuity charged on his elder brother's land in England, many years in arrears, is bequeathed to eldest son Samuel; "arrears due unto me for services done and performed in the kingdom of Ireland stated and audited to the sum of £2,200 I give said sum or houses and lands that by authority may be sett out in satisfaction of said sum to my eldest son Samuel if he lives to age of 17." If not, to his wife for maintenance and education of the other children.

The Long Parliament 8 October 1646, commissioned Charles Blount to raise a regiment of 1000 men in Gloucestershire for service in Ireland. Blount went over and served under Inchiquin, but deserted him on Cromwell's landing. Became a Commissioner of Survey in 1654. As at the Restoration, the great part of Clonmel was granted to Ormond, the Blounts with other representatives of the "1649 Officers" received their allotment of house property elsewhere.

1783 Boughely, Nicholas.
1795 Boughely, Patrick.
1742 Boughely, William.
1668 **Booker, Colonel.** [8]

[8] On 21 August 1645, Colonels Jephson, William Parsons, Francis Roe and John Booker were appointed by the Committee of the Long Parliament to go into Munster. The following May having given an undertaking to raise and transport 1000 men thither, £1,250 were paid them.

Will dated 3 July 1665, "I John Booker of Clonmel Esq. sometime of London, salter, now upon a voyage for Ireland from Bristoll do make etc. To my onely son and child Thomas Booker ten shillings to buy him a Bible which I desire him diligently to read, he having hitherto been a stubborn prodigall sonn (already having had from me over £1000 and signed a generall acquittance from me or his late deceased mother). I desire my executrix to pay him every week dureing his life 10s. If he contract or sell it, said 10s. to cease; executrix to provide and buy him deceant apparell and clothes as need requires not exceeding £10 a yeare." Bequeaths £10 to his brother Edward, to his cousin Henry Perrey and his children Elizabeth and Mary Perrey £50 between them. "To John Parsons sonn to William late cittizen and saltar of London, my late master who I have heard liveth in fleete Lane £5. To the Saltars Company £10 to buy a peece of plate (my executrix to see it bought and my coat of arms ingraven) for them to keepe. I bequeath all arreares due for service in his majesties army under comand of his now Grace the Duke of Ormond and the Earle of

Inchiqueene to my sister Mrs. Mary Wightwick my executrix; to her my house in St. Nicholas Lane knowne by the signe of the Sugar Loafe where Mr.. Barton Blacksmith liveth on her decease to my brother Edward."

There is a previous will dated 20 May, 1664, made in Clonmel in which Booker bequeaths "to the poore English inhabiteing in Clonmell £5: to the poor Irish inhabitauntes £10 10s: to Richard Denison 40s. to buye a ring to weare for mysake; to my freind Collonell John Buller my cristall watch."

1632 **Bray, John.** [9] 1803 Bray, Catherine White.

[9] An extract from this will has been printed in Chapter IV. From the Inquisitions and Wills the following particulars have been gathered. Edmund Bray living in 1552, had two sons Michael and John, and a daughter Ann: Michael had a son Peter and a grandson Edmund. John Bray the second son of Edmund, had two sons James and John and a daughter Ann. The latter John married Beale Lee of Waterford and from his will *supra*, it appears he had three sons and three daughters, John, Michael, Thomas, Ann, Christina, Catherine.

1805 Brenock, Bartholomew. 1676 Brenock, James. [10]

[10] "In the name of God Amen, I James Brenock of Clonmel, Apotecary, being of perfect sense and memore, mindful of my later daies doe make my last will and testament as follows. First I bequeath my soul to my sweet Saviour Jesus Christ by vertue of whose passion I hope to be saved, my body to be buried in the Parish Church of Clonmel in my auncestors graue according the rites of the holly church." The mortgage of Orchardstown, of the house of Thomas Donoghoe, the interest in the house of Lisnamucky I lived in, to my son Walter; the mortgage of the house called the Red Hall in Clonmel to John Brenock of Carrigg, the slate house in the Greate Streete of Clonmel, the land and four parks and gardens in the East and West Subburbs to my son Walter; the slate house in East side of William Leynagh's Lane mortgaged unto me, to my son Walter; my interest in the farme of Lisnamucky, and the stores now on the farme to be divided equally betwen my son Walter my wife Catherine and her son Nicholas White. "I leave one of my boyleing potts which is of the largest to the poore of the hospitall of Clonmell, I leave my aqua vitæ pott to my wife Alsoe I leave another brass pott to my grandchild Michael White, I leave my fornax unto my said wife and after her death the same to redound to the said Michael White fitz Paul alsoe I leave my greate mortar to the said Michael White, I leave two silver aqua vitæ cupps, a silver Jugg and a drinking silver cupp unto my son Walter Brennocke. I leave to my said grand daughter Mary Brenocke and heirs a silver drinking cupp two small silver cupps and a small silver salter. I leave unto Ann Lynch £5 ster. to be paid her by my sons Walter and Nicholas White moytively at her mariadge time."—January 3, 1676.

1695 Brenock, Walter [11] 1810 Brian, Phebe.

[11] This testator was son of preceding. Will dated 13 April, 1695. After paying debts etc, of the rest one third to son James, one third to daughters Nell, Catherine and Franck and son John, one third to his wife Mary Walsh and son Walter Brenocke. "I leave a long drawing table with his frame to the convent of St. Francis Order in Clonmell. I appoint my son [in law] Nicholas White overseer of the above mencioned deseiring him according to the trust reposed in him to doe what becometh a trusty son."

1734 Brittan, James.
1683 Broad, Abraham.
1761 Broneck, Frances.
1771 Brown, Thomas.
1688 Brownsworth, Jonathan [12]
1854 Buckley, James.

[12] Jonathan Brownsworth, clerke, vicar of Clonmell. Will dated "25 April, the fourth yeare of the Reigne of our Soveraigne Lord King James the Second anno Dom. 1688." He bequeaths his body to be interred in the chancel of this parish church of Clonmell, "To my brother Richard Brownsworth's children living in or about Neston in Cheshire, England, £4 sterling to be equally divided; if any a male or prove a Scholler 20 of my best books; To the English poore of the Parish of Clonmell 50s. to be laid out in bread on the day of my buriall. To Mr. Robert Bredin Vicar of Carrick 50s. whom I desire to preach my funerall sermon. To the maid servts of Mr. Hanburys House 30s. To my servant Andrew English tenn pounds I appoint my approved freind Mr. Robert Bradford of City Waterford Executor."

1682 **Bullock, Thomas.**
1851 Burke, John.
1619 **Butler, Edward** [13]
1794 **Butler, John.**

[13] Will dated 21 May, 1619. "I bequeath my soule to the holly Trinitie and to the blessed virgin Mary and to all the celestiall company in heaven, my boddie to be buried in the Abbey of Sainet ffrancis in Clonmell in my Ancestors buriall. Debts due: to Thomas Bibby of Bristoll sixteen pounds 16s. ster.; to Mr. Camberline of Bedmister for a brass pott three pounds five shillings; to my servants Iowan McDavid 20s., to Daniel McShane 4s. Debts due to me amounting to ffeefty pounds eight shillings and two penns many of the said debtors dead and dekeaid [i.e., decayed—reduced to poverty.] . . . . I bequeath the third part said goods to my wife, the third to my children and the third for my soule."

1805 **Butler, James Archer.**
1837 Butler, James.
1854 Butler, Judith.
1764 **Byrne, Patrick.**
1831 Cantwell, Denis.
1806 **Campbell, Rev. William.**
1715 **Card, Nathaniel.**
1845 Cantwell, Thomas.
1839 Carew, Margaret.
1786 Casey, Maurice.
1806 Cashen, William.
1741 **Castle, James.**
1794 Cave, James.
1795 Cave, John.
1808 **Chaloner, John.**
1803 **Chaytor, Thomas** (schoolmaster).
1749 Clean, Elizabeth.
1676 Cole, Roger.
1825 Collett, Hanna.
1742 Collett, Joseph.
1725 Collett, Stephen.
1698 **Collet, George** (skinner)
1709 Colsery, John [14]

[14] Will dated 7 December, 1699. John Perry, and Phineas Riall of Clonmel, merchant, are named by Colesary as executors "twenty six shillings to each of them to buy them a mourning ring a peece in remembrance of me"; the farm of Ballyvaughan in equal shares is bequeathed to his sons John and Benjamin. A codicil provides that each of his sons should get a "Certificate of their good behaviour and civil deportment and demeanour from any four or more of the following—John Pyke Esq., Mathew

Jacob Esq., Mr. Andrew Roe of Tipperary, The Rev. Mr. John Shaw sen. of Clonmell, Charles Alcocke Esq., Mr. Philip Carleton, Mr. John Damer, and Mr. John Bagwell of Ballyboy, or be cut off with five shillings, the rest of the moiety share to go to the other."

1740 Congreve, Rebecca.
1849 Connelly, Mary.
1679 **Comerford, Edward** [15]
1771 **Commin, Margaret.**

[15] Ellen Cumberfort's will dated 23 August, 1748, is a holograph. "I desire to be beryed in the Whites Chapell, if no roume there I leave foretteen pounds for a toume stone; 60£ be given to Rev. father Thomas Henasey to descharge a lawful dept of mine which he has directions for; to poor depters in prison of town five pounds, the poor prisoners money to be given to Parish Priest as best judge; to six poor widowes 10s. a pees for six doses [i.e. beds.] Cosn Doraty White 5£; Mrs. Mary Miller St. John 10£; the poor house of this town forty shillings; to James Striche's wife and her sister Carney each of them 40s.; to Catteran Strich dawter to James Strich six tea spoons and toungs; to my servant that lives with me 4£, and her wages and some of my clothes and lening [linen]: to the poor fryars of this town, I desire that they will say masses for me 2£: to robbin Sherlock a large silver cup his paying 9£ without interest which was the money I payed Mrs, Morgan to reles it from her, in August 1729, robbin Sherlock's mother severall yeares ago paid me thre pounds of the above, there remains 6£; to the poor distressed and naked people among the poor 1£ to be laid out in bread for five fridays; to the chappell for vestments, a black silk gound; I desire to be buried decently; for expenses 30£.

lining [linen] and clothes to be divided.

One lase brade cape and lase hainkerchief, one pair lase ruffles to niece Nancy White; to nice Nancy White 2 lase caps; to Betty White a blue damask gound; to Nancy a blue Ludstris petty cote with my dressing glass; my cheney [chinaware] to be divided between Betty and Nancy White; to my nephew James her brother a silver pinte cann; to Mrs. St. John a small rose dymond ring, to [*sic*] cambick caps, 2 poys with my velvett poys, 2 of my best cloth aprons; to Catteran White her sister 2 night shifts, 2 cors [coarse] cloath aprons and all remainder of my caps with 3 comon gounds, a corsett with some of my quilted petty cotes; all my books to Jemmy White; to my nephew John Quanes Daughter 3 chest of Drawers upon a freame, a small ovell table, a tea chest, a small gilt leather trounk; to Mrs. Catteran White, daughter to my nephew Thomas A dymond hoop ring and a pair of large sconces, I peremtarlly desire the 2 hundred pounds of my money that lyes in Mr. Bagwell's hands may be imedeatly called in that there may be no delay to discharge this obligation, rest to be divided between Thomas Whites children, I would have 6 clergymen [at funeral] berers scarfs given them, and to the Doctor and pottacary a hood, and a scarf to my servant. Bury me at night," etc.

1736 Connor, Denis.
1766 **Connor, John.**
1736 **Connor, William.**
1715 **Cooke, Elizabeth.**
1753 Connors, Elizabeth.
1850 Connors, James.
1791 Cooke, Anne.
1728 Cooke, Deborah.
1726 Cooke, John.
1816 Corcoran, Patrick.
1798 **Cooke, John.**
1704 **Cooke, Samuel.**
1799 **Coote, Guy Moore** (Dublin).
1806 **Coote, Guy Moore** (Dublin).
1806 Costello, Patrick.
1720 Coulter, Ann.
1713 Cranwell, James.
1716 Cranwell, Mary.

1818 Crotty, Elizabeth.
1811 Crotty, John.
1804 **Corbett, William.**
1706 **Coulter, Andrew.**
1620 **Creagh, Leonard fitz Thomas.**
1748 **Comerfort, Ellen** [16]

[16] The will of Edward Comerford, merchant, is dated 10 November, 1679. He desired his body to be buried in the Franciscans' Abbey; bequeaths a third of his estate to his wife and £300 to each of his children. "To Robert Browne as much money as with produc of what freezes of his I have at St. Malo as will make £10."

1800 **Davis, Grace.**
1756 Dallard, William.
1817 Dalton, Isabel.
1784 Daniel, John.
1816 Davin, Pierce.
1851 Davis, Michael.
1805 Denny, Rev. James.
1707 **Dennison, Richard.**
1728 **Denny, John.**
1765 **Disney, Rebecca.**
1769 Dixon, William.
1771 Dixon, William.
1769 Donnell, Cornelius.
1794 Doody, Ellen.
1766 Downey, Edward.
1794 **Dudley, Joseph.**
1808 **Dudley, Robert.**
1810 **Dudley, Robert, jun.**
1828 Duckett, Susanna.
1790 Dunlay, Laurence.
1769 Dunn, Bryan.
1793 **Dumville, Anne.**
1807 **Dumville, Henry.**
1772 **Dumville, John.**
1809 Dwan, Patrick.
1727 Dwyer, Edmund.
1741 Egan, Sarah.
1657 **Entwisley, Henry.**
1651 **Entwisley, Laurence.**
1657 **Everard, Henry** (innkeeper).
1751 **Farrell, Thomas.**
1728 Fell, Nicholas.
1707 Fennessy, Darby [17]
1792 **Fell, Nicholas.**

[17] Will dated 3 January, 1706; Bequeaths a third of estate real and personal to widow Mary ffenisy; two thirds to children "I leave unto my son Bartholomew my silver Tankards intirely to himselfe." James Nagle, Garranavally, Executor.

1796 FitzGerald, Elizabeth.
1808 FitzPatrick, Richard.
1758 **FitzGerald, John.**
1735 Fley, Francis.
1661 Foster, William.
1774 **Flood, Mary.**
1720 Glaisher, John.
1691 **Glanville, Edmund.**
1771 **Godfrey, Thomas** (chandler).
1692 Godfrey, William.
1743 Going, James.
1856 Grubb, Ann.
1829 Grubb, Elizabeth.
1717 Guiga, James.
1759 **Going, Elizabeth.**
1742 **Gordon, Samuel.**
1757 **Gordon, Samuel.**
1807 **Gordon, Thomas.**
1714 Gwinn, Chichester.
1755 **Gorman, Michael.**
1802 **Grubb, Benjamin.**
1784 **Grubb, John** (Anner Mills).

1788 **Guyon, Ann.**
1761 **Hackett, Arthur.**
1689 **Hamerton, Richard.**
1733 **Hamerton, Robert.**
1690 Hamerton, Mary.
1728 Handcox, Richard.
1690 **Hamilton, Isabell.**
1687 **Hamilton, James.**
1766 Hanagan, Maurice.
1767 Hanagan, Maurice.
1801 Hanrahan, Edward.
1810 **Harty, James.**
1776 **Harwood, Rev. John D.**
1753 Hanrahan, William.
1785 Hayman, William.
1815 Hays, John.
1691 Henley, Henry.
1847 Hennebury, Ellen.
1854 Hennessy, Michael.
1752 Hennessy Thomas A. [18]

[18] See under Parish Priests.

1671 Hepburne, Robert.
1756 **Hickey, Edward, M.D.**
1830 Hogan, William.
1658 **Hill, Francis.**
1764 **Hill, Elizabeth.**
1700 Holland, John.
1677 Hopkins, Francis [19]
1725 Hopkins, Francis.

[19] Francis Hopkins, chandler, lived in 1660 in High Street, north side; the house a good one with "five smoakes," was formerly occupied by Thomas White fitz Michael. Hopkins was mayor in 1673, and it is to be noted that John Power (ancestor of the Powers of Kilfane) lived in the adjoining house. For the dispute of Hopkins with Power relative to the freedom of the borough, see Chapter VII.

1788 Hoskins, Henry.
1670 House, Elizabeth.
1724 Humphreys, Joseph.
1792 **Howell, Edward** (saddler).
1847 Hurley, Michael.
1842 Hynes, Alice.
1734 **Jackson, Rev. William.**
1717 **Kearney, Ann.**
1782 **Kearney, John.**
1729 Kearney, Patrick.
1784 Kearney, Patrick.
1727 Keating, James.
1735 Keating, James.
1734 **Keating, Jeffry** [20]

[20] Pierce Keating and George Parris, saddler, made oath that Jeffry Keating in October or November, 1730, came before them in Thomas Bourke's house in Clonmel, produced a paper as his will and signed it.

"I bequeath my soul to God, my Creator, hoping through the precious merrets of my gracious Redeemer to obtain Eternal Glory." £300 due by bond of Thomas Morgan of Raheen, £207 due by John Power of Barrettstown, and the furniture lodging room to my only son Pierce Keating: £142 due by Joseph Barrett of Ownskeagh and Stephen Moore of Moore Park, to my only daughter Elizabeth Walsh: £100 due of John Perry Esq., £100 of Redmond Purcell Gent., £100 of John Bagwell, merchant, to my grandchildren Patrick and John Walsh in equal parts, with survivorship. "I leave unto my grandson Jeffery Walsh £5, to buy a mourning shuite of cloath, 40s. to Rev. Father Thomas Kennedy, 5s. unto the poor of Clonmel, 20s. to be expended at cousin John Burkes on the labourers of Daragrath Parish that come to my funerall."

1827 Keating, Johanna.
1826 Keilly, Patrick.
1853 Keilly, Patrick J.
1805 Keilly, Patrick.
1779 **Kellet, Edward.**
1767 **Kellet, William.**
1736 **Kenrick, Elizabeth.**
1739 **Labarte, Bartholomew**
1781 **Labarte, Frances.** (merchant).
1767 **Labarte, John.**
1752 Labarte, James.
1820 Labarte, John.
1733 **Lacky, Thomas.**
1684 **Ladyman, Samuel** [21]

[21] The will of Samuel Ladyman, Vicar of Clonmel, is dated 12 December, 1683. He describes himself "a weake consumptive sickly man" with "a crazy, distempered, wasted body," and requests his daughter and grand-daughter "that they never doe forgett those many signall obligations which my selfe have received from the illustrious lord Duke of Ormond, but continue to pray for the Lasting Happiness of the most honorable family." He bequeaths to his grand-daughter—
One green satin Christening mantle with the broade gold and sylver lace; three hanging sea-green Sweet Baggs as they are called, mixed with Gold and sylver ribbon and one more wrought with Gold; one pinkissine of the same silk with the Baggs with gold and sylver lace; one suite of fine wrought Child bead [bed] Linenn with mantle, baggs, etc., being used by my dearest wife with all her children my desire and will is that they be kept without any alteration (tho' used as occation requires).

"I doe give the sum of Twenty Shillings unto such at whose Baptisme I stood as Witness viz. unto Sir Thomas Stanley's youngest son, John; unto Captain Foley's youngest son, Solomon; unto Anne the daughter of Mr. Arch Deacon Hamilton; Elizabeth, the daughter of Samuel Wade Esq.; Stephen son of Mr. Thomas Moore; to each of them I doe give Twenty Shillings ster. to buy them the Lord Primat Usher's sum and substance of Christian Religion, the whole duty of man, and the practice of Piety; or if they have these already, any other good books; also unto Betty Wade I doe further give one piece of broade gold marked with the letter H, being the same that her pious mother enforced me to take some few days after I baptised herselfe.

"I doe give unto the publique Library of Trinity College, Dublin, the ensuing folio books all marked Cross their Bottomes with the letter V, viz. Bpp Hall's Work in one volume, an Hebrew Bible, the Decretall in two volumes, Spondamus his Epithomy of Beronius in four or five volumes, Unman's Concordance. To be carefully sent upp at my Executors Charge to the Colledge within one month after this my will is proved.

"Item, I doe give my own Watch made by East, Crosbow, Gunn, sylver-hilted rapier, striped morning gowne and capp with Twenty Ginneys to carry him for England (when his father may deale with him as he shall deserve) beyond what he hath in this will, unto my nephew John Ladyman; and now with a vicistimate [*sic*] Vale, I shall soone take leave of him who all along hath been my Enemy without cause whom God in mercy forgive and Grant that we may meete in heaven *(*)*.

1719 Lahiff, John.
1725 Lahiff, John.
1667 Lawless, Robert.
1789 Lach, William.
1824 Legg, John.
1824 Leonard, Mary.

(*) The nephew did not go "for" England, but set up as a farmer at Ballywalter. The consistent enemy was Hugh Gore, whose rectorship of Clonmel was usurped during the Cromwellian period by Ladyman. Gore on becoming Protestant Bishop of Waterford, had probably his doubts of the sincerity of the quondam preacher, who having taken orders, was now vicar of Clonmel.

1730 **Launders, Edward.**
1757 **Launders, Jane.**
1628 **Lenagh, Richard** [22]
1793 **Lewis, Michael.**

[22] The Lynaghs, like all the early Clonmel burghers, were English. The first mention of them in connection with the town is in 1318. The Patent Roll 11 Ed. II., contains the entry "The King pardons Nicholas Leynagh 20 marks fine for an offence, and also £4 on account of the escape of a fugitive John de Sampson during the time the said Nicholas was in the King's service in Co. Tipperary.—Clonmele 16 January." In time becoming Hibernicised, the following charter of denization was granted them 1358. "The King grants to Reginald, John and Adam, the sons of Stephen Leynach (provided they are not tenants of the king *in betage*) that they, their offspring and posterity be of free condition, exempt from all Irish slavery and in enjoyment of English law.—Dublin 8 September," 32 Ed. III.

Richard Leynach's will is dated 18 January, 1627. Bequeaths his "boddye to be burried in our Laddye Churche in Clomell." He settled his house property in Clonmel on his wife Marrie Brennocke for life, then on his nephew William Leynagh and his heirs, remainder to Silvester Leynagh and heirs, remainder to Harrye Whit fitz Nycolas and his heirs for ever. He "ordains" his nephew William "tutore whereby my wiffe Marrie Brennocke shall not be wronged."

1771 **Lewis, Theobald.**
1750 **Linihan, Daniel.**
1809 Lowe, James.
1779 Lecky, Thomas.
1774 **Lloyd, George.**
1799 **Long, Elizabeth.**
1745 Lymbery, Gregory.
1795 **Luther, Richard** [23]

[23] John Luther born in Essex in 1623, settled in Youghal. His descendant Thomas Luther came to Clonmel about 1726, which year he was made free of the borough. His son Thomas Luther was Mayor 1756-7-8-9, and one of the most successful traders of the time. "Died at Clonmel Thomas Luther Esq. by which his son Samuel a Lieutenant on half pay gets an estate of a Thousand Pounds a year" (*y*).

1758 Macken, John.
1737 **Magrath, Cornelius.**
1813 Magrath, John.
1826 Magrath, John.
1791 **Malone, James.**
1786 Mandeville, Ambrose.
1749 **Mandeville, Catherine.**
1776 **Mandeville, Edward, M.D.**
1721 **Marony, James.**
1660 **Martin, Thomas.**
1722 Maunsell, James.
1737 Maunsell, James.
1846 Mason, Sarah.
1810 **Max, Edward.**
1724 Mary, David.
1784 McCann, Thomas.
1828 McCarthy, Francis.
1735 McGrath, James.
1757 McNamara, William.
1694 Meade, John.
1738 Meade, Margaret.
1709 **Meade, Thomas.**
1707 Meade, Mary.
1712 Meagher, Eleanor.
1761 Meagher, James.
1796 Meagher, James.

(*y*) *Freeman's Journal*, March 30th, 1773.

1835 Meagher, James.
1733 Meagher, Joan, *alias* Davin.
1812 Meagher, William.
1770 Meagher, Catherine.
1809 **Mitchell, Nathaniel.**
1813 Mills, George [24]

[24] John Wright of Cloneen had by his wife Sarah, sister of William Markham, New Abbey, a son John Wright and a daughter Margaret. John Wright becoming a convert to the Catholic faith, his father disinherited him and settled the estate on his daughter, Margaret, and her husband George Miles of Summerhill. From this union sprang Rev. George Miles, Summerhill, Elizabeth married to Manley Semple, and Mary married to Robert Constable of Lawlesstown.

1736 Moore, Elizabeth.
1800 **Moore, Rev. Joseph** [25]

[25] Rev. Joseph Moore was vicar of Clonmel.

1846 Moore, Thomas.
1718 **Moody, John.**
1747 Moore, Stephen [26]
1691 **Moore, Margaret.**

[26] Will dated 4 January, 1747. Bequeaths to his sons Joseph and Stephen five shillings each; his lease for lives renewable of Coleman to John Labarte and his heirs, in trust for his wife Anne Moore and his daughter Elizabeth and her heirs for ever, remainder to Joseph and Stephen in equal shares should she die unmarried.

1690 **Moore, Richard** [27]
1750 **Moore, Col. Stephen.**

[27] Will dated 17 April 1690; probate granted 10 September. Richard Moore, the founder of the family, and common ancestor of the Lords Mountcashel and the Moores of Barne, has been noticed elsewhere. "Being now growne aged" etc. "my body to be decently buryed in the Parish Church of Clonmell where my children are buryed, if I dye in county Tipperary. To my wife Margarett the house I now dwell in in Clonmel and household goods and £200 per ann. in full of Dower." To eldest son Stephen, now in England, Killworth and other lands in Cork purchased from Francis Fleetwood and Arthur Hide; the moiety of Hore Abbey and all the lot of William Bulkeley near the Devills Bitt and elsewhere in Tipperary; the farm and stock of Grenane, the house where said Stephen dwelleth in Clonmel. To second son Thomas of Chancellorstown, Shanballyard, Garrinlea, Doggstown and moiety of Hore Abbey and other lands not particularlly devised; the house I now dwell in on the death of my wife. Said Thomas to settle £100 per ann. on his now wife (being agreement I made with Alderman Lovett of Cork). To grandson Richard, son of Stephen, and his heirs Kiltinan, Garrygibbon and other lands bought from Andrew Lynn. To grandson Stephen, son of Thomas, Archerstown, Gortfree and Poulekeile with remainders and cross remainders.

A family who early intermarried with the Moores may be here noticed—the Hutchinsons of Knocklofty, ancestors in the female line to the Earls of Donoughmore. In 1643 and subsequently, Richard Hutchinson an ironmonger in London, advanced in all £760 to prosecute the war against the Irish. In the lottery at Grocers' Hall, London, September 1, 1653, he was lucky enough to draw his allotment in Tipperary: 1466ac. 2r. 15p. plantation acres were assigned him in Knocklofty neighbourhood, the old residence of the Butlers, a junior branch of the Cahir house. At the Restoration Ormond secured a considerable portion of the lands, in secret trust for his kinsmen, and

Hutchinson's final grant, 19 July 1667, represented only 755 plantation acres. Hutchinson appears to have had two sons, Edward and Ezekiah. The subsequent links in the succession may be found in the porch of St. Mary's Protestant Church.

(1) This is a small tablet, the letters raised. It is legible only by means of a later tomb, "Here lyes the Body of Anne Hutchinson Wife to Edward Hutchinson who died November the 30th 1682, with two of their children Mary who died March the 2nd 1675 and Thomas who died Xber the 6th 1682." The delightful equivocations will not escape the reader. (2) This is a large flag which reproduces the foregoing inscription with the additional particulars "Also the Body of Ezekee Hutchinson Esq. Brother to the above Edward Hutchinson of Knocklofty, Esq. who Died January the 5th 1697 aged 54 years." (3) "Here rests the Body of Edward Hutchinson Esqr. of Knocklofty who departed this Life the Third Day of July Ano. Dom. 1699 in the 65th yeare of his age." (4) "Here rests [*sic*] the Dear Remains of Mrs. Christian Hutchinson Daughter of Thomas Moore Esqr. Late of Barne and Wife of Richard Hutchinson of Knocklofty. This Tomb is erected by Her surveiving Husband in Token of Her Ever Dear and true affecting Remembrance of A Happy Partnership of 22 years. She departed this life the 7th Day of June Anno Dni 1727 in the 59th year of her age and is Here deposited the late Dear Companion of Her life when God shall call him [*cetera desunt*]." The will of the surviving husband is dated 4 August, 1757. He left a niece Christina Nickson heir to his estates, who marrying John Hely, barrister: major in a horse regiment: remembrancer of the Exchequer: searcher of the port of Strangford: provost of Trinity College, etc., etc., etc., founded the Donoughmore peerage. (5) "Near this Place lie [*sic*] the Body of Guy Moore late of Abbey Esqr. who departed this life the [ ] Day of June 1755 [?] in the [ ] year of his age."

1752 **Moore, Thomas.**
1781 **Moore, Thomas Chidley.**
1834 Morony, Thomas.
1728 Morony, Francis.
1713 Morony, James [28]
1726 Murphy, John.

[28] This is the last vestige of a family associated with Clonmel for centuries. The following account of a member of the family is taken from Mooney's history of the Franciscans written in 1615. "When in 1570 Sir Henry Sydney was raiding Aherlow, Dermod O'Mulroney fled with his companions from the country convent [of Galbally] to Clonmel. But when he remained there some time, he resolved to return to his monastery, God perhaps so ordering it, that he might gain the crown of martyrdom. When therefore, they thought all was safe he returned to the convent and lived there. But one day the English soldiers coming of a sudden, surrounded the place and there was no way for the friar to escape. The good man got up with his two companions into the bell-tower to hide, and pulled up the ladder. The soldiers made a fire to burn the church and tower. To save these the holy man came down of his own accord, and having let down the ladder, he blessed himself as he put his foot on the first round saying the psalm "Have mercy on me, O God." The soldiers unappeased, struck him and wounded him, and then beheaded him. A marvellous thing then happened. For when his head was struck off there was no bleeding, and the soldiers seeing, cut the body in pieces yet there was not a drop of blood" (*z*). His brother Franciscan and fellow-citizen, Bonaventure Barron, rendered the following tribute to his memory.

Qua suos Hyblaeo dignos agnomine cives
Surius angustis ornat et armat aquis
Ne qua tuæ proli, Francisce, trophea deessent,
Intulit armatas mors violenta manus
Non tamen arma viro, non mors violenta volenti,

(*z*) Mooney's MS., p. 54.

Vix satis in sectam saeviit ansa cutem,
Nempe ubi ferali collo caput abscidit ictu,
Abstinuit medio cruda cruore manus,
Stagnavit tumidis sanguis per vulnera venis,
Et caro purpureo substitit uda vado,
Gemmis inquis erat dignus cruor; ast ego, nulla
Gemma reor tali digna cruore fuit.

1815 Murphy, Joseph.
1856 Neary, Patrick.
1714 Newcombe, Dorothy.
1747 Newman, Christopher.
1715 Nuttle, James.
1782 **O'Brien, Thomas.**
1802 O'Brien, Cornelius.
1841 O'Brien, James.
1825 O'Connor, Patrick.
1800 O'Donnell, Richard [29]

[29] The O'Donnells were associated with Clonmel for three centuries. In 1576 "John Danyell, the Earl of Ormond's man," sued a grant of freedom for Thomas Brenog and Thomas Nynane, merchants of Clonmel. In 1623 Edmund, John and William Daniel held houses in the East suburbs from John fitz Bennet White.

1798 O'Donnell, William.
1787 O'Donnell, Catherine.
1790 O'Neill, Con.
1793 O'Neill, Ellen.
1872 O'Neill, Elizabeth.
1668 Orchard, Thomas.
1759 **Page, Mary.**
1765 **Pagett, Robert.**
1763 Paine, John.
1686 Parker, John.
1734 Parr, John.
1811 **Peacon, Thomas.**
1659 Peckett, John [30]
1740 Pedder, Benjamin.

[30] The will of Peckett is interesting as the earliest extant of any made by the Cromwellian inhabitants of the town.

"I John Peckett, Tanner, Clonmell, being sicke, I commend my soule unto Almighty God, to my Saviour and Redeemer Jesus Christ, and my Body to the Earth from whence it came, to be buried in the Lady Church in Clonmell. I constitut my well beloved friend Griffin Howard of Holly Cross, Executor, Tutor and overseer of my children and appointe my Indered and well beloved wife Allen Peckett to be Executrix. I bequeath unto my wife £100 ster. and the Tann yeard with all the materialls, until sonn Richard come to 21 yeares and then she is onely to enjoy parte of tann yeard so long as widow. It is my will and pleasure that my wife shall have and enjoy the backe [bake] house which I bought of Lieut. Betsworth with all therein, and after her decease to my daughter Thomasin and her children. I bequeath £100 to my sonne Richard and my new dwelling house onely to my wife whilest a widow until Richard reaches 21 years and half the tann yeard during widowhood. I bequeath to my wife £50 due me by Mr. Osborne liveing near Maidstone in Kent. To my god daughter Rebecca West tenn shillings to buy her Lambs, and five shillings to Thomas Webb my god son to buy him Books. To my son Richard £15 15s., due me by bond from Thomas Wheeler late of Clonmell, Butcher, and another bond of £6 due from Richard Start late of Cashill, butcher. I give to the Poore of the Parish wherein I now live twenty shillings.—15 Junne 1659, John Peckett."

1791 Pedder, Catherine.
1799 **Pedder, Mary.**
1788 **Penefather, John.**
1753 Pourquier, Catherine.

1802 **Pim, Elizabeth.**
1725 **Pourguiere, Theodore.**
1849 Power, Catherine.
1675 **Power, John.**
1855 Power, Patrick.
1841 Power, Thomas.
1672 Prendergast, John [31]
1841 Prendergast, Patrick.

[31] John Prendergast, of Rahine; will dated 14 May 1670. Bequeaths to Captain Gefrey Prendergast his horse, sword and clothes; to the poore of Clonmell 20s.; a third of his "goods, chattells, rights and credits" to his wife Ellen Barry; two thirds to his son James, Edmond fitz Gerrard Prendergast being tutor until son is 21 years.

1851 Prendergast, Thomas F.
1852 Prendergast, Thomas.
1708 Preston, Cæsar.
1724 Price, Francis.
1817 Prosser, John.
1839 Purcell, Edward.
1842 Purcell, Mary.
1737 Purcell, Nicholas.
1803 **Pyne, Cornelius.**
1785 Quirk, John.
1684 Read, Ruth.
1739 **Reddich, Ann.**
1850 Reardon, Edward L.
1735 Reddick, James.
1774 **Rial, Mary.**
1781 **Rial, William** [32]

[32] Phineas Ryall settled in Clonmel about 1680. His name occurs frequently in the ledger of William Vaughan, merchant, whose daughter Elizabeth he married. Ryall succeeded Vaughan in trade, and dying, 1709, left a son William who married in 1727, Mary, elder daughter of John Bagwell, merchant, in Boate (present Duncan) Street.

William Ryall had two sons, Phineas and Samuel, and a daughter Elizabeth who married Simon Newport, founder of the Waterford Bank. On the death of Bagwell in 1753 his premises in Boate Street were occupied by his son-in-law, Ryall, who began the banking business there. Bagwell bequeathed to his grandson Phineas the fee-farm grants of Nicholastown and Derrygrath, and to his second grandson, Samuel, the lands of Grangebeg, Suttonrath, Barnora, Ballylegan, leased for lives renewable from Thomas, Baron of Cahir *(aa)*.

William Ryall and his son Phineas were the first partners in the bank. These were followed by William, Charles and Arthur, the sons of Phineas. Subsequently Samuel, the son of William, came into the firm. The return to cash payments on the fall of Napoleon, brought a collapse in the Ryall's inflated securities; their losses in the few years preceding 1820 amounted to £100,000, while in landed property the loss was correspondingly heavy. In the Sparrow estate—Oaklands—alone, the estimated loss was £13,000 *(bb)*.

1853 Richards, William.
1750 **Rigge, Thomas.**
1778 **Rigg, Thomas.**
1808 **Rigg, Samuel.**
1798 **Rivers, Richard.**
1746 Robson, Elizabeth.
1741 **Robson, Mathew.**
1735 **Robson, John.**
1835 Roe, Patrick.
1693 **Roth, Peter.**

(aa) This Samuel Ryall was a Dissenting clergyman, and married Elizabeth Miles, of Rochestown. Their daughter who married Dunbar Barton, inherited that estate on the death without issue of Col. Lawford Miles.

(bb) Case of Ryall trustees for Richard Pennefather, Clonmel, 1823.

1690 Russell, Henry.
1729 Rutherford, John.
1807 **Ryall, Charles.**
1811 **Ryan, Denis.**
1850 Ryan, William.
1773 Ryan, James.
1839 Ryan, William.
1786 Ryan, Mary.
1673 **Ryan, Thomas.**
1807 **Ryan, Thomas.**
1733 **St. Clair, Mary.**
1736 **Salmon, Christopher.**
1706 **Salmon, James.**
1708 **Salmon, Thomas.**
1775 **Scales, Patrick.**
1842 Shanahan, John.
1787 Shaw, Richard.
1690 Shaw, Roger.
1771 Shaw, Roger.
1799 **Shaw, Thomas.**
1749 **Sherlock, James.**
1838 Shaw, Thomas.
1759 Shelmedeen, William.
1768 Sheehy, John.
1727 Sherlock, James.
1812 Sheehy, John.
1712 **De La Sigounier, Charles.**
1805 Slaughtery, Rev. Thomas.
1730 Smallman, Francis.
1846 Smith, Edward.
1794 **Sparrow, Simmons.**
1694 Stanley, William [33]

[33] William Stanley was mayor of Clonmel in 1693. His term of office is still recorded in stone at the Clonmel Spa.

WILLIAM
STANLEY
ESQR MAYOR
OF CLONM
ELL 1693.

His wife Frances was a sister of the Carletons, she died in 1689 (*cc*).

1724 Stanton, John.
1757 **Stritch, Richard** [34]
1692 Stritch, John.
1810 Sullivan, Mary.

[34] The Stritches though found in Clonmel as early as the sixteenth century, were probably a Limerick family. In 1587 Richard Stritche, of Limerick, obtained a grant of mills, which he claimed belonged to his family for three hundred years.

(cc) The following account of the Spa is taken from Smith's Waterford, 1746. "The Clonmel spaw is a pretty strong chalybeat water, as appears by its keeping good near a year in bottles, and being brought to Dublin retained its tinging quality with Galls. It springs out of the side of a rising ground, over which hangs a pretty steep hill on the County of Waterford side of the Suir. It affords a thick scum, particularly in the morning, being yellow and white. It has been drank not only in cachetick cases, but also for the scurvy, and other chronick disorders by numbers of persons, many of whom have received considerable benefit by it; and its operation has been found mostly diuretick. Six pints of this water were exhaled in Dublin by a mild heat, the operation being performed in not less than forty-eight hours; which yielded of a dark brown ochorous powder seven grains, which without calcination was attracted by the magnet, a further evidence of the strength of the impregnating principles.

"In the water season a few years ago, this place was thronged with company, in order to take the benefit of this spaw; but of late it is less frequented, most of our fashionable water drinkers making choice of the waters of Mallow or Ballyspellan, few considering that these waters are of a quite different nature."—pp. 241-2.

John Stritch in 1641 as one of the ancient burgesses, was proprietor of lands in the Burgagery. He was probably the son of John Stritch and Margaret Daniel whose tomb is in St. Mary's. At the Restoration his house in St. Mary's Street was occupied by Pierce Butler, but in 1676 a John Strich was living in Lough Street. His will is dated 13 April 1692, and he makes mention of his wife Cecilia, his sons James and John, his grandson John, and his daughters Mary, Anastasia and Margaret.

The will of Richard Stritch is dated 9 January 1734. Bequeaths his worldly substance to his wife Catherine Brenocke and his daughter Catherine; £50 to his "deraly and well beloved son Thomas." £10 each to his sons in law Michael and Patrick Kevins; the value of £5 in woolen goods to such persons as his wife and daughter think fit; £8 to be paid to such person as they think proper; £5 to his nephew Thomas White fitz Francis.

The dearly and well-beloved son Rev. Thomas Stritch was nominated coadjutor bishop of Waterford in 1737, but showing some signs of mental aberration, Peter Creagh of Limerick was appointed. A ciborium presented to St. Mary's Catholic church in 1725 by Stritch and his wife, is still in use there. His sons-in-law the Rivers were among the most notable traders of the time. Bartholomew Rivers and his cousin Henry Hayden carried on a bank in Waterford, which met the usual fate of private banks, the bankruptcy court, in 1793. Another enterprize of his has however flourished to our time—Tramore. Previous to his purchasing the place, there were not more than half a dozen miserable cabins. At the time of the bank's collapse, he had projected the large reclamation scheme, which was realized sixty years later by the Malcomsons.

1841 Sullivan, William.
1837 Sutherland, William.
1854 Sweeny, Bridget.
1835 **Shortis, Thomas.**
1805 **Taylor, John.**
1791 **Taylor, William, sen.**
1676 Talbot, Edward.
1784 **Tennison, Joseph.**
1821 Thompson, Maria.
1693 Thompson, Robert.
1800 Thompson, William.
1716 **Tinison, William.**
1721 **Tobyn, John.**
1711 Tonnery, Rev. Edward.
1848 Troy, Bridget.
1695 **Trayer, Gilbert.**
1848 Troy, Jeremiah.
1670 Turpin, Thomas.
1744 **Ussher, Mary.**
1609 **Vale, Garret fitz Edmond.**
1699 Vaughan, Francis.
1699 **Vaughan, William** [35]

[35] Some notice of William Vaughan has been given in Chapter VII. Bequeaths to his wife Mary the lands of Ballyboe; to his daughter Elizabeth Riall £200 besides her former marriage portion £200; £5 to her daughter Anne to buy her a "piece of plaite"; to his daughter Mary Carleton £200, besides her former marriage portion £200; to his sister Colesary £40; to his grandson John Vaughan £6 to buy him a silver tankard; to the two sons—Joseph and Thomas of his sister Harris £8; to Mary Harris (being lame) £10, "to be disposed of for her as my son Phineas Riall thinks fitt"; to the other five daughters of his sister Harris £5, each. "I give and bequeath to each of my executors Mr. John Perry, Mr. Mathew Jacob, Mr. Joseph Damer, Mr. John Shaw, Mr. Phineas Riall, Doctor Francis Vaughan and to Mr. Phil Carleton, the sume of twenty shillings to buy each of them a mourninge ringe. Item, I give and bequeath to the poore English Protestants of the towne of Clonmell the sume of twenty pounds sterling to be putt out at interest for them by my executors and the interest thereof yearely to be distributed and given every New Yeares day to whom and to such English poore Protestants as my executors or executors hereafter named shall thinke fitt." To his son Benjamin Vaughan, he bequeathed Cullinagh with all his goods, plate "which I judg to be neere three hundred ounces," horses, corn, etc. "which I judg may now be worth (after all my debts and legacies are deducted) uppeward of one thousand pounds besides the lands of Cullinagh."

1718 Vaughan, John.
1702 Vaughan, Mary.
1641 **Wall, Patrick fitz Pierce** [36]
1791 **Walsh, Ann.**

[36] By will 4 March 1640, Patrick fitz Piers Wall "merchaunt taylor" bequeathed his soule etc.; his "boddy to be buried in my auncestors monument within the parish church of Clonmell," one third of his estate to his wife Ellen Brenock, two thirds to his daughters Mary, Anstas, Cate, Anne and Beale, reversion to nephew Piers Wall and the heirs of his brother Richard in succession; his executors to see his debts paid and "to cause the howse in Shellan Streete as yet unbuilt to be builded as I am bound by lease made by Thomas White fitz Richard."

1820 Walsh, Edmund.
1802 **Walsh, David.**
1734 **Walsh, Elizabeth.**
1795 Walsh, Ellen.
1795 Walsh, Joan.
1829 Walsh, Michael.
1837 Ward, Catherine.
1783 **Watson, John, sen.**
1680 Webber, George.
1692 **Weily, Thomas.**
1808 **Weldon, William.**
1716 White, Francis.
1589 **White, Henry** [37]
1625 **White, Catherine fitz Thomas.**

[37] This is the earliest will of any citizen of Clonmel, known to exist. It deserves therefore to be quoted *in extenso.*

"In the name of God, Amen, the sixth of August in the year of Our Lord God 1577, I Henry Whit Burgess of the towne of Clonmell being of whole mind and perfect memorie, understanding the assurance of death and willing to prevent the soddaine chaunce thereof doe make my will and testament in names and forme following, ffirst I comend my soule to God Almyghtie through the meritts of Christes passion and the intercession of his blessed mother the virgin Mary and the holy company of heavin and my boddie to be buried in the sepulture of mine Auncestors within the parish church of Clonmell and do make my son John White my full and generall heire of all my landes and inheritance saving of such lands that shall hereafter [be] specified and excepted. And the said John to have and to hold and possess the same landes and inheritance to him and his heires males of his bodie lawfully begotten except the lands pre-excepted. And if the said John do fortune to die without issue male of his bodie lawfully begotten then I will by this present that my son Nicholas White shall have hold occupie possess and injoy my said lands and inheritance to him and to his heires males of his bodie lawfully begotten or to be begotten for ever. And if said John and Nicholas doe die without the like issue males of their boddie lawfully begotten or to be begotten that then John White fitz Patrick my Brother is sonn shall have hold possess and injoy my said lands and inheritance to have and to hold to him and his heires males of his bodie lawfully begotten or to be begotten for ever. And for lacke of like issue males begotten or to be begotten of the said John White my sonn and heire Nicholas White and John White fitz Patrick I will that John White fitz Patrick is Brother Nicholas White shall have hold possess and injoy my said lands and inheritance etc. Also I will that for the lacke of the like issue males of said John White Nicholas White my sones and of the bodies of the said John White and Nicholas White fitz Patrick that my said land and inheritance shall remain to Michael White the said Patrick is sonn to him and his heirs etc. And if the said John White etc. doe fortune to die without the like issue males etc. that then my said lands and inheritance shall return and revert unto the rightful heires. I doe make ordaine institute and appoint my said sonns John and Nicholas White executors of all my goodes and cattle equally and doe leave my well loved Sir Theobolde Butler Geffrie White my nephew John Kearinge and John bray Tutors and overseers of my wife and childern and soules porcon.

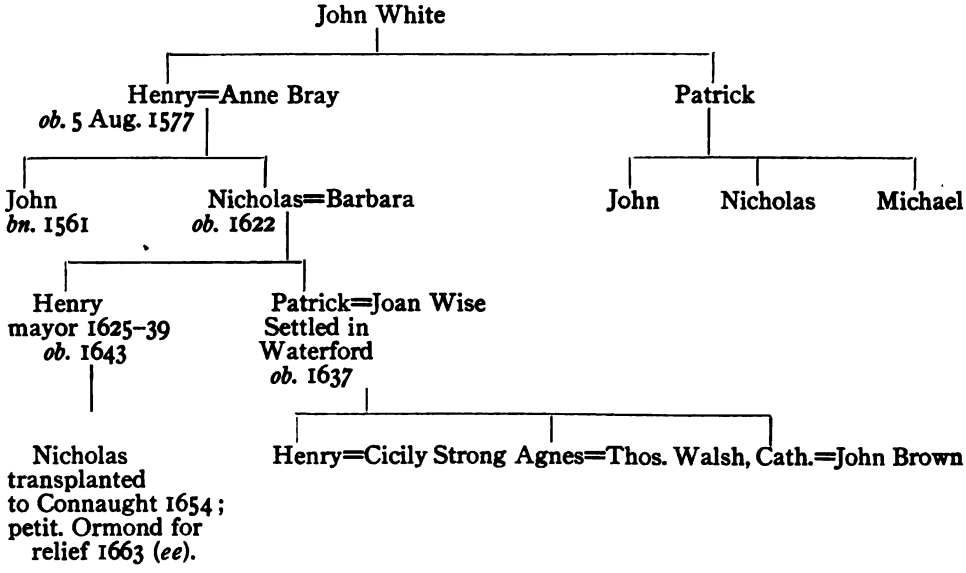
Legacies.

Itm in primis I leave and bequeath by this present to my said son Nicholas White the newe slate house builded by me in the southe side of the castle of the brode gate according the meares and members thereof which I have purchased my selfe. Itm Also I leave and bequeath vnto the said Nicholas White two howses or tenaments purchased also by me of lawles is lands of which howses or tenaments the one is where John murrye in his lyfe time dwelled in the weast side of the Cold sete within Clonmell and the other howse or tenement is where James Brennock dwell at the making hereof, according the meares and markes of the said howses. Itm, Also I bequeath and leave to my said son Nicholas a parke called lawles is parke purchased also and bought by me for my money, according to the meares and markes thereof. To him and to his heirs the said three howses or tenaments and the said parke with all and singuler comodities profits and appurtenances of them and any of them to the said Nicholas White and his heires males of his bodie lawfully begotten or to be begotten to the use and behalf of them and every of them forever, yeilding and paeing yearly to me the said heir or to mine heires IIIIs of good lawfull courant money of Ireland. And if the said Nicholas White doe fortune to departe this present life without heires males of his bodie lawfully begotten or to be begotten then I will that the remainder of the said tenements parkes shall be to my said son John White and to his heirs males lawfully begotten for ever. In witness whereof I have hereunto subscribed my name and put my seale henry Whit.

Being present at the sealeing and ferming hereof Those whose names insu

Mighell Bray
Richarde White
Nicholas Whyte.

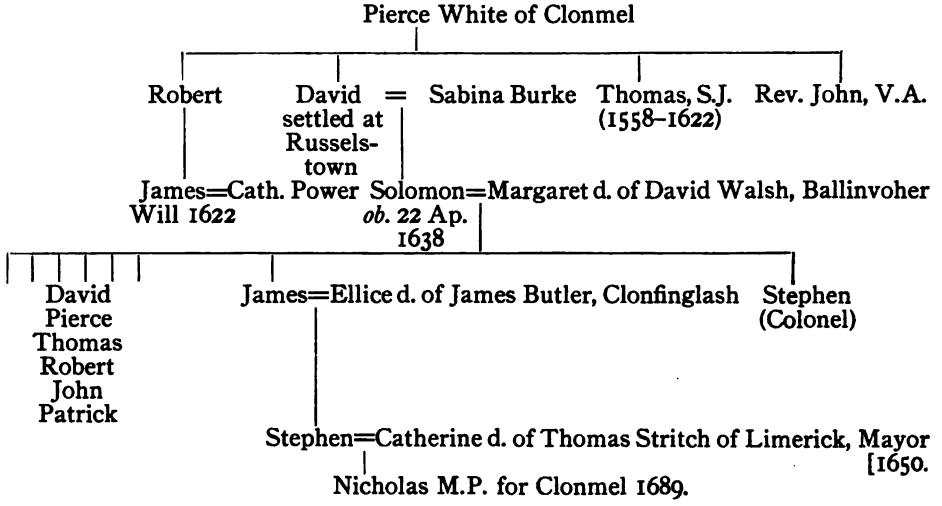
John White being a minor at the death of his father in 1577, his wardship was granted to Sir William Drury (*dd*). He died unmarried, probably in his minority, for the estate passed to the second son Nicholas. The pedigree of the family until they were overwhelmed in the Cromwellian and Williamite ruin, is as follows :—



(*dd*) Fiants Elizabeth, 3196.
(*ee*) Foregoing compiled from Wills, Inquisitions and Tombs.

1614 **White, Henry fitz Thomas.** 1622 **White, James fitz Robert** [38]

[38] This was the second branch of the Whites in importance.



1740 **White, John.**
1776 **White, Judith.**
1741 **White, Patrick.**
1810 **White, Sarah.**
1664 White, Thomas.
1709 Whitehand, Richard.
1730 Whitehand, Richard.
1615 **Whyte, John fitz Geffry** [39]

[39] The following is the will of John White, the first mayor of Clonmel, a notice of whose tomb has been given in Chapter XV.

✠

In the name of God, Amen. I, John White fitzGeffery of Clonmel, Alderman, being sicke in body yett of perfect mynde and memorie thancks be to God do make my last wyll and tystement in maner following. ffirst I comend my sole to God Almightye my creator and redeemer and my body to be buryed in Sainct ffrancis abbay in myne ancestors buriall. I doe appoint Benett Whitt my son and heire and my sones Thomas and Michele White myne executors together with my wife Alson White. Itm, I leave and bequeath to my son Thomas White to hym and to his heires mayle of his body lawfully begotten and to be begotten the house where Christopher Whit some tyme dwelled and the house with his backe side wherein Geffry Baron some tyme dwelled with all the other land belonging to the same and whereof the said Baron had a layse of my father and a parcke or orchord called Garrymorran adjacent the wales of Clonmel. I leave and bequeath to the said Thomas and Michele White all such lands as are to be past vnto me by grant from his Maiestie by Sir James Carroll and proctore piers to be equally divided between them and to the heires mayle of their bodyes successively except such parcells as are situat in Kilnalonqurty which I do will and bequeath to my son in law John haly and his son Nicholas haly their heires and assigns for ever. Itm, I doe will and bequeath to my son Michel White and to his heires mayle of his body the houses where Stephen White, James White fitz David now is dwelling with the rents and reversions thereof with the premises aforesid as is sayde, together with the houses wherein Richard Stretch John ffowlow now dwells in Clonmele, the remayndre of all the said premisses to my son and heire Benett White and the heires

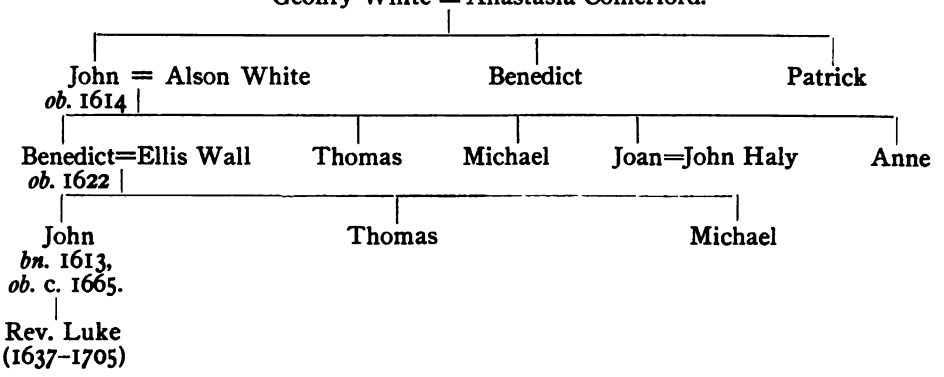
mayle of his body, the parcells by me formerly devysed to John haly and his son onely excepted. The said Thomas and Michel and their heires rendring payment yearly to my said son and heire Benett and his heires VII^{d} ster. every of them per ann. for and out of the saide lands hereby devised. Itm, I bequeath to my wife Alson White over and besides the foresaid the two mylles beyond the bridge called ffahys mylles, for and duringe her naturall lyffe. Itm, I doe leave and bequeath to my daughter Ann White the some of one hundred and fourty pounds towards her preferment and advancement to marriadge with which I do chardg all my lands. Itm, I doe leave and bequeath that myne executors shall pay unto my son in law John haly the remayne of such marriadge goods as I promised vnto hym. Itm, I do leave vnto my son Thomas the arreare of what whitherto accrued uppon his house in our Ladye Street wherein John prendergast nowe dwelleth. Itm, I appointe Mr. Patrick White, maior of Clonmel, Nicholas White fitz harry, Richard White fitz Nicholas, and John haly Trustees and overseers of this my last wyll and tystement and my said childrens estate, and that thereof the profits and issues of my said land in theire dyscretions shall take onlie for the bearinge of the said marriadge goods of the said Ann White. I leave and bequeath to my daughter Johan her filiall portion of any I promised vnto her. Itm, to my son in law John haly my black sylke goune. Itm, I leave all the cowes and calfs for my wyfe and to my daughter Ann White. Itm, to my brother in law Patrick White a token of the next returne as my wyfe shall choos. I leave to my son and heire Benett White to be continued in the house as principall heirelooms [?], and for filiall portion a great pan, a scarlett goune, a measuige pan, a great kettle and other such like implements as shalbe thought good to my said Trustees and overseers. Itm, I charge myne executors to satisffye all my cleare debts. Itm, I leave to the dyscretion of my wyfe to bestowe a token of goodwyll in my name uppon my brother in law Nicholas White of the next return. Itm, I leave that the house and the kyll in the abbay lane which was engadged by my brother patricke White for xxx li. ster., and by my selfe redeemed to said patricke accordinge my father is assignment to hym, he paying xxx li. towards the preferment I have assigned for my daughter Ann before he shall have any claime to said premises. Itm, my will is that my brother Benett White shall enioye the benefitt of his ferme devysed vnto hym by my father. And for any other deattes or doubt I refer it to be ended by the dyscretion of my said Trustees or overseers. In wittness whereof I have hereunto putt my hand and seale. Dated at Clonmel the XII of May 1614.

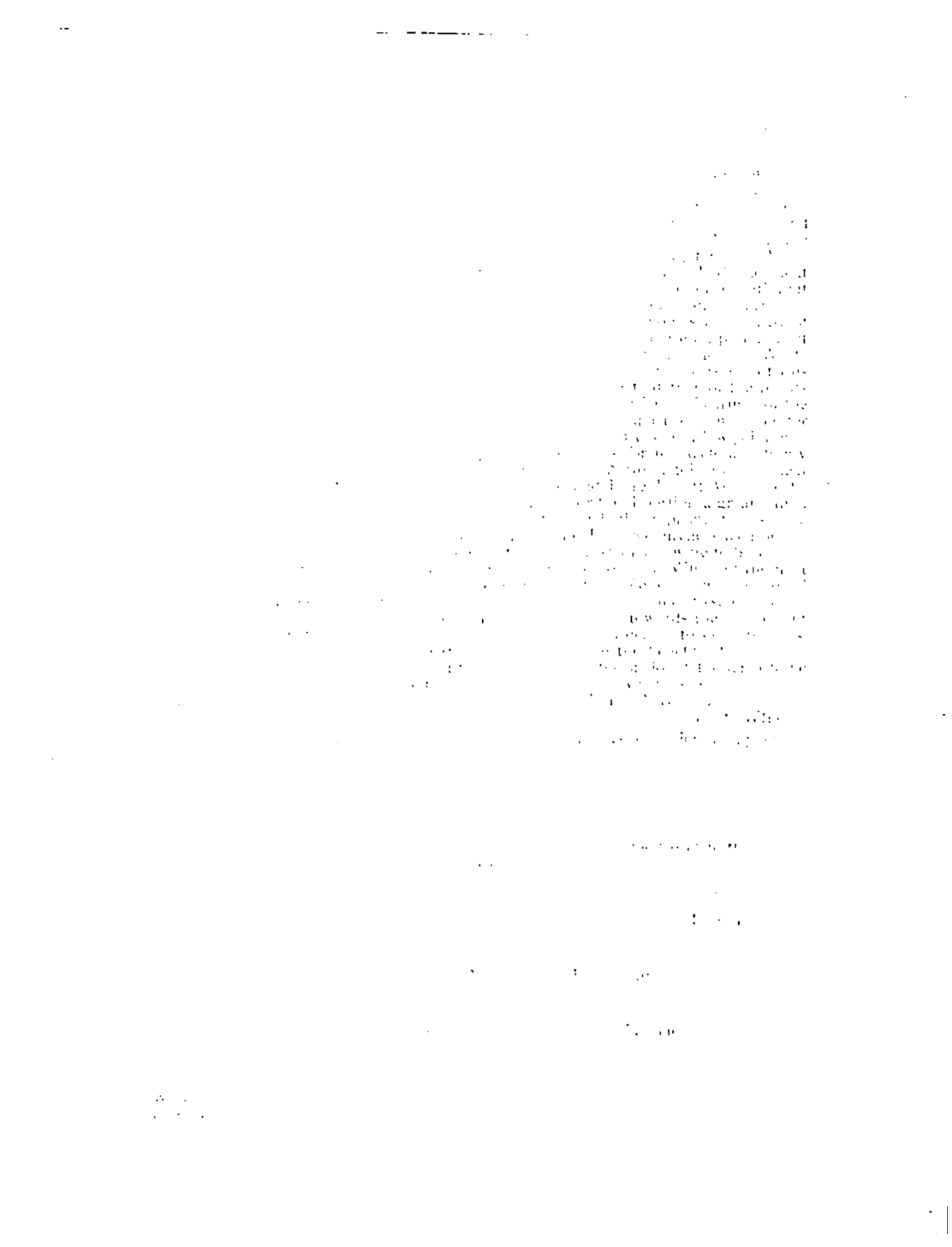
JOHN WHYTE.

This last will and testament was made and declared before vs the undernamd persons.

pat Whyte maior of Clonmell.
Nicolas White.
John Haly.
Bennett Whyte.
Patrick White,

This third branch of the Whites appears to have been far removed from the others.







TOMB OF JOHN WHITE, FIRST MAYOR OF CLONMEL.

From Drawing by Miss Collins.

Besides the three principal branches there were numerous other families of the name in Clonmel during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

The Whites are found among the Anglo-Norman settlers in Tipperary under the form of "Le Blunde." During the thirteenth century Thomas "the White" held lands in the neighbourhood of Ardmail of the King *in capite*, rendering half a knight's service. Their earliest recorded association with Clonmel is 1388 when Nicholas White, of Clonmel, was joined with the Earl of Ormond in a commission of the peace for Co. Cork. John White, of Clonmel, in 1397 was granted the custody of lands in Tipperary and Limerick belonging to his idiot brother Theobald, during the latter's lifetime, without accounting to the exchequer for the profits. In 1402 the manor of Cooleagh with houses in Clonmel and other lands in Tipperary belonging to Henry White, of Clonmel, were granted to John Lawless in custody, rendering account. etc. At the same period James le Botiller seeking some dispensation from Rome, despatched thither Adam, prior of St. John's, Dublin, who was also provided with letters of attorney from Nicholas White, of Clonmel.

1812 Wilkinson, Nicholas.
1782 Wilkinson, Robert.
1679 Williams, Thomas.
1794 **Wood, Isaac.**
1792 **Wood, Josiah.**
1704 Wood, Ralph.

CHAPTER XVII.

PRINTING AND JOURNALISM.

PREVIOUS to 1771 the people of Clonmel were dependant upon the Dublin news-sheets for their knowledge of the outer world and its doings. Among the Carleton accounts, February 2nd, 1730, we find "Paid in full for English News sent the Collonel—£3 8s." "December 14, Pd. Miles Daly for a year and a halfs Irish news sent the Coll. by Walter Paliser of Dublin at £1 6s. per ann.—£1 19s." When in October, 1730, the Colonel's effects at Darlinghill were to be auctioned, the advertisement was inserted in three papers.

To Pue for incerting it in his Occurrances	...	£0 17	4
To Gowan for do. in the Gazette	... ...	3 13	8
To Hoy for Do. in the Journall	... ...	2 3	4

A generation later, the Perry accounts show "October 21, 1762. Pd. Edwd. Browning for Dublin news £1 2s. 9d."

The earliest of the Clonmel newspapers was—

THE HIBERNIAN GAZETTE OR UNIVERSAL ADVERTISER.

The first number appeared on March 18th, 1771 *(ff)*. It consisted of four pages of three columns each, the size of the page being 19 by 12 inches. In the imprint, between the alternative titles, is a curious wheel—indicative of

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(ff) This I calculate from the earliest number I have seen, No. 31, Vol. VI. "From Monday July the 8th to Thursday July the 11th, 1776."

the *circulation.* The box of the wheel shows a harp, over which is the word "Liberty," and in the enclosing circle "Clonmell, County Tipperary." Inscribed round the band of the wheel is "The Principal Counties in which This Paper Circulates are The." On the seven spokes are "C. Kilkenny," "C. Waterford," "C. Corke," "C. Limerick," "C. Clare," "K. County." "Q. County," respectively. The quaint colophon reads—

Clonmel: Printed by Edward Collins where Advertisements and Letters of Intelligence are taken in, And where those who chuse to be regularly served with This Paper are desired to apply.

Collins was a native of Cork. In a list dated 1766, he is described as "a compiler of mineral types."

The paper is coarse and yellow, but the print is excellent; clear and crisp, and much superior to later local journals. The Gazette was bi-weekly; the earliest number the writer has met is dated July 8–11, 1776. The first column begins with an epilogue of thirty-seven verses, heroic metre, "For the Anniversary of the Boyne Victory."

As on this day—'tis near an age ago—
(Time and Transitions nature's drama show)
The guardian genius of our British isles
On her best sons shed most indulgent smiles,
Caused justice, freedom, valour, all to join
As guides and shields for William o'er the Boyne.

Anyone who objected to the Boyne celebration—

If such a timid paltry wretch can be
May he ne'er taste the sweets of liberty.

And the laws—

Immortal may their various blessings be
As freedom's sons hold William's memory.

The leading article is on the same subject, and probably from the same pen. Some prominent Tories, i.e., Jacobites, are singled out for attack—Hume, "pensioner Pompous Dr. Johnson," "Dr. Pillery the infamous Shebbeare," and Macpherson. The latter having charged William of Orange with a want of culture, the article says in extenuation—

In the earlier days of the Prince of Orange wars pervaded the greater part of Europe, and when little more than twenty years of age he, with a fortitude, wisdom and perseverance that were amazing, saved his country from that ambitious tyrant Lewis 14th. Though absolute in Holland, he ruled them as their guardian angel.

The writer concludes—

If I forget the deliverer of our Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning and my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth; yea if I prefer not our deliverer in my mirth, May all British Kings and subjects be hearty lovers and drinkers of the glorious and immortal memory of King William the Third,

The second page is occupied with foreign intelligence, got from "a French gentleman lately arrived." The contemporary accounts of the American Revolution "from a private letter from Philadelphia" are interesting. Wilke's election and a fight between two privateers and H.M.S. Rose make up the rest. The Irish news consists of a few paragraphs, a party fight at Dundalk, and a seizure of smuggled brandy.

The advertisements and public notices are the most curious items in the paper. Thomas Cooke of Kiltinane, offers a reward of 100 guineas for the apprehension of the blood-thirsty villain who fired at him from behind a quickset hedge as he was on his way from Ballyvaughan to Kiltinane. Daniel Toler thanks the gentry, clergy and freeholders for the support given him at the recent county election. Pat Dalton and Silvester Glascock write to say that—

The two horses stolen from Cloneen demesne were found in possession of John Crehane, pound-keeper, Fethard, and we cannot omit apprehending that said pound-keeper was an accomplice in the above act.

The following is the most notable paragraph :—

Whereas, in having received information on oath that Andrew Walsh of Carrick-on-Suir, Gunsmith, a noted Papist, had in his house a number of fire arms, etc., repairing for the White Boys, I repaired to his house at Carrick-on-Suir aforesaid on Tuesday, the 7th day of May last, where I found 17 guns, some with Locks on and some without, 4 case Pistols in like manner, 18 Locks of Guns and Pistols with their swords, most of them concealed in different parts of the house. I do therefore give this notice to the public that such as may have been robbed of the like by those nocturnal Invaders of our Property the White Boys, that by calling at my house and proving property, they will have them returned. Dove Hill, May 9th 1776.—Thomas Newcomen.

N.B.—The said Walsh though closely pursued made off a back way out of his house and so escaped.

The advertisements of land to be let occupy an entire page, Castle Willington demesne for seven years, Coolmoyne for three. Mr. Power will close with a solvent tenant for Barretstown House and demesne. Killoskehane, 500 acres, to be let for 31 years. Advertisements of a more modern character appear. "Mr. de Bello, Occulist from Verona in Italy, is to be spoken with at the Royal Oak Tavern." He cured Ellen Power of a cataract in each eye, "which operation was performed in the presence of a number of spectators to whom he appeals with what dexterity it was conducted." Mr. J. A. Keyser of Paris has "celebrated pills that are universally allowed to be the only cure for a certain disorder, leprosy,

fistulas," etc. "The French king, being thoroughly sensible of the very great consequence of these pills to his subjects in general, was pleased to purchase the secret."

About 1775 *The Hibernian Gazette or Universal Advertiser*, became *The Clonmel Gazette or Hibernian Advertiser*, and the paper was enlarged from 12 to 16 columns. In 1792 George Heaslop was associated with Collins as printer. Eight years later the paper changed its name, ownership and politics, becoming the *Clonmel Gazette or Munster Mercury*. Edmond Power, the new proprietor, was father of the well-known Countess of Blessington; he was a butter and corn merchant, resident at the Water Gate, and locally known as "Shiver the Frills." Power appointed Bernard Wright as editor. Wright's qualifications may be gathered from the fact that he had been educated for the priesthood in France, whence he was driven by the Revolution. His father, John Wright, and his uncle the Abbè Wright being disinherited of the Cloneen estate by their father John, for becoming Catholics. Bernard obtained a livelihood by teaching French. It was in the capacity of French teacher he attracted the notice of Sheriff Fitz Gerald, who flogged him in 1798. The *Clonmel Gazette* under Wright's editorship became the organ of the Llandaff-Donoughmore, or Catholic party, in opposition to the Bagwell, or Protestant party. An article in 1802, inspired by Solomon Watson in the interest of Lord Donoughmore, made a violent attack on Bagwell. He was accused of raising the market tolls; of compelling butchers to enter the new shambles under threat of eviction, and finally, of personal dishonesty by withholding the bounty from some men of the Tipperary militia, of which he was colonel. The libel action, John Bagwell *versus* Edmond Power, was tried at the Clonmel Assizes, 11th August, 1804. A report of the proceedings, which were very amusing, may be seen among the Halliday pamphlets in the Royal Irish Academy *(gg)*. Norbury was presiding judge, and the leaders of the circuit were engaged on either side. Three militia men, Hogan, Nagle and Murphy, were examined at great length as to whether the "Marching Guinea," i.e., the bounty of four guineas, had been paid them by Bagwell. During the examination by junior counsel, Burrowes, the plaintiff's leader was seen to leave the court, when Grady, on the other side, called out to know if he had received his "Marching Guinea" from the Colonel. It was elicited that Hogan had played billiards at Marlfield. "Did he get his *cue?* I heard he did. Did Hogan *pocket* the Colonel? I heard that one *pocketted* the other." Robert Malcomson, who appeared in behalf of Power, stated he was a brewer. Norbury therefore appealed to

(gg) Vol. 872, 1804.

him to show some *grains* of allowance, but this was about the only *decent* joke made by the judge. The jury found for Bagwell; and Power, being left by his aristocratic friends to pay damages and costs, was ruined *(hh)*.

THE CLONMEL JOURNAL.

When the *Clonmel Gazette* changed owners and principles *The Clonmel Journal* took its place. The first number appeared Wednesday, August 11th, 1798. It, like its rival, was bi-weekly; price fourpence; had four pages, 20 by 12 inches, of four columns each, and judging from the imprint, "Printed by S. Collins," the family of the former owners of the "Clonmel Gazette" carried on the new venture also. Neither print nor paper however is equal to the *Gazette*. The number for July 16th, 1800, contains an address from the nobility, clergy, gentry and freeholders of Tipperary, congratulating his majesty on escaping "the atrocious attempt made on his sacred life." Five or six columns follow of intelligence relative to Napoleon's campaign in Italy; there are full reports of "the British Parliament." In the Irish parliament, inland navigation and the rights of the Grand Canal Company were being discussed. The issue for September 22nd, 1800, contains the following advertisement:—

To be let from the 29 of September for one year. The Tolls and Custom of the Town and Borough of Clonmel. Also the Quayage and Pontage of the same. Proposals (in writing only) will be received by the Mayor and Bailiffs elect. The Mayor elect will also receive separate proposals for the Fairs of the said Town and Borough.

The following table from the issue of July 16th is noteworthy.

Clonmel Market Prices, Saturday, July 12.

Wheat, 3s. 1d. } per stone		Flour, £4 per bag.
Oats, 2s. 1d. }		Mutton, 5d. to 6d. per lb.
		Beef, 5d. to 6d. per lb.
Butter, 1st £4 12s. } per cwt.		Tallow, 9s. per stone.
Do. 2nd £4 8s. }		Butter, 1s. 6d. per lb.
		Potatoes, 7d. to 10d. per stone.
		Coal, 5s. 5d. per barrel.

3 p.c. Consols in Dublin and London 64 and 7-8ths. to 65.

The *Clonmel Journal* passed away about 1804.

THE CLONMEL HERALD.

This like the *Journal* was a strong Tory organ. It was founded by George Grace, a barrister, who was called to the bar as far back as 1788. The first number appeared 27th May, 1802. The paper was bi-weekly, Wednesday

(hh) Bernard Wright, the editor, died 9th April 1821, at the age of 58, leaving an only son, J. B. Wright.

and Saturday, and consisted of the usual four pages of four columns each. The arms of Clonmel were inserted in the middle of the title; the price, five-pence. There was little local news; the greater part of the space was occupied with extracts from the London papers. An unmistakable evidence of venality was the number of Government notices and proclamations. From an issue of January 1808, we find that barley was 18s. a barrel, coal 7s. 7d., butter 1s. 10d. a pound, beef 4½d., and mutton 6d.

Grace lived in the old mansion at the corner of Mary and Peter Streets, but the printing appears to have been done by one William Duffy. Subsequently Richard Grace took over the enterprise from his father, and finally the paper became the property of William Bayly Upton. It died with him in 1840. Mr. J. D. White, of Cashel, bought the printing press from Terence McGrath, Upton's son-in-law, for *thirty shillings*, and printed with it the first three numbers of the *Cashel Gazette*.

THE CLONMEL ADVERTISER.

This paper was founded by William Carson, who had for several years printed the *Waterford Mirror* for Richard Farrel. It was printed and published in Johnston Street, Wednesdays and Saturdays, at sixpence a copy. The first number appeared in July 1811, and was a distinct advance on the older papers. It contained four pages, 22 by 16 inches, five columns to the page; the type excellent and the editing capable. Whatever its earlier politics were, in 1832 it was strongly O'Connellite and anti-tithe. No. 2,217 (November 1832) contains an address from O'Connell to the people of Limerick. It is full of invective against "the betrayer—the deceiver—the prince of political jobbers—Mr. Pierce Mahoney," whom "it would be an eternal disgrace to elect," who "has not one particle of political principle," etc., etc. Two pages are filled with the report of the Clonmel assizes. The most important case was the trial of James Keeffe and Thady Hackett for the murder of Rev. John Going, of Mealiff. Shiel defended the prisoners who were acquitted. Lord Galmoy, Michael Doheny, John Hackett (of the *Free Press*) and others were put on trial "for a combination against tithes." The jury deserves to be recorded—Caleb Going, George Hodges, Southwell Mulcahy, Richard Brannagan, Thomas Knaggs, John Davis, John Graham, Robert McClelland, Robert Lester, Edward Jones and Richard Goss. The traversers had taken part in a meeting at which the following "non-intercourse" resolution was passed:—

> We pledge each other collectively and individually not to hold any intercourse whatever, directly or indirectly, with any person who should buy anything at a sale for tithes and church-cess, which went to keep up a pampered clergy.

Some of the traversers, as Lord Galmoy and Hackett, pleaded guilty. A verdict of guilty was found against Doheny and the others.

The market report for November 6th, 1832, is as follows :—

Best milling wheat, 14d. to 14¾d. per stone. Shipping wheat, 13d. to 14d. Oats, 7d. to 7½d. in a few instances. Flour, 35s., 32s., 27s., 15s. per bag. Bacon pigs, in moderate supply, 35s. to 35s. 6d. per cwt. Butter, 83s. per cwt. Potatoes, 2½d. per stone. Beef, 4½d. per lb. Mutton, do. Pork, 3d. Fresh butter, 1s.

The imprint is :—

Clonmel. Printed and published for the late Proprietor, William Carson, at the Office in Bagwell Street, opposite the Great Globe Inn, and sold at Mr. Heuston's Circulating Library and at Mr. O'Neill's, Bookseller and Binder, Stationer and Printer, Dublin Street.

The *Clonmel Advertiser* came to an end about 1836.

THE CLONMEL MAGAZINE.

This was a literary magazine, compiled for the most part by the aid of the scissors and paste-pot. It was published in Dublin Street by Cornelius Higgins. The first number was issued in September, 1826, four quarto pages. In the only number the writer has met with, is an elaborate account of the annual distribution of premiums to the pupils of the Endowed School, which then took place in the Courthouse.

The magazine lived only a few months.

THE TIPPERARY FREE PRESS.

At an "aggregate meeting" held in Clonmel in 1826, presided over by James Scully, Esq., it was—

Resolved. That a Liberal and Independent County Journal which should express the feelings and assert the rights of the People is wanted and ought to be supported.

The result was a prospectus issued by J. Hackett, "Public Library," Main Street, stating that "a few individuals actuated by no views of personal gain but who are anxious to circulate improvement through this populous county have determined to carry the above resolution into effect."

"The generality of Provincial Journalists who exist upon official patronage are as void of public principle as they are of information. The proprietors of this Journal do not intend to take them for their model. This Journal will be the advocate of the unconditional Emancipation of seven millions of British subjects. The consequences of the unnatural exaltation of the few professors of one creed above the numerous believers in another, are not only illustrated in the general discontent, but in many instances of petty tyranny and inglorious oppression which are hourly practiced amongst us.

The contempt for the interest and well-being of the lower orders which is so unhappily prevalent among the Squirearchy of Ireland; the partiality manifested in filling every, even the meanest, office connected with public institutions; the profligacy which is sometimes found in the decisions of individuals armed with summary powers by the law; the exactions which are practiced upon the peasantry through cesses, dues, tolls and tithes, and all the complicated machinery by which the people are ground down, will in this Journal be fully and fearlessly exposed to the public eye.

"The arts by which society is embellished, will not be disregarded. Every new publication of merit will pass through a brief though accurate review. At the same time the utmost care shall be taken that in seeking to please, the purest delicacy shall not be offended, and the fathers of families may rest satisfied that nothing contained in this Journal will ever raise a blush. Pleasure will not be consulted at the expense of modesty, and a mother will never snatch this Journal from her daughter's hand."

The first number of the *Free Press* saw the light Saturday, 23rd December, 1826. In size and price it was identical with the *Advertiser*, but the print was better and the advertisements more numerous. The editor with pardonable vanity wrote—

We consider it almost unnecessary to call the attention of the public to the Typographical appearance of the Paper. It is printed with a new and beautiful type from the celebrated Foundry of Caslon and Livermore, of London, and worked with the Columbian Press which has for the first time been seen in this part of the country.

The imprint is—

Clonmel. Printed and Published on the mornings of Wednesdays and Saturdays by J. Hackett at the Office, Main Street.

There are several columns of reports—The Cork Election. "Aggregate Meetings" of Catholics at Dublin, Fethard, Gammonsfield, Moycarky. Prices at Clonmel Markets 22nd December, 1826.

Butter (first quality), £3 12s. per cwt. Oatmeal, 18s. per cwt. Bacon pigs, £1 12s. 6d. per. cwt. Flour (seconds), £1 15s. per bag. Coal, 4s. 6d. per barrel. Wheat, 1s. 5½d. per stone. Oats, 1s. 2d. Potatoes, 4¾d. per stone. Beef 4½d. per lb. Mutton, 5d. Pork, 3¼d.

On the extinction of the *Clonmel Advertiser* in 1837, its name was added to the *Free Press* as a sub-title. During the first thirty years, 1826–1856,

the Emancipation movement, the tithe-war, corporate reform, repeal of the Union, the tenant-right agitation, followed one another in rapid succession. The *Free Press* voiced the popular feelings in burning language. More than once Hackett, the proprietor, found himself in the law courts for libel. During the Clonmel election of 1835 a series of sketches appeared in the paper caricaturing and occasionally vilifying the principal supporters of John Bagwell, the Conservative candidate. In one of these sketches a man was described with a drooped figure, a haggard brow and an unearthly excitement of the eye. And the article went on to connect him with the drowning of Lieutenant Close and Miss Grubb in 1826 *(ii)*. William Strangman, the person probably aimed at, sued Hackett for libel. The case was heard at the Kilkenny Summer Assizes, 1835, and resulted in a verdict for Strangman with damages £750 and costs. Another action by John Labarte, town clerk, also ended in heavy damages. In later years the tone of the *Free Press* was softened, and its politics during the last two decades of its existence were Catholic-Whig. Its influence to a large extent passed away with its founder, John Hackett. His sons, who succeeded him, had neither his ability nor his courage, and soon after the death of Henry O'Connell Hackett in 1880, the paper ceased to exist.

Founded at a time when, in the words of the historian Leckey, the British Constitution did not exist in Ireland, the task which the *Free Press* undertook was no light one. The prospectus may read to us blatant if not grotesque, but the petty oppression there set forth in detail, is the literal truth. The common people were glad to be permitted even to breath the air, and any man who spoke for their rights or criticized their oppressors, found himself by process of law sooner or later pauperized or imprisoned *(jj)*. If, as in the case of Strangman, the privileges of journalism were sometimes abused, Hackett in the main nobly vindicated its rights; and the freedom of the press was bought by him and such as him by many a bitter sacrifice.

(ii) Lieutenant Frederick Close was stationed with his regiment, the 86th Foot, in Clonmel in 1826. He there formed the acquaintance of Anna Grubb who was about 18 years of age, "a member of the Society of Friends, and remarkable for much beauty of person." They met together in the evenings, and one wild night of wind and rain in February, 1826, both disappeared. Three weeks later their bodies were found in the Suir. There were no marks whatever of violence, but popular suspicion fastened on William Strangman, who had been also paying addresses to the lady. An account of the incident will be found in Maxwell's Bivouac.

(jj) The case of Denis Scully, a Tipperary barrister, is instructive. His "Penal Laws" is one of the most valuable Irish historical monographs. It is a calm, lawyer-like statement of the several laws of William and Anne affecting Catholics, with the various judicial decisions and facts bearing on the subject. Yet in 1813 Hugh Fitzpatrick, the publisher, was fined £200 and imprisoned for eighteen months. Saurin, the Attorney-General who prosecuted, described the work as "a call upon the people to break out into civil and religious war."

The circulation of the Clonmel papers of the period we learn from the stamps issued. From 5th January, 1832, to 5th April, 1833, the numbers were—

Clonmel Herald	...	...	10,500
Clonmel Advertiser	...	...	10,840
Tipperary Free Press	...	...	43,250

THE TIPPERARY CONSTITUTION.

This paper was started to replace the effete *Clonmel Herald* in November, 1835. Its appearance and general get-up was identical with the *Free Press* of the day. It was bi-weekly, Tuesdays and Fridays, the price 5d. The printer and proprietor, Henry Townshend, had considerable experience as a journalist in Cork.

At this period party feeling ran high. When Mulgrave, the Liberal Lord Lieutenant, passed through Clonmel 29th July, 1835, the mayor, Benjamin Bradshaw, refused to call a meeting to draw up an address, but the popular party waited on the viceroy at the Great Globe Hotel, where an address was presented by John Hackett, Father Baldwin, Counsellor Mulcahy, Dr. Scully and others. Political passion was reflected in the newspapers; the *Constitution* and the *Free Press* engaged in mutual ink-slinging in true Eatonswell, Pickwickian style. O'Connell visited Clonmel in October 1840, and the visit was high inspiration to the *Constitution.*

A large mob collected when the agitator essayed to speak; but in Ireland, if any man commences to speak in the public street, he will quickly have a numerous audience. It was so with Dan. His game was and is to gull and plunder the unfortunate people of Ireland; and the priests who have such a fatal influence over them are his assistants in the pillage. The 8th of November, the day for collecting his rent, is coming round, and O'Connell must get the pounds, shillings and pence, and provided he does, his griping heart is incapable of feeling, etc., etc.

O'Connell and his pitiable cavalcade drew up at Hearn's Hotel, where he proceeded to the balcony and addressed the unwashed.

The banquet afforded the editor his best opportunity. The description of the feast thus concludes :—

After some drunken speeches were made (for every man who was not restrained by the Mathewite medal was relieved from the horrors of sobriety), the party broke up at an *early* hour, and thus terminated the repeal farce in Clonmel.

The Clonmel market prices October 16th, 1840, are as follows :—

Butter, £4 18s. to £5 per cwt. Bacon Pigs, £2 2s. Barley, 14s. per barrel. Wheat, 1s. 7d. to 1s. 9d. per stone. Wool, 15s. to 16s. Potatoes, 4d. Beef, 3½d. to 5½d. per lb. Mutton, 5d. to 6d. Coal, £1 1s. per ton.

The temperature of the *Constitution* was probably too feverish, for the paper came to an untimely end in 1847 *(kk)*.

THE CLONMEL ADVERTISER AND LITERARY JOURNAL.

A weekly magazine owned and printed by James Hennessy in Johnston Street. The first number was issued 8th July, 1843. It consisted of four pages (small folio) of four columns each. It was called *Advertiser* on the principle *lucus a non lucendo*, for in the first two numbers a solitary advertisement appears. The paper had therefore a brief existence. The literary part was constructed by the aid of the scissors. Dr. Cahill's lectures; scientific snippets; a short story, and a half a column of bad prose arranged in the form of verse. As a condescension to mere mundane wants, Clonmel market prices are quoted.

Wheat, 1s. 3d. per stone. Oats, 7d. Potatoes, 3d. Beef, 3d. to 4d. per lb. Mutton, 4d. to 5d. Pork, 2½d. Butter, 10d. to 12d. Salt Butter, £3 to £3 14s. per cwt. Pigs, £1 to £1 6s. Wool, 12s. to 13s. per stone.

The millers whose quotations are given are—Joseph Grubb, Malcomson Brothers, T. Hughes and Son, Thomas S. Grubb, Suir Island Mills, Peter R. Banfield, Cooney Brothers. The prices of flour are—

Superfine, 32s. Fine, 30s. Seconds, 28s. Household, 26s. Thirds, 22s. Fourths, 16s.

THE CLONMEL CHRONICLE.

The *Clonmel Chronicle* succeeded the *Tipperary Constitution* as the organ of the Conservative party. The first number was published 21st July, 1848. It was printed by Edmond Woods, a native of the north of Ireland, who had settled in the town, but the establishing of the paper was mainly due to the efforts of Joseph Napier Higgins *(ll)*. Woods subsequently became sole proprietor. Under his management the *Chronicle* obtained a reputation for the excellence of its local reports and general reliability. Though its price was fivepence, it at one time had the highest circulation of any bi-weekly

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(kk) The sub-title of the *Constitution* was *The Munster and Leinster Advertiser*, but the two provinces contributed between them only three columns of advertisements.

(ll) Higgins, who was a barrister, afterwards practised at the English bar, where he amassed an immense fortune. He was long recognised as the highest authority on joint-stock company law. The principal street in a London property belonging to his wife, he named "Clonmel Street."

paper in Ireland. Unlike most newspapers it always, by judicious editorship, kept clear of the law courts. The only trouble in which the *Chronicle* ever found itself was in 1856, when its reporter was excluded from the corporation meetings for caricaturing the councillors as *they* said—for reporting them literally as *he* said. On the death of Edmond Woods in 1893, the ownership and control of the paper passed to Messrs. Clarke, Barret and Montgomery who for many years had been associated with him in its management *(mm)*.

THE CLONMEL ADVERTISER.

This was the fourth Clonmel paper that adopted this name—all of them failures. It is chiefly remarkable as the only local representative as yet of modern halfpenny journalism. The first issue appeared 7th June, 1884. It consisted of a single sheet, two pages of five columns each. The paper was owned and printed by Edward McDonald, of Abbey Street. McDonald had been foreman printer of the *Tipperary Free Press*, and the new venture was printed from the type and press of the old Thunderer. The contents consisted of advertisements, railway time-tables, a short story, poetical extracts. The little paper lived only a few months, but it deserved a better fate.

THE NATIONALIST.

In 1881 a Nationalist newspaper called *Tipperary* was started in Thurles under the editorship of Mr. T. P. Gill, the present secretary of the Department of Agriculture. Two years later Mr. Gill resigned, and eventually the paper ceased publication. In 1885 a Nationalist newspaper company was formed in Clonmel, and the plant of the defunct *Tipperary* purchased. The first number of the *Tipperary Nationalist* appeared in January, 1886, under the editorship of Mr. J. G. McSweeney, who had considerable experience as a journalist in Dublin. On the subsequent resignation of Mr. McSweeney, Mr. John E. O'Mahony, formerly of the *Skibbereen Eagle*, became editor. The country being now in the throes of the land agitation, Mr. O'Mahony was imprisoned and the *Tipperary Nationalist* company became involved in several libel actions. The principal of these was one by George Bolton, Crown Solicitor. Bolton had the venue laid in Belfast, and a jury of that city awarded him £10,000 damages. There were two seizures by the sheriff. Mr. O'Mahony resigned in 1890, and the paper under the new name of *The Nationalist*

(mm) The original sub-title was *Southern Counties Agricultural and Commercial Gazette.*

was edited by Mr. T. B. Naughton and Mr. H. Dillon successively. The following year a new company was formed to acquire the property, and Mr. James J. Long, the former sub-editor, was appointed editor. The subsequent history of the paper is uneventful. Its circulation at present is amongst the highest of the provincial papers, and its success as a commercial enterprise may be judged from the fact that the £1 shares are freely bought at £5.

CLONMEL PRINTING.

There were booksellers in Clonmel early in the eighteenth century. In the Carleton accounts is the item "1730 ffeb. 27. To Cash paid Gorman for Caesars Commentaries for Mr. Bo$^{b.}$ Carleton 3s. 6d." Patrick Brennock is mentioned as a bookseller in 1747. The earliest printer, however, appears to have been Edward Collins who founded the *Clonmel Gazette* in 1771. In that year he printed a small octavo of 46 pages entitled—

1. The Swadler. A new Comedy of Three Acts. Written by *Amyas Griffith* Esq. Clonmell Printed by Edward Collins MDCCLXXI.

Amyas Griffith, then rising into notice, was one of the celebrities of the period. He was the son of Jonas Griffith, surveyor of Excise, and was born at Roscrea 1744. Educated at Tralee he entered Trinity College as a pensioner. Here he spent nine months, when he left and entered at the Temple, London. Shortly after he obtained a commission in the Queen's Royal Foot, but selling his commission turned to literature. Subsequently through influence became gauger at Wexford, married the mayor's daughter there, and opened shop. Hackett, the Collector of Tipperary, introduced him to Sir William Osborne through whose influence he was appointed Examiner in Dublin. He stood unsuccessfully for that city on the death of Lucas, and was one of the contributors to *Barataria*.

The next Clonmel publication which has been met with, is a very wonderful pamphlet.

2. The Life and Conversion of James Albert Ukawsaw Gronniosaw. An African Prince. Giving an Account of the Religion, Customs, Manners of the Natives of Zaara in Africa. As related by Himself. Clonmel Printed by Thomas Lord in the Year MDCCLXXXVI.

In the same year appeared a similar anthropological study.

3. The Upright Lives of the Heathen briefly noted, or Epistles and Discourses betwixt Alexander the Conqueror and Dindimus, King of the Brachmans. Giving an Account of what sort of People they are, their Divinity and Phylosophy with the Manner of Living etc.

Thomas Lord was son of Patrick Lord, printer, Cook Street, Dublin. Patrick Lord lost heavily and ran no slight risk by printing Brook's Trial of the Roman Catholics and similar works. Thomas Lord and his press moved about like a travelling show. He printed in Cashel from 1770 to 1780, in Youghal in 1784, Clonmel 1786, Waterford 1792. Finally in 1798 he was established at Roscrea where the press was burnt in that year by the yeomanry on suspicion of printing seditious ballads.

4. Irish Poems. By Tadg Gaedleach.—Clonmel 1799.

5. List of Tolls and Dues of Clonmel.—Clonmel Thomas Gorman 1802. [A broadsheet.]

6. The Harp of Erin; consisting *of a choice collection* of the most fashionable, convivial and Bacchanalian *Songs*, Toasts, etc.—Thomas Gorman Main Street 180—

7. The Love of Jesus: A new and correct Translation from the French of H. M. Bondon.—T. Gorman Main Street 1804.

8. *An Accurate and Faithful* Report *of a* Trial held before the Rt. Hon. Lord Norbury and a Special Jury, at Clonmel, in the County of Tipperary, Summer Assizes 1804. *Wherein* John Bagwell Esq. *was* Plaintiff, *and* Edmond Power, Esq. Defendant *for a* Libel. [This is a reprint from the *Clonmel Gazette* of which Power was proprietor.]

9. Thoughts on a late Advertisement in *The Dublin Evening Post* relative to a Meeting to be held in Cashel, on the 22nd day of August, 1807, on the subject of the Moderation of Tythes.—T. Gorman Main Street 1807.

10. The Life and Adventures of Lady Lucy the daughter of an Irish Lord etc. To which is added *The Adventures* of Yarico, also Linder and Eugenia, a Tale.—T. Gorman, Clonmel, 1808.

11. Original Poems. Samuel Fennell.—T. Gorman Clonmel 1811.

12. A Letter to His Grace the Duke of Richmond Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; containing certain exertions of Power and certain dispensations of Patronage supposed to have Originated in the late Election for the County of Tipperary. George Grace B.L.—W. Duffy, King's Arms, Main Street, 1813.

13. Maghtruig Go Maith Air. Padraig Denn. (Think Well on't. Translated into Irish by Patrick Denn).—Clonmel John Hackett 1819.

14. Dr. Butler's Catechism Approved and Recommended etc.—William Goggin Main Street 1820.

Goggin was celebrated as a printer of street ballads and chap-books. He was a native of Limerick, and does not appear to have spent more than a year in Clonmel.

15. Selim. A Turkish Tale. E. FitzGerald, Clonmel 1821.

This curious poem was also published in London the same year.

16. Letters between the Rev. J. Mackey and the Rev. H. Woodward.—Clonmel 1827.

17. Report of Evidence given at Clonmel before the Commissioners for Enquiry into Irish Municipal Corporations.—*Free Press* Office, Clonmel 1833.

Owing to the facilities of communication with book-producing centres, only a few and unimportant pamphlets have issued from the Clonmel press during the past half century.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE CASE OF FATHER SHEEHY.

THE most memorable episode in local history from the Cromwellian period down, is the execution of the Rev. Nicholas Sheehy, parish priest of Clogheen. Memorable, not so much by reason of the status of the victim, as by the fact that the event focussed in itself all the class hatred, the religious and political fanaticism of the time. For the case was not the ordinary process of law overtaking crime, but the suppressing of popular discontent by haphazard vengeance, and the quenching by strangulation of the voice that proclaimed the wrongs of the lowly and the poor.

While the substantial facts were collected sixty years ago by Dr. Madden, the historian of the United Irishmen, there is much still that is obscure. We know little of Father Sheehy's history or antecedents. His fellow-priests were shy of him because of the trouble in which he helped to involve them, and his diocese does not preserve a solitary tradition of him. Again a fuller insight is desiderated into the causes and motives which actuated a body of country gentlemen, prosperous, contented, given to the pleasures of the chase and the table, to pursue him relentlessly for riot, Whiteboyism, treason and murder, in a series of prosecutions which ended only in his death *(nn)*. The statics, indeed, of the case were given by Madden; the writer has made some attempt to explain the dynamics.

From 1750 onwards the rent of land was steadily increased, until in 1775 it was more than double what it had been at the earlier period *(oo)*.

(nn) The writer has sought every source of information; the results have not been equal to the research. Little has been added to Madden's information, but the origin and springs of the case have been made more intelligible.

(oo) Young's Tour, *passim*.

Owing to the rise in prices, the increase in rent affected slightly, if at all, the huge graziers who then divided the county of Tipperary between them. But the additional weight of rent crushed the poor cottiers into a deeper level of misery, and made their condition, bad enough before, desperate now. "It is not uncommon in Munster to charge from four to five guineas per acre for potato ground; the daily wages for labourers is four pence per day; there are three hundred working days—that is, there are nine shillings above the price of the land (assuming this but four guineas). Five shillings are paid for the tithe and two for hearth money, and the remainder goes towards the rent of the cabin. What is left? Nothing. And out of this nothing they are to buy seed for their garden, salt for their potatoes, and rags for themselves, their wives and their children" *(pp)*. So writes a contemporary. A little later Henry Grattan stated that the cottier paid £7 an acre for his potato patch, eight to twelve shillings tithe, and received as wages sixpence a day *(qq)*. Yet by means of the cow which grazed on the unenclosed lands the labourer and his family still eked out an existence. But another turn was given to the screw. In 1760, and subsequently the landlords began to enclose not only their own lands, but large stretches of commonage. The consequences are described by Arthur Young *(rr)*.

"The Whiteboys began in Tipperary and were owing to some inclosures of commons which they threw down, levelling the ditches. They were first known by the name of Levellers. After that they began with the tythe-proctors (who are men that hire tythes of the rectors), and these proctors either screwed the cottars up to the utmost shilling or re-let the tythes to such as did it. It was a common practice for them [the Whiteboys] to go in parties about the country, swearing many to be true to them and forcing them to join, by menaces which they very often carried into execution. At last they set up to be general redressers of grievances; punished all obnoxious persons who advanced the value of lands, or hired farms over their heads, and having taken the administration of justice into their own hands, were not very exact in the distribution of it" *(ss)*.

(pp) An Enquiry into the Causes of the Outrages committed by the levellers or Whiteboys of Munster.—Dublin, 1762.

(qq) Parliamentary Debates, 1787, Vol. VII., p. 342.

(rr) In the patents of land made out under the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, 1662-5, probably not more than an average of two-thirds of the acreage is found of the lands which are supposed to be granted under these patents. The Perry Papers between 1760–1770 relate a curious dispute between the Perrys and Prendergasts as to the mountain lands of Newcastle. Neither party could show a grant of these lands, and the title seemed to devolve on an enclosure made seventy years previous.

(ss) Young's Tour, I., p. 82.

A contemporary in 1762 gives a similar account.

"Some landlords have set their lands to cotters far above their value; and to lighten their burthen, allowed commonage to their tenants by way of recompense. Afterwards in spite of all equity, contrary to all compacts, the landlords enclosed the commons and precluded their unhappy tenants from the only means of making their bargains tolerable. The law indeed is open to redress them, but they do not know the laws or how to proceed. Or if they knew them, they are not equal to the expense of a suit against a rich tyrant. Hence they fly with eagerness to what is ever the resource of low and uncultivated minds—violence" *(tt)*.

And Lord Charlemont wrote to the same purport.

"Farms of enormous extent let by their rapacious and indolent proprietors to monopolizing land-jobbers, by whom small portions of them were again let and re-let to intermediate oppressors and by them sub-divided for five times their value among the wretched starvers upon potatoes and water. Taxes yearly increasing, and still more, tithes which the Catholic without any possible benefit unwillingly pays in addition to his priests' money. Misery, oppression and famine, these were undoubtedly the first and original causes of Whiteboyism obvious to the slightest inspection, though resolutely denied and every public investigation into them impudently frustrated by those whose sordid interest opposed their removal" *(uu)*.

The precise date when the Tipperary disturbances began has not been ascertained, but it would appear to have been in the winter of 1761, for in January 1762, William Perry, of Woodroff, who acted as land-agent for William Austin, of Dublin, wrote: "There has been a vast deal of mischief done by numbers of people who assemble at night" *(vv)*. Clogheen being the focus of discontent, the Earl of Drogheda was sent there with a large military force. "Great numbers of insurgents," if we trust Sir Richard Musgrave, "were killed by his lordship's regiment" *(ww)*. *The Gentleman's Magazine* for May 1762, reports—

> The riots and disturbances lately raised in the southern parts of Ireland by a set of people called Levellers, are entirely put a stop to by the vigilance and activity of the Earl of Halifax [Lord Lieutenant.] It appears that the authors of these disturbances have consisted indiscriminately of persons of different persuasions, and that no marks of disaffection to his Majesty's person or government have been discovered upon this occasion in any class of people.

(tt) An Enquiry, etc.—Dublin, 1762.
(uu) Hist. MSS. 12, Rep. x., p. 21.
(vv) Perry Papers.
(ww) History of the Irish Rebellion.

The following year, however, the disturbances broke out worse than before. In March 1763, we read—

Six of the Irish Levellers who were in their white uniforms, were conducted to Clonmell gaol for levelling a park wall and killing six deer at Clonbrogan. There are now twenty of these fellows in Clonmell and eighteen of them in Kilkenny gaol.

Again in August—

The insurrections in Ireland are become a serious matter. The high sheriff and gentlemen of the county of Tipperary, published a reward of twenty guineas to any person who shall prosecute to conviction any of the rioters.

On 29th September an affair occurred which aroused the attention of the whole kingdom. Seven men arrested in Pilltown for Whiteboyism, were being conveyed to Kilkenny gaol under a military escort. At a place called Newmarket the party got mixed up in a passing "funeral." The soldiers were forthwith disarmed and the prisoners rescued, but in the affray Sergeant Johnson and Private Finch of Lord Drogheda's troop were killed. Three of the rescuers were killed and a number wounded. Among the minor incidents recorded is the following :—

Timothy Loughnan of Clashvagha, in the Parish of Newcastle, made oath, etc. That in 1760 he entered into an agreement with the Rev. William Downes and Rev. Richard Foulke for the tithes of Newcastle; that he held the said tithes two years; that the beginning of the third year the said Deponent was seized by near one hundred persons unknown to said Deponent, in the dead of night, who carried off said Deponent almost naked, put him on horseback and carried him near half a mile; made part of a grave and threatened to bury him alive if he did not promise to give up his bargain, etc. Sworn before me at Shanrahan in said county—October 6, 1763.

RICHARD FOULKE *(xx)*.

From the Perry correspondence we catch some valuable glimpses. On 19th December, 1763, he writes to Austin :

The nocturnall meetings which subsist and are likely to continue, together with the most dreadfull threatening Letters, has struck such a terror into most of the old protestants as I can't well express. Nor is there from Stephen Moore's to the bounds of the county (as Dick Folks has quitted the country and gone to town) a Justice, when our Members are attending in Dublin, that such persons as you or I would care to rely on; and therefore it is not to be imagined the want there is of a proper one in this part of the Country. Therefore I would beg leave to mention and beg your interest with my Lord Chancellor for his Comsn. to enable Mr. William Bagnell of Marlhill to act in that capacity, and altho he has not a large affluent fortune yet his scituation, circumstances and character is such that I woud stake the last penny I am worth for his Justice and integrity. His abilities for such a Comsn. I dare say far exceeds Numbers that have it. If my Lord Chancellor is pleasd to grant his Comsn. accordingly, it will no doubt render vast service and Peace to this Neighbourhood.

(xx) Miscellaneous Papers, P.R.O.

Bagnell was appointed a magistrate the following year, and the services he rendered will be learned subsequently. Two months later, 23rd February, 1764, Perry again writes to Austin:

> Mr. Richard Folke who came through Ballyporeen about half an hour after me yesterday was insulted by the mob of that place, and the Night before, they destroyed and ruined a Ditch of his to convince him of their dislike. They have likewise posted up threatening papers etc. in Clogheen to prevent William Fennell and some other Quakers, or people for spinning for their carrying on the woolen manufactory, as it affected James Hyland who carrys on the same business; who was a Captain amongst them when taken up by Lord Drogheda and got clear at the Special Commission when tried by the Lord Chief Justice, so that in all probability that tract of Country they'll have all to themselves.

The demonstration against the Rev. Richard Foulke had evidently the intended effect, for among the Perry accounts of the May following is the item "Mr. Broadrick is to have the vicarial tythe in Daragrath parish for 1763 Mr. Folks being frightened by the White boys, haveing given up his Lease to Brodrick." The more militant clergyman Brodrick will be met with again.

By this time the Tipperary squires were driven through fear and passion to desperation. Ditch-levelling, cattle-houghing, proctor-baiting and nocturnal meetings were more frequent than ever. Yet the gaols were full; five men had been hanged at one assizes at Waterford; the military raids of Lord Drogheda and others were still continued. Accordingly it was now suspected that the whole movement was a popish insurrection in favour of the Pretender, organized and financed by French agents. The old ghosts began to walk again; there would be another war of 1641, and a general massacre of Protestants. For the air of Tipperary was literally charged with religious factionism, and Protestants were prepared to believe anything. At the general election in November 1761, consequent on the death of George II., Thomas Mathew stood for the county. The Mathews of Thomastown were known to be Catholics, though once or twice they had taken the Protestant sacrament to save their estates from the Discovery Acts. Some months before the election Sir Thomas Maude, of Dundrum, announced himself a candidate and threatened Mathew he would petition against his return, on the ground that Mathew had professed Catholicism after the age of twelve, and had brought up his children Catholics. The election was fought with intense bitterness. Daniel Gahan, of Coolequill, was agent for Maude. Thomas Prendergast, of Ballylomasney, acted for Mathew. Each voter was challenged by Gahan whether he was born of Popish parents, had been educated in Popery; and his certificate of conformity to Protestantism, demanded. Prendergast's own right to act was questioned on the ground that his wife,

Molly Keating, was a Papist and had been seen praying with Thomas Hennessy, priest, at Clonmel. In the duel which resulted, Prendergast was shot dead. Mathew was unseated on petition, Maude among other reasons stating that "during the course of the poll and scrutiny, great mobs of Irish Papists assembled from different parts of the country, crowded the Court House, and during the poll and scrutiny evidently showed themselves to be under the influence of Mr. Mathew's gentlemen, by which means the Sheriff and many of the Petitioner's voters were greatly intimidated *(yy)*.

Such was the state of feeling among the squires and parsons of Tipperary when some of the more active spirits undertook to unravel "the Popish Plot." As not uncommonly happens, a clergyman assumed the leading part. The Rev. John Hewetson had the tithes of several Tipperary parishes. He lived, however, at Suirville, opposite Waterford, held the commission of the peace, and was chiefly known as an active magistrate. Associated with Hewetson was William Bagnell of Marlhill, near Ardfinnan, who in October 1764, was appointed magistrate for the purpose of dealing with Whiteboyism. John Bagwell of Kilmore, a stripling of twenty-eight, as a *parvenu gentilhomme* was eager to distinguish himself. Sir Thomas Maude, Rev. Laurence Broderick and Mathew Bunbury, of Kilfeacle, were equally prominent *(zz)*. A revenue collector then resident in Tipperary, himself a Protestant, thus describes the champions of the "Protestant Interest" as they were styled.

(yy) The following is a contemporary account. "The Roman Catholics, imprudently at such a time, made great exertions at a contested election in favour of a gentleman whose mild principles conciliated their affections. This perhaps they were the more inclined to, through resentment to some intolerant gentlemen who were in opposition to their favourite, and avowed enemies to their profession. Some time after, an affidavit was made, by whom I know not, that *four French officers* had landed in the west of Ireland. These *four officers*, it was given out, came over here to raise a rebellion, and to get all the Protestants in the kingdom massacred. At this time it became fashionable for gentlemen, immediately in the scene designed for action, to take in and annex to their estates large tracts of land which lay in commonage for time immemorial; perhaps this was done on the same principle that the Lords Justices formerly acted. You need not be informed, Mr. Toler, that land situated near commonage, lets dearer on that account; and the poor people who had taken such land, on being deprived of the Deodands which induced them to take it, naturally felt so glaring a violation of justice as a grievance, and having had some nocturnal meetings they levelled the fences, and I highly applaud them for their spirit in so doing, and assure you, Mr. Toler, had I been in their situation, as legal redress was out of the question, I would have acted in the same manner they did. From prostrating those fences they were called *Levellers*, and afterwards from wearing their shirts outside their cloaths, to disguise themselves, they were called *White-boys*. And this was the whole of what furnished matter for the "Munster Plot"—and which in my opinion entitles it to a place under the head—Great Events from Little Causes.

Reports at this time were industriously circulated, that 'all the Papists in the kingdom had privately agreed to rise on a night prefixed, to massacre all the Protestants in the kingdom.' In order to support this idea the houses of the Protestants in Waterford, Kilkenny and other places were chalked in the night to alarm them, by letting them see they were marked out as victims of assasination."—Griffith's Tracts, pp. 240-1, Dublin, 1788.

(zz) As a side-light on the views and motives of Father Sheehy's prosecutors, it may be mentioned that George and Phineas Bagnell (brothers of William), of Cork, issued in 1766 Temple's "Irish Rebellion" and King's "State of the Protestants." The Tipperary gentry are among the principal subscribers to these incendiary publications—"John Bagwell of Kilmore esq. 5 books," "William Bagnell of Marlhill," "Mathew Bunbury of Kilfeakle," "Mathew Jacob of Mobarnane, 4 books," etc.

I was personally acquainted with several members of the junto; and when I reflect on the toasts, the sentiments they gave, my hair almost stands erect. Ah! no wonder I should be an enemy to religious persecution, for I witnessed its bloody spirit and beheld it, with complacency and delight drinking the tears of the widows and orphans. Holding such an appointment as I did and immediately in the scene of action, I was but too much exposed to the society of men whom I looked on as a pestilence and would have shunned as such but from motives of common prudence *(a)*.

Lord Charlemont writes to the same effect.

The furious and bigoted zeal with which some Protestants were actuated was shocking to humanity and a disgrace to our mild religion; yet in behalf of the latter, it must be confessed that religious zeal was in many instances assumed to serve as a decent veil under which motives of a still worse nature were concealed. The bashaws could not brook opposition to their established despotism, and the resistance of Papists was looked upon as the rebellion of slaves. The idea also of French interference, readily conceived and eagerly embraced by those who wished to catch at every plausible pretence for their interested violence, and to hide, if possible, even from themselves the more inexcusable source of their conduct, strongly co-operated; and these three motives mutually supporting and excusing one another were powerful enough to induce even some men of decent character to act in a manner unbecoming Christians. The hunting of White-boys was the fashionable chase. I heard Lord Carrick exclaim with delight "I have blooded my young dog, I have fleshed my blood hound," after a successful hunt for White-boys in which his son had participated *(b)*.

When James Nagle of Garnavilla, in 1767 was prosecuted as a White-boy, his cousin Edmund Burke intervened. To this incident may be traced the following from the great statesman.

The exclusion from the law may subject Catholics to dreadful hardships and expose them to all that is mischevious in a trial by jury. This was manifestly within my own observation, for I was three times in Ireland from the year 1760 to the year 1767, where I had sufficient means of information concerning the inhuman proceedings (among which were many cruel murders besides an infinity of outrages and oppressions unknown before in a civilized age) which prevailed during that period in consequence of a pretended conspiracy among Roman Catholics against the Kings government.

The taking away of a vote is the taking away the shield which the subject has, not only against the oppression of power, but that worst of all oppressions, the persecution of private society. If the unfranchised should become obnoxious to any bigotted or malignant people amongst whom they live, it will become the interest of those who court favour to use the numberless means which always reside in magistracy and influence to oppress them. The proceedings in a certain county in Munster during the unfortunate period I have mentioned, read a strong lecture on the cruelty of depriving men of that shield, on account of their speculative opinions *(c)*.

As the most palpable agent of Popish insurrection the Rev. Nicholas Sheehy was from the first marked out for destruction. It is to be regretted that little is known of the previous history of this unhappy man. He was born in

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(a) A letter to Daniel Toler, High Sheriff of Tipperary, 1766, by Amyas Griffith. Dublin, 1788, p. 268.

(b) Lecky's History, and Hist. MSS., 12 Rep. x., p. 20, *note*.

(c) Burke's Works, Vol. I., p. 538. Edit. Bohn, 1854.

1728, is said to have been educated in France, and was ordained probably about 1753. He ministered for some time in Newcastle parish, and appears to have succeeded to the parish of Clogheen in 1755, on the death that year of Dr. James Gleeson *(d)*. His character we learn from two thumb-nail sketches by contemporaries—one friendly, the other hostile. "This man," writes Dr. Curry, "was giddy and officious, but not ill-meaning, with somewhat of a Quixotish cast of mind towards relieving all those within his district whom he fancied to be injured or oppressed; and setting aside his unavoidable connection with those rioters, several hundred of whom were his parishioners, he was a clergyman of an unimpeached character in all other respects" *(e)*. The account of him given by a writer in *Exshaw's Magazine* is in substance the same—making allowance for the writer's standpoint. "He was a clergyman esteemed by his flock, among whom he enjoyed an income of above £200 [?] a year, and whose profession should have led him to promote peace and obedience to the laws both human and divine. To such as personally knew him, he appears in the character of a plain man, free from design, but over this there must have been laid the most artful disguise." From which it is clear that Sheehy was a man with a heart for the sufferings of his people, with a passionate sense of justice, and a courage that despised alike the threats of his enemies and the timid counsels of his fellow-priests.

His parish was the centre of the Whiteboy disturbances. This fact alone was enough to earn for him the notice of Hewetson, Bagnell, Broderick and the others. But in addition he had a bad record. While in Newcastle, where he had previously ministered, he had advised the people to pay no church rates, there being no Protestants in the district. Again in 1762 an inn-keeper of Ballyporeen named Dobbyn, who farmed the tithes, having made claim to five shillings for every marriage celebrated by the priest, Father Sheehy offered a strenuous resistance. Worse than all, he had openly taken part, in the beginning of the troubles, in levelling some fences which the Rosses, middlemen under Lord Cahir, had set up round the commons of Drumlemmon. A notice of this is found among the Tipperary Crown Records.

Clonmel General Assizes, May 23, 1763, before the Right Hon. Warden Flood and Hon. William Scott.

Nicholas Sheehy bailed in £2000
Denis Keane £1000
Nicholas Dogherty £1000
} a true bill.

(d) Dr. Madden states he was born in Fethard. Maurice Lenihan, the historian of Limerick, who was a native of Carrick-on-Suir, states that he was the son of Francis Sheehy, of Glenaheira, Co. Waterford, and a first and second cousin of Edmund "Buck" Sheehy. This latter particular is certainly inaccurate. A painting on glass of Father Sheehy was published about eighty years ago *valeat quod valeat*. It shows him to be a thin young man of rather refined features—straight nose, dark eyes, a high square forehead, with jet black hair.

(e) Curry's Civil Wars, 569. Edition, 1810.

Nicholas Sheehy a Popish priest, bound over in Court last assizes, trial then put off by the Court, indicted for that he, with divers other ill-disposed persons and disturbers of the peace, on the second day of March, in the second year of the reign of George III., at Scarlap, did unlawfully assemble and assault William Ross, and did wickedly compel him to swear that he would never discover anything to the prejudice of the Whiteboys, etc.

William Ross, bound over in £100, *estreated.*

James Ross, £100, *estreated.*

The Rosses, who were Catholics, were unwilling to appear against their parish priest, and probably also for the reason that those who framed the indictment inserted more than the Rosses could prove, viz., the administration of the Whiteboy oath. This much is certain, that the prosecution of Sheehy on this count was carried no further *(f)*.

But though the first prosecution failed, Hewetson and Bagnell, Maude and Bagwell, were busily weaving a network of testimony not only around the parish priest of Clogheen, but around every Catholic of position in the whole district. "The number of informations," writes Madden, "sworn to against all the leading Catholic gentry of the county by the Lonergans, Guynan, Toohy and two abandoned women of the names of Butler and Dunlay between the years 1763 and 1767, would fill a good-sized volume. The names of the magistrates before whom these informations in almost every instance were sworn, were John Bagwell, Thomas Maude, and the Rev. J. Hewetson." The deponents, it is to be observed, were Michael Guinan, a hackler of Clogheen, who with his wife Catherine had in 1759 abjured the Catholic faith *(g)*, Thomas and John Lonergan, nephews of Guinan, Mary Butler, a reputed prostitute, together with John Toohy and Mary Dunlea, of whom more anon. On these informations indictments were framed at the assizes.

Clonmel Spring Assizes, 1764. Nicholas Sheehy, popish priest of Shranrahan, Edmund Burke of Tullow, John Butler, innkeeper, Clogheen, Edward Meehan, Clogheen.

Indicted, for that they not having the fear of God before their eyes, nor the duty of their allegiance, but that being moved and seduced by the instigation of the devil, and departing from the true affection and natural obedience of our Lord the King, and intending, contriving and conspiring to disquiet and disturb the peace of our said Lord the King, and all his liege subjects, on the 10th day of February, in the 2nd year of the King, and at divers other times before and after, at Clogheen, falsely, unlawfully, devilishly, and traitorously did compass, imagine and intend to raise and levy open war, insurrection and rebellion; and in order to fulfil and bring to effect the treasons

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(f) Dr. Madden treats this as an episode of the persecution of Sheehy. The truth is that the charge made by the Rosses is on a plane quite different to those subsequently made by Guinan, Toohy, Moll Dunlay and the rest.

(g) Egerton MS. 77, British Museum.

and intentions aforsaid, afterwards, to wit same day, year and place, did traitorously and seditiously, assemble together with 200 other unknown persons, armed with guns, pistols and other weapons, as well offensive as defensive, dressed in white apparel, begin and levy public war against our said Lord the King, against the peace and statute.

Michael Guynan £50.
Bailed in Court.

At the summer assizes following, a true bill was found against Father Sheehy, Edward Meehan, Nicholas Lee, John Magan, John Butler and Edmund Burke for "compassing rebellion at Clogheen on the 7th March and 6th October, second year of the King, and unlawfully assembling in white shirts, in arms, when they did traitorously prepare, ordain and levy war against the King." Michael Guynan, Thomas Lonergan and Mary Butler were bound to appear as witnesses.

At the same assizes a further indictment was framed against Father Sheehy and seven others which deserves to be noted in connection with subsequent events.

That they on the 6th January in the fourth year of the King's reign, at Shanbally, did assault John Bridge, against the peace, etc.

John Bridge, whose name is here met with for the first time, is thus sketched by Amyas Griffith.

Amongst some poor wretches who were treated with for evidence, was a drivelling, begging idiot. Though what they call a half-fool, he was much disliked for some little thefts he had been guilty of. He was a foundling, and took his name from the bridge on which he had been left exposed. He grew up a beggar, and I often gave him a charity. Perhaps for want of education his little reason took a wrong bent. However, as he had scarce a perfect association of two ideas, his evidence could not be admitted in any court of justice *(h)*.

The theft of which Bridge was accused and which earned for him popular odium was this. A few days after Christmas 1763, the chalice belonging to the chapel of Carrigvisteale, near Ballyporeen, was missing. It used be kept for security at the public-house of a man named Sherlock adjoining the chapel. Suspicion at first fell on Sherlock himself, but ultimately settled on Bridge. Bridge, it was reported, had been seen at the Christmas midnight mass at Carrigvisteale. Now as Bridge was a person rarely seen at Catholic worship, and was said by some to be a Protestant and by others an informer, the evidence of his connection with the sacrilegious robbery appeared very

(h) Griffith's Tracts, Dublin, 1788, p. 243.

strong *(i)*. The "assault" therefore on the holiday following Christmas, for which Father Sheehy and the others were indicted at the summer assizes, was doubtless in connection with the robbery of the chalice.

From the date of his indictment for high treason at the Spring Assizes of Clonmel, 1764, Father Sheehy found it necessary to hide himself. Yet throughout a great part of the year he ministered to his people, and there is no evidence of any persistent attempt to capture him. The Whiteboy disturbances, however, being renewed, the executive was appealed to and a determined effort was made to arrest him.

PROCLAMATION.

Whereas Nicholas Sheehy Popish Priest of Shanraghan in the County of Tipperary stands indicted at an assizes and general gaol delivery held for the said county the twenty eight day of March for High Treason and Rebellion.

And whereas the said Nicholas Sheehy has since absconded, and we have received information upon oath that he is concealed in some part of the kingdom and has since been concerned in several treasonable practices to raise a Rebellion in this kingdom; We the Lords Justices and Council do hereby publish and declare that if any person or persons do within the space of six calendar months from the date of this our proclamation, apprehend the said Nicholas Sheehy and lodge him in any one of his Majesty's gaols in this kingdom, such person or persons, shall receive as a reward the sum of three hundred pounds sterling; and we do hereby strictly charge and command all Justices of the peace, Mayors, Sheriffs, Bailiffs and all other his Majesty's loving subjects that they do use their utmost endeavours to have the said Nicholas Sheehy apprehended.

Given at the Council Chamber in Dublin. February 16, 1765.

Bowes C[hancellor] Kildare, Westmeath, Grandison, Carrick, Arran, Phil. Tisdale, John Gore, Rich. Aston, Edwd. Willis, Wm. Fownes, Ant Malone, A. Trevor, Nath. Clements, C. Gardnier, Ben. Burton, Francis Andrews, John Hely Hutchinson.

God Save the King *(j)*.

By this time it was clear the storm was not going to blow over. Two courses were now open to Sheehy, either of them perilous. He might flee the country and save himself. But this would be taken for an admission of guilt, and would be used with fatal effect against those joined with him in the prosecution. The other course was to surrender and take his trial. This again would be merely to deliver himself into the hands of his enemies; for he knew that Sir Thomas Maude, the Tipperary high sheriff, would impannel a jury not to try but to hang him. Accordingly within a fortnight after he had heard of the proclamation, he formed a plan of at once meeting his

(i) The truth is, Bridge who went about among the farmers of the locality, was staying that night with William Cremins, of Shanbally, a rent-warner to Mr. O'Callaghan. Bridge wore a large white-frieze overcoat with shell buttons, which Cremins donned to go to midnight mass. In the darkness Cremins was mistaken for Bridge. These particulars were furnished to the writer when investigating the Sheehy case in 1890, by Mr. Thomas Hickey of Lisfuncheon, maternal grandson of Cremins.

(j) Proclamations, P.R.O.

accusers and vindicating his character with safety to himself and the others concerned. This was to stipulate for a trial in Dublin as the condition of giving himself up. He wrote therefore to Waite, the Irish Secretary of the day, that he only wanted justice and "would save the Government the reward offered for taking him, by surrendering himself out of hand to be tried for any crime he was accused of, not at Clonmel (where he feared the power and malice of his enemies were too prevalent for justice), but in the Court of King's Bench in Dublin" *(k)*. The following is the Secretary's reply:—

March 5th, 1765.

Sir,—Yesterday I received your letter from Ballyporeen, with the two papers enclosed therein, and having laid the same before the Lords Justices, their Excellencies have commanded me to acquaint you, that if you surrender yourself to Mr. O'Callaghan, you may depend on his receiving and treating you with all civility, and that you will by him be transmitted in the most private manner to Dublin, with the utmost security and safety to your person. I write to him for that purpose this night, by order of the Lords Justices, and you may be assured that upon your arrival here, you will meet not only with the justice you desire, but with such further regard as your candid behaviour may deserve *(l)*.

Sheehy, on receipt of the letter, waited on Cornelius O'Callaghan, of Shanbally, in accordance with Waite's instructions. O'Callaghan, whose father and grandfather were Catholics, sympathising with the unhappy priest, offered him a hundred guineas, and told him to make his way out of the country at once. O'Callaghan knew the feeling of the Tipperary gentlemen, and that the secretary's letter would not protect him from their vengeance *(m)*. The head-strong priest conscious of his innocence, declined the offer, and an escort of the light-horse was provided by the friendly magistrate. The *Dublin Gazette* of 16th March, 1765, states:—"About 8 o'clock on Wednesday night, Nicholas Sheehy, a popish priest, charged with being concerned in several treasonable practices to raise a rebellion in this kingdom, for the apprehending of whom Government offered a reward of £300, was brought to town guarded by a party of light horse and lodged by the Provost in the Lower Castle Yard."

Whilst in Dublin, Father Sheehy was under the charge of Joseph Sirr, Town-Major. It would appear that he underwent an examination by the members of the Privy Council, for he certainly made the acquaintance,

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(k) Sheehy's letter is not now forthcoming, but the above paragraph is given by Curry, a contemporary, in commas as if a copy were before him.—Civil Wars, p. 569.

(l) Book of Entries Civil Petitions.—Lecky's History II., p. 42.

(m) Cornelius O'Callaghan was created subsequently first Baron Lismore. His grandson, Cornelius, third and last Viscount Lismore, who died 1898, aged 89 years, is the authority for above statement.

during his stay there, of Lord Chancellor Bowes, Secretary Waite, John Ponsonby, Speaker of the House of Commons, and some of the judges. There was however no appearance on the part of the prosecutors. Having now got him in their power, he might clamour for justice as he liked. Their proceedings are illustrated by the following :—

THE KING
a
NICHOLAS SHEEHY.

To the R[t] Honble the Lord Chief Justice and the Honble the justices of His Maties Court of King's Bench in Ireland.

The Humble Petition of Nicholas Sheehy Sheweth

That Petitioner finding that a Proclamation issued against him in February last by the Lords Justices and Council of Ireland offering a reward of three hundred Pounds for apprehending him, he on receiving intelligence thereof wrote to M[r] Secretary Waite that he was ready to surrender himself at the Castle of Dublin to answer any charge made against him, and therein mentioned that he there hoped to have Justice impartially administered to him which was more than he could expect in the County Tipperary, and Petitioner shortly after in answer thereto reced a Letter from said M[r] Waite wherein he tells him by command of their Excellencys, that if Petitioner would surrender himself to M[r] O'Callaghan in the said County who would have him transmitted to Dublin with the utmost safety to his Person, that Petitioner should on his arrival there not only meet with the Justice he required, but with such further Regard as his candid behaviour might deserve as by said Letter may appear.

That Pet[r] immediately or very shortly after receiving said Waite's Letter freely and voluntarily surrendered himself to said M[r] O'Callaghan and was by him transmitted to Dublin where he continued in close confinement in the Provost Martial and other goals from the 13[th] day of March to the 18[th] day of July subsequent without any Commital having appeared against Petitioner during his confinement in said Martial.

That Pet[r] during such his confinement caused several Memorials to be preferred to their Excellencys praying a Tryall and redress in consequence whereof Pet[r] on the 22[d] June last received a message from their Excellencys by M[r] Morison Solicitor for the Crown Granting Pet[r] leave to apply to the Courts for redress, and accordingly Pet[r] on the 25[th] of June aforesaid applyed by Councill for a Habeas Corpus to remove Pet[r] in virtue whereof Pet[r] was on the 26[th] of said month brought up to the Barr of this Honble Court and on Hearing Council for the Crown and Pet[r] your Lordshipps were pleased to order that a Certiorari should issue to remove the several Indictments against s[d] Pet[r] in s[d] County and that he should be tried at the Barr of s[d] Court on the 25[th] of November ensuing, and in the meantime be admitted to Bail on his entering into a Recognizance of £4000 and his Security in the like sum conditioned that Pet[r] should appear this present Michas Term at the Barr of s[d] Court to take his trial.

That Pet[r] was so much distressed to find Bail in the City of Dublin equal to the said sum of £4000 that he was under a necessity of sending to a gentleman in the County of Tipperary to become one of his Bail, who accordingly came and was the principal person that procured Petitioner his Liberty.

That Pet[r] caused different applications to be made to have Pet[rs] Prosecutors taken into custody untill they gave sufficient Security to prosecute Pet[r] at the time and place aforesaid and Pet[r] in obedience to the said order of the 26[th] day of June last arrived in Dublin on the 7[th] Instant and on the Monday following gave notice to M[r] Morrson of Pet[rs] intention to surrender himself on that day to abide his Tryal as aforesaid But Pet[r] sheweth that said Morrison prevented Pet[r] from surrendering himself alledging that he apprehended there woud be no prosecution against Pet[r] and that it would be time enough to appear on Monday the 18[th] Instant.

That Pet[r] had no intention to give even the least delay to the taking of his Trial, he being ready and willing to abide by the said order of the 26[th] of June, and Pet[r] having some Material Witnesses in Town to appear in Pet[rs] Favour by whose Death or any other accident Pet[r] will be deprived of their Testimony and Pet[r] will on the account

aforesaid and the great expence and losses he has sustained be rendered unable to Fee Councill or bring up the Material Witnesses for Pet^{r} on said Trial in any Ensuing Term.

May it therefore Please your Lordships to order that Pet^{r} may be tryed at the Barr of this Honble Court pursuant to the said Rule of the 26th of June and the rather as the High Sherriff and numbers of the Freeholders of said County are now in said City, and that the Proper Requisites may be prepared for that Purpose or otherwise do in the Premes for Pet^{rs} Relief as to your Lordships in your great Wisdom and Charity shall seem meet and Pet^{r} will Pray.

The above named Pet^{r} maketh oath that he hath read the above Petition, and the contents thereof are true to the best of Dep^{ts} knowledge recollection hearsay and belief.

Sworn in the Court this 25th day of November 1765.

Nich^{s} Sheehy *(n)*. HAMILTON.

Though the year passed away without any indication on the part of the prosecution of his being brought to trial, the champions of "the Protestant interest" in Tipperary were not idle. The manufacture of evidence against him was busily carried on. Michael Guinan who had incurred popular antipathy by his turning over to Protestantism, was prepared to swear that Father Sheehy with others had appeared in arms against the king at Clogheen and Dromlemmon in March, 1762. Mary Butler, an abandoned woman, would prove a similar offence in October, 1763. John Bridge would give evidence of an assault committed upon him by the priest and several others in the beginning of 1764. But where was Bridge? He had disappeared. For months past no one had seen him—spirited away, murdered perhaps, by the Whiteboys. The plot was thickening, and the efforts of Hewetson, Bagnell, Maude and Bagwell were redoubled. Bridge was to have presented himself at the Clonmel assizes, March 1765, to give evidence against Denis Brien of Ballyporeen, but all attempts to discover him were in vain. The worst was now feared, and accordingly the High Sheriff, Sir Thomas Maude, and the Grand Jury published an advertisement.

That whereas the said John Bridge is missing since October past, and is supposed to be murthered, we do hereby promise a reward of 50*li* to any person or persons who shall discover, within twelve calendar months, any person or persons concerned in said act.

Though no information was forthcoming, it became increasingly evident to the Tipperary magistracy that Bridge was murdered. They were satisfied too that the priest was connected with the murder, but their difficulty was to bring it home to him. For months all sorts and conditions of people were questioned in vain, but this was only an additional proof of the dangerous character of the Whiteboy conspiracy, as of the almost demoniacal influence exercised over the people by the priest Sheehy. At length the energetic Hewetson lifted the veil. On 20th September a man named John Toohy was

(n) Affidavits King's Bench, Crown Office, P.R.O.

committed to Kilkenny gaol for stealing a horse. In due course being visited by Hewetson, he expressed his readiness to make discoveries as to the Whiteboy movements, and in particular the murder of Bridge." Lord Carrick was now introduced on the scene, and Toohy's disclosures, in connection with the evidence previously obtained, were regarded by his lordship as forming an overwhelming case of high treason against the priest.

Accordingly on 10th February, 1766, eleven months after Father Sheehy had been brought to Dublin, he was put forward for trial at the Court of King's Bench. The judges were the Right Hon. John Gore, Chief Justice, Christopher Robinson, Second Justice, and William Scott, Third Justice. The counts in the indictment were that Nicholas Sheehy had acted as a leader in a treasonable conspiracy, had exercised men under arms, had sworn them to allegiance to the King of France, and had incited them to rebellion. The trial lasted eleven hours; the witnesses completely broke down and Toohy's evidence was discredited. A verdict of acquittal on all counts was given by the jury.

The result, however, was not quite unforeseen by Sheehy's enemies, for immediately on the declaration of the jury, a motion was made by the prosecution for his committal on the charge of complicity in the murder of John Bridge. The motion was granted, and the unhappy priest was committed to Newgate prison preliminary to his being sent back to Clonmel to be tried there for murder. The faith of government with him was now broken. He had surrendered on condition of a fair trial in Dublin, and despite the promise of the Lord Justices holding the royal commission, he was now to be delivered up to men who, mad with religious and political fanaticism, thirsted for his blood. "He was satisfied," wrote a contemporary, "to stand a trial anywhere but in Clonmel, for he well knew the influence that would be exerted against him. However, thither he was transmitted contrary to the faith of the secretary. He entered the town surrounded by his enemies and their tenantry in arms. He was now at their mercy, and he conducted himself with fortitude and composure. To expose his person they made him travel on horseback, with his arms pinioned, and his feet chained under the horse's belly. In jail, he was double bolted and treated in every respect with rigour" *(o)*.

From the date when Father Sheehy was lodged in Clonmel gaol, until the Spring Assizes three weeks later, a great military force overawed the town. It was given out that he intended to escape and had actually undone the bolts. Patrols of soldiers were seen in all directions. Strangers were

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(o) Griffith's Tracts, p. 245.

narrowly scrutinised. Any exhibition of sympathy with the wretched man was regarded as treason, and the few friends who interested themselves in his behalf risked their own lives *(p)*.

The assizes opened Thursday, 13th March; two contemporaries have left a description of the scene. "When the day of trial arrived," writes Griffith, "the town was as it were under martial law. Every avenue was guarded with Drogheda's light horse, and to get in or out was attended with difficulty and danger." Curry's account is: "On the day of the trial a party of horse surrounded the court, admitting and excluding whom they thought proper; while others of them with a certain Baronet [Sir Thomas Maude] at their head, scampered the streets in a formidable manner; forcing into inns and private lodgings in the town; challenging and questioning all new comers; menacing his friends and encouraging his enemies. Even after sentence of death was pronounced against him, which one would think might have fully satisfied his enemies, Mr. Sparrow his attorney, declares, that he found it necessary for his safety to steal out of the town by night, and with all possible speed to escape to Dublin" *(q)*.

Thus amid every circumstance of terrorism, Father Sheehy was marched through Lough Street to the court house, the present Main Guard *(r)*, there to meet the charge of murder, his life being the forfeit. For two years Messrs. Hewetson, Bagnell, Maude and Bagwell, the self-styled maintainers of "the Protestant Interest," had been interviewing gaol-birds, taking informations and putting together a case against the man whom they regarded as the leader of a Popish conspiracy. And though a month before, the Court of King's Bench and a Dublin jury had utterly discredited their evidence, they were now convinced they had an overwhelming case against him. What was the new testimony, untainted and unimpeachable, which was being brought forward? A contemporary has sketched the witnesses, and the fidelity of the sketch we know from other sources.

I shall begin with the principal, John Toohy, who had been double bolted in the jail of Kilkenny for horse stealing about a month, when on hearing of the reward for good swearers, and having little hopes of life, as there were home proofs against him, he said he knew a great deal relative to Sheehy. This soon reached the ears of Mr. Bagwell, Sir Thomas Maude and Lord Carrick who visited him. He was sent to Dublin to prosecute Mr. Sheehy, and from there to Clonmel where he was confined for a short

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(p) "The military were obliged to attend in order to preserve the peace and strengthen the hands of justice. The prisoners Sheehy and Meehan intended an escape as it was discovered they had disengaged themselves from their irons; on this the guards were reinforced and patrols appointed. The troops for their discipline and attention to the public service were particularly complimented by the gentlemen of the county."—*Exshaw's Magazine.*

(q) Candid Enquiry, p. 10.

(r) The criminal court in which Father Sheehy was tried, stood to the rere of the present building, and was only taken down in 1810.

time, and then suffered to walk about the streets, with a lock on one of his legs. In a few days after, this lock was taken off and he got an elegant suit of new cloathes from head to foot, which were bought for him at a Mr. George Lloyds in West Street [West Gate Street.] I remember the coat was a superfine blue cloth and the waist coat and breeches black silk. His company was sought after and his lesson often repeated. In short he was for some time before the trial as much venerated as Mr. Titus Oates was. In the course of the trial he was asked who gave him the new cloathes? He answered his uncle, who being in court was examined and denied it. I must do justice to his employers, to say they religiously kept their word with him, for he was never brought to trial for the horses he had stolen in the county Kilkenny, but suffered to go when he pleased after he performed the dirty work. He survived Mr. Sheehy but a few years, and died of a leprosy which spread all over his body. Before he was afflicted with this disorder, his good friends had the mortification to hear a judge on the bench (Mr. Prime Serjeant) pronounce him perjured and desire the jury to give no credit to his evidence. In consequence of this laudable conduct of the judge, Roger Sheehy, who stood indicted for high treason was acquitted *(s)*.

The next to be mentioned in order was a common prostitute, Mary Dunlea, alias Brady, a woman of a most infamous character. She was kept in the barracks of Clonmel for some time previous to the trial; where she was well attended. She got elegant cloaths and her table was furnished from the first tavern in the town—the Spread Eagle, kept at that time by the Widow Corbett. While in the barracks one of the light horse men of the name of Brady, took up with her. It was said they were married; at least she went by his name. After the trial she took up with Toohy, but the vengeance of God pursued her for the perjuries she had been guilty of, and she actually died in a ditch near Kilkenny *(t)*.

The third evidence was a boy who went by the name of Lonergan; however I believe his real name was Guynan, as he was reputed to be the natural son, (by those who knew him in Clogheen) of a poor man of the name, who lived there. This young vagabond, from the first opening of his intellects seemed to be born for the gallows. He was a fit person therefore for the present occasion. He was kept in the barracks with Mary Dunlea, and was genteely dressed up, preparatory to the trial. In some time after the trial this abandoned wretch came to Dublin. He took up his quarters in a cellar in Barrack Street where the arm of the Lord smote him and he was a mass of ulcers from the top of his head to the souls of his feet. Mr. Terence M'Mahon of Aungier street, apothecary, was employed to attend him. This gentleman has often declared he never visited such a miserable object in his life. He covered his body with plasters, to no purpose; the wretch died, and Mr. M'Mahon received for his trouble (I won't say from whom) twenty guineas *(u)*.

Toohy, the principal witness, had broken down at the trial in the King's Bench. To sustain the tottering testimony, a new witness who had not appeared in Dublin, was brought forward. This was "Mrs. Mary Brady" popularly known as Moll Dunlea. Toohy, the priest had seen for the

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(s) Clonmel Assizes, August, 1767. In the Tipperary Crown Books for this year are informations by Toohy for assaults committed on him 29th May by John Hogan of Clonmel, Cabinet-maker, also on 15th August by John and Edmund Cody of Orchardstown, at Rathronan, when they beat and wounded him "through means of which he lies in eminent danger of life, they having then and there declared that if they had Sir Thomas Maude, John Bagwell Esq., and the Rev. Mr. Hewetson they would serve them in the same manner."

(t) Madden recording the Clogheen traditions, states she was denounced from the altar by Father Sheehy. At the Clonmel Assizes, August 1766, a true bill was found against James Kearney and Terence Begley for "dissuading M. Brady for giving evidence" also against a Mary Dunlea "for unlawfully reviling said M. Brady, for giving evidence against Nicholas Sheehy." Madden further states that she lived for many years subsequent, and that she ended by falling into a cellar in Cork.

(u) Madden states that after the trial he enlisted under the name of Ryan, and subsequently went to Dublin.

first time in Dublin, but the woman he was familiar with. She was a parishioner; she had lived in sin with a man named Michael Kearney in Clogheen; her character was infamous; and in the exercise of his duty, he had denounced her. As he listened to the tale she unfolded in court, the scriptural warning of the adder's tongue, must have come to him with force and bitterness.

But the witnesses had to meet a friendly jury, who considered their previous character only as dust in the balance. There were some landlords, some graziers, a few Clonmel shopkeepers *(v)*, a military man, and an attorney, all unrelenting foes of Popish aggression, and staunch upholders of "our happy constitution in Church and State."

It is regrettable that there is no impartial report of the proceedings at Sheehy's trial. In *Exshaw's Magazine* for May and June, 1766, the "Monthly Chronologer for Ireland" supplies two long accounts. Both were written by the prosecuting parties obviously to poison the public mind against Sheehy and his fellows. As the first account was not deemed sufficient to allay all uneasiness about these awful transactions, a longer and professedly exact précis of the evidence by "a gentleman of worth and probity, one of the jury," was printed the following month. The trustworthiness of the accounts may be judged trom the following comparison :—

June, 1766.

[John Toohy, sworn.] Saw many people in the field, to wit, Edward Meighan, Nicholas Sheehy, ... and many others drawn up in a rank as if to be reckoned. John Bridge and company went towards the people and joined them. Nicholas Sheehy tendered an oath to John Bridge to deny his examinations; who refused to take it; on this refusal Pierce Byrn struck at him with a slane, which he defended with his left hand; then the prisoner drew a bill-hook from under a belt, and struck Bridge on the head, which to his recollection clove the skull; Bridge fell down instantly.

May, 1766.

The witness swore positively. . . . When Bridge came to the place where the Whiteboys were assembled they expostulated with him on the subject of giving in and swearing examinations or informations against many of them, and urged him to retract or contradict what he had already sworn, but the deceased resolutely told them that he would stick to what he had already sworn; which answer irritated them so much that one person with a slane made a stroke at the deceased's head, which he warded off with his arm. Whereupon Meehan who was hanged with the priest came behind the deceased and with a bill-hook gave him but one stroke and cleft his skull in such a manner that he dropped dead or as the witness say did not bring life with him to the ground. The priest was not present, or did not see this transaction but was in the company, and immediately came up and approved of what was done that every informer, and an informer to [against] the French King ought to be served so.

(v) Dumville was a tallow chandler, and Ferris a draper, both resident in the Main Street.

[John Lonergan sworn] was discovered in the trench by Thomas Magrath, and taken out and asked his business; they then put him behind Nicholas Sheehy; he saw them carry a corpse rolled up in a caddow; saw the head bloody on the side of the horse next to him; was not carried far before he was put from behind Sheehy: knew John Bridge but did not know whether he was the corpse. . . . . Heard that Bridge was killed on same night, very soon after.

The priest then enquired who he was? and where he was going or had been? in which he satisfied him. Whereupon the priest got the boy mounted and carried him to the turn of another road at some distance and bid him go home and gave him three half-crowns desiring him at the same time not to tell anybody of what he saw. During the boy's riding behind the priest, he saw the corpse with its head out of the caddow and although the head was almost split in two and all bloody, he knew it to be that of the deceased John Bridge (*w*).

There are about a dozen similar traces of "cooking" in the two reports. Hence the following extracts from the June report are to be read with the greatest caution. The witnesses deal with the case of Edmund Meehan accused of the murder, but the same evidence was brought forward in the subsequent case of Father Sheehy charged with being present at and aiding and abetting Meehan.

JOHN TOOHY, *Sworn.*

Knows the prisoner; knew John Bridge; he is dead; was killed by Edward Meighan, by a stroke of a bill-hook on the head at Shanbally and died instantly.

Went to English's house at Shanbally with Pierce Byrn, James Buxton, James Farrell, Silvester Herd, Darby Tierney; knew not for what purpose; saw John Walsh, Dennis Coleman, Peter Magrath and John Bridge playing cards at English's house. Went a small way out of the house on James Farrell's call into a field; saw many people in the field to wit, Edward Meighan, the prisoner, Nicholas Sheehy, Edward Prendergast, Thomas Beere, John Burke, Edward Burke, Thomas Magrath, Hugh Hayes, Roger Sheehy, Dennis Coleman, William Flynn, Edmund Sheehy, Edward Coffee, James Coghlan, John Walsh, Philip Magrath, Thomas Harman, John Butler, and many others drawn up in a rank as if to be reckoned. John Bridge and company went towards the people, and joined them. Nicholas Sheehy tendered an oath to John Bridge to deny his examinations, who refused to take it; on this refusal Pierce Byrn

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(w) This identification being palpable perjury, the correction was inserted the following month. "As I have read in your Magazine for March the only circumstantial account of our proceedings at the assizes which in time may be consulted as authentic, I beg leave to point out one particular of this case which if not corrected may prejudice the whole narrative. It is said that John Lonergan riding behind the priest saw the corpse with its head out of the caddow, and although the head was almost split and all bloody he knew it to be that of the deceased John Bridge. Now as this transaction was in the night between the hours of eleven and twelve, it must be concluded there was not sufficient light to give a person even on foot an opportunity to make this distinction, therefore to prevent this apparent mistake from destroying the credibility of the relation which in every other particular is consonant to truth, I have sent you a more circumstantial account taken from notes penned in the court, not dependant on memory. . . . . [John Lonergan] on his way between the hours of ten and twelve at night, heard the noise of a number of people . . . . . when they came to a turn of the road, the priest let him down directing him the shortest way home and gave him three half-crowns . . . . . he understood from the conversation of the people that the dead body was that of John Bridge." This corrected version may now be compared with the June "verbatim" report. *Abyssus abyssum invocat.*

struck at him with a slane, which he defended with his left hand; then the prisoner drew a bill-hook from under a belt, and struck Bridge on the head, which to his recollection clove the skull; Bridge fell down dead instantly.

The same persons in about half an hour, got a blanket and carried the corpse to a field belonging to Connor's son, or Ross, at Ballybuskin, and buried him in a ploughed field, about two miles from the place of committing the murder.

An oath was then tendered by Nicholas Sheehy to all present, not to disclose what had passed that night, and to be true to the King of France, and Shaun Meskill and children which most or all of them did. The prisoner took the oath: all approved of what happened; that as John Bridge was out of the way, Michael Guinan's testimony could not take effect. The field is called the Barn-field; knows not what was done with the body since; heard the prisoner say that the corpse was taken up and removed; knows of a letter brought to James Buxton by John Dogherty. which was wrote by Nicholas Sheehy. At the time of burying the corpse in the field a little boy was found hiding in the ditch and put up behind Nicholas Sheehy. The boy's name John Lonnergan; believes he could not see him killed or where he was buried, but could see the people carrying the body.

Cross-examined.—Came from Killcrow; has been in gaol for about four months; was sent to gaol the 20th of September; first gave examinations against prisoner about a month after committal; was committed for horse-stealing; believes the 28th of October, 1764, was Tuesday, but cannot recollect; knows not of any rewards to be given by Government; remembers Clogheen fair in October, 1764, but not the day; Bridge was killed about 10 or 11 at night; knows not whether before or after the fair of Clogheen; lived for a week before the murder with James Buxton, and returned to the same place; lived with James Buxton for three years before and after; was employed to carry messages and letters too and from the Whiteboys; knows not whether the house belongs to English but it was named for his; never was there after the murder; believes there were above an hundred persons present when the murder was committed; says the several people already named were present; there is a dwelling house in the field where Bridge was buried; in his evidence in Dublin he said the house was within a musket shot of the place of burial; knew the prisoners by seeing them at several meetings of the Whiteboys; gave in examinations against the Whiteboys, in about a month after committal, and after the murder, a short time before he went to Dublin.

JOHN LONNERGAN, *Sworn.*

Knows the prisoner; saw him in October, 1764 between Mr. Callaghan's and Father Sheehy's; saw several in company with prisoner; to wit, Thomas Magrath, John Butler, Nicholas Sheehy and many others, in the high road to Shanbally; when he first saw them he slipped into a trench, being afraid of his life; was discovered in the trench by Thomas Magrath, and taken out and asked his business; they then put him behind Nicholas Sheehy; he saw them carry a corpse rolled up in a caddow; saw the head bloody on the side of the horse next to him; was not carried far before he was put from behind Sheehy; knew John Bridge but did not know whether he was the corpse.

They desired this evidence to go home another short road, and Nicholas Sheehy gave him three half-crowns and desired him not to talk of what he saw or betray to his uncle, Michael Guinan; is not very certain of the time of the murder of Bridge, but heard he was murdered; believes it was about the first of November was two years. He was sent by his uncle, Michael Guinan, to John Bridge for a pistole or guinea; does not recollect when but it was the same night that he saw the corpse, but did not go all the way on account of hearing the crowd, some on foot and some on horseback. Heard that Bridge was killed on same night, very soon after. When he was taken from behind Nicholas Sheehy the prisoner showed him a short cut to the town of Clogheen, and desired him not to follow the corpse, but to go home the short way; there were also present Buck Farrell and James Farrell.

Cross-examined.—Saw the corpse after midnight. It was neither very dark nor very light; the days were not long but rather short; believes it was Sunday night

because he saw people going to mass; knows not how long it was before Christmas; people go to mass on holidays as well as Sundays, therefore it might be an holiday; he did not know the length of a week.

MARY BRADY, *Sworn.*

She lived with her mother in Clogheen. Michael Kearney was in her house in October, 1764, and was called on by Nicholas Sheehy; she was present; Nicholas Sheehy said Kearney was to go with him that night; she followed them to Shanbally; saw a man wrapped in a blanket, dead. She then and there saw Nicholas Sheehy, the prisoner, Edmund Sheehy, Thomas Magrath and several others; there were about a hundred. She first saw the body at Shanbally. They buried the body at Ballyhuskin on the lands called the Barn; was not present at the burial; she saw a bill-hook in the prisoner's hand; the prisoner made un attempt to strike the corpse when in the blanket, and said that what had been done was very right; and it was a pity but to use all whores and rogues in like manner; she observed the bill-hook bloody; they left Shanbally shortly before she followed them.

She recollects no other words of the prisoner; in about eight days the corpse was taken up and buried at Ballysheehan, near Shanbally. Says she was sent by Nicholas Sheehy to the prisoner—that he was to go on command—and he said he would obey; says she watched the party and followed them from Clogheen to Ballyhuskin Barn; was desired by Nicholas Sheehy and Edmund Sheehy alias Buck Sheehy, to stay at the end of the road and not go farther, and by the prisoner. She saw them bring the corpse the same way as before, from Ballyhuskin to Ballysheehan; it was carried by turns; about a hundred present; followed the corpse most of the road to Ballysheehan; they said they would bury it in the churchyard there.

Nicholas Sheehy tendered an oath at the first and second burial on the cross to be true to each other and never to discover; the prisoner was sworn on the cross at both burials; she heard prisoner say it was John Bridge.

Cross-examined.—She remembers it was October; knows not when the fair of Clogheen is held; says it was four days before Lieut. Chaloner went to Clogheen; she went after Michael Kearney, by whom she had a child, to Ballyhuskin; Kearney had no certain residence, but was at her mother's house the night Sheehy called on him.

The men were gathered about nine o'clock; says Michael Kearney was then present at the burial; there were many other women there; she was admitted, as Michael Kearney was such as they imagined; Kearney swore her; there were some Clogheen women there; she saw none prevented; Ballyhuskin how far from Shanbally or Ballysheehan she knows not; but thinks about three miles; all dressed as usual; it was neither light nor dark; did not go the high road.

This was the case presented by the prosecution. The defence proceeded on two lines. First, the untrustworthiness of the crown witnesses. Second, that on Sunday, 28th October, 1764, the date assigned by the crown witnesses for the murder, Father Sheehy had spent the night with Robert Keating, of Knockagh, nine Irish miles from the alleged scene of the murder. It will be observed that at this trial the defence was not able to locate Toohy (who was a stranger from Co. Limerick) on the night when he swore he was present at the murder. In the subsequent trial of Edmond Sheehy on 8th April, it was shown that Toohy spent the night of 28th October, 1764, at the house of a man named Griffith in Cullen, thirty miles from Shanbally. With the

second witness, Mary Brady, popularly known as "Moll Dunlea," who lived in Clogheen, there was less difficulty in ascertaining her whereabouts on the night in question.

FOR THE TRAVERSER.

GREGORY FLANNERY, *Sworn.*

He knew Michael Kearney; lived in Clogheen; saw him in April 1763, in Dublin; he went to borrow money from counsellor O'Callaghan *(x)*; and if he could not get it, to quit the country; he gave the witness £60 in cash, who got a bill for £58 12s. 4d., and left two letters; saw him go aboard a ship bound for Bristol or Parkgate; saw the ship sail below the wall; wrote to witness about some things about two months after; never heard of him since he left the kingdom, 22nd or 23rd of April, 1763.

Cross-examined.—He might have returned since without his knowledge; he lived in Dublin ten years but never resided in the county of Tipperary.

THOMAS GORMAN, *Sworn.*

Knew Michael Kearney twenty years; saw him in February or March, 1763; heard Michael Kearney went abroad, and received a letter from him dated 7 May, 1763, from London; received several other letters till September or October, 1763, when he said he was going to Jamaica; often saw him when in the country and believes if he had returned he would have seen him.

HENRY KEATING, *Sworn.*

Knew Michael Kearney in Jamaica, the beginning of March, 1764; saw him first there in December, 1763; he was in very good health; then did not think of returning; witness returned in August, 1764; left Jamaica in April, 1764; made some stay in London; has been in Clonmel since: believes he would have seen Kearney if he returned; it was Michael Kearney of Clogheen.

Cross-examined.—Knew the county of Tipperary sixteen years; heard there was another Michael Kearney.

DENNIS MAGRATH, *Sworn.*

Lives at Clogheen since he was born; knew Michael Kearney left Clogheen the 15th of April, 1763; he was the same Michael Kearney that kept Mary Brady.

Cross-examined.—Witness a brother to Thomas Magrath, a prisoner; says Michael Kearney set off for Dublin the 15th of April, 1763; he received a letter in six or eight days from Dublin; he received letters from London the May following; he is sure Kearney did not return after he first went off.

DANIEL KEEFE, *Sworn.*

Lived in Clogheen fifteen years; knew Michael Kearney; saw him last three years ago next April; knew him since 1752; heard he was in Jamaica; quitted on account of money due; sure if he was in Clogheen he must have seen him unless he kept his room; he had a child by Mary Brady.

ANN HULLAN, *Sworn.*

Remembers the fair of Clogheen 1764; knows Mary Brady; her daughter Mary Brady lived with witness in October 1764; the fair is in October; she lived with her

(x) Cornelius O'Callaghan, sometime Master in Chancery, died 1769. He was uncle of the Cornelius above mentioned.

mother; she was at the fair; lay for two nights before the fair with her two daughters, Mary Brady, one of the daughters, Eleanor Dunlea, the other; lay in her own house with her two daughters in one bed; she and her daughter went to bed about eight or nine o'clock, two nights before the fair; Mary Brady remained the whole time in bed for the three nights; could not be out of bed without her knowing of it; knows not whether Mary Brady be married; she is not to be believed on her oath; three years next Easter since Michael Kearney left Clogheen; he was not at her house at any time in 1764; no one in company with her daughter but what she was present with.

ELEANOR DUNLEA, *Sworn.*

Knows Mary Brady; the fair in Clogheen before all-holland tide; a fair there every year in October; lay the fair night in bed with Mary Brady and her mother, and the night before, and the night before that, and the night after the fair; went to bed about seven; all went to bed together; has known Michael Kearney; does not ever remember his spending an hour in her house; it was usual with the family to go to bed early.

The next two witnesses were called to prove that on the eve of the fair of Clogheen, the date of the murder sworn to by the crown witnesses, Meehan the accused, was at his house in Clogheen.

JOHN HENDERKIN, *Sworn.*

Knows Edward Meighan the prisoner; the fair of Clogheen the 28th of October, 1764, was on a Monday; witness lives in Carrick; came to Clogheen; spent the night before the fair in prisoner's house to which he went as being his friend; prisoner keeps a free house in Clogheen; came to his house about five in the evening of the 28th; prisoner was at home before him and remained with him all the evening; went to bed about eight or nine o'clock; the prisoner was in the house when witness went to bed; the prisoner did not go to bed all night as the fair-day was to be the next day and he had work to finish for the fair; he and a journeyman were at work in the same room where witness lay, who awoke several times, and still found them at work; lay awake about half an hour and spoke to Meighan about working; did not go to sleep before ten; at which time Meighan the prisoner was in the room.

Cross-examined.—Meighan the prisoner, is married to witness's sister; came from Carrick to Clogheen about five in the evening, where he found the prisoner, his wife, a journeyman and maid; prisoner sitting in the kitchen with man and maid; witness got cold meat in prisoner's house; did not speak to the journeyman since he came to town; an entry between the shop and the kitchen; worked usually in a bed chamber and not in the shop; they began to work after nightfall; no other person lay in the room without; the witness did not sleep before ten; did not sleep an hour together all night; the prisoner could not go out unknown to him; he slept an hour together; does not think it possible for the prisoner to go out unknown to him; the prisoner and his journeyman were at work when he got up in the morning; witness after the fair lay with prisoner in the same bed; prisoner and he went to bed together that night about ten; Meehan and he lay positively together all that night; heard the prisoner was charged with the murder of John Bridge about a month ago; never applied to for his evidence by anyone; knows not who told him of the murder; did not hear when the murder was committed; came voluntarily to give his evidence; heard the morning of the fair that John Bridge fled out of the country; never heard he was murdered but by common fame; had no conversation with prisoner since he came to town, or since he was committed; is a nailor by trade.

JOHN LANDREGAN, *Sworn.*

Worked all Saturday night; worked Sunday night till five or six on Monday morning; began to work about six on Sunday evening; did not go to bed or sleep all

night; witness went to prepare a stand; [prisoner] in witness' company all night with his wife, maid and Henderkin, all there; Henderkin went to bed in the work-room above stairs.

Cross-examined.—Did not sleep from Saturday to Monday; lay on Monday night at his father's house; Henderkin went away on Tuesday; saw Henderkin a fortnight ago; did not see him this day or yesterday; did not hear what he swore.

This evidence appeared so strong that the managers put up Toohy a second time.

JOHN TOOHY, *produced a second time by Counsellor Hughes.*

Knows the prisoner was present; says there was John Butler and Thomas Magrath, both of Clogheen, present.

To rebut this the following witnesses were called for the defence.

GERALD FITZGERALD *for the Prisoner.*

Knows John Butler; saw him in October 1764, in a fever at his own house from the third to the end of the month; cannot say he saw him the 28th; saw him November 2nd, before he was able to go out.

DANIEL KEEFE, *produced a second time.*

Knows John Butler; saw him in October, 1764; did not see him on the 28th or 29th October, 1764.

RICHARD TRAVERS, *Sworn.*

Knew Thomas Magrath in October, 1764; saw him the 28th at witnesse's father's house [in Clogheen] and from about eight at night till four o'clock in the morning on Sunday; was drinking all the time in the company; knows not whether he went out; did not stay out an hour at the time; knows not where English lives; Shanbally about four miles from Clogheen.

EDMUND CALLAGHAN.

Knows Shanbally; knew it in October, 1764, and lived there seventeen years; no one of the name of English in Shanbally since he knew it.

Cross-examined.—Knows Glyn Callaghan; some English live above Glyn Callaghan, on a purchase made by Counsellor Callaghan, and joins Shanbally; where English lives is about one-eight of a mile from Shanbally.

A notable part of the defence is yet to follow—namely, that it was probable that Bridge was still alive. There were rumours that Bridge was murdered, and the Grand Jury had circulated these rumours more widely by offering a reward for information as to the murder. But nothing was known for certain. Bridge had unquestionably declared his intention of quitting the country, probably in order to avoid giving evidence against the Whiteboys *(y)*. Upon this point the following witnesses were examined.

(y) "The fact of Bridge's intention to go abroad, and of having gone to certain persons to take leave of them on the last day he was seen living, is unquestionable. That fact is within the knowledge of persons yet in existence."—Madden.

JOHN BRIEN, *Sworn.*

Lives at Shanbally; is a dancing-master; knew John Bridge; believes him alive; never saw him since the 24th of October, 1764, nor was he in the country since; met him in a forge the 24th at Burncourt; he called for the sledge, and turned some shoes; called witness aside, and desired that he would keep what he told him secret, for that he was going out of the kingdom, and that if he returned he would return his favour.

LAURENCE HANGLIN, *Sworn.*

Knew John Bridge; saw him at Anglesborough in the county of Limerick, 28th of October, 1764, about eleven miles from Clogheen; was surprised at his knocking at his door three hours before day; he said he was going to sea to avoid the light-horse; went with him through Mitchelstown; parted from him beyond the town; he could read and write but he never wrote to him or to any one that he could hear; told him he would go to Cork or Kinsale, to Cork for a ship; believes Mr. Beere is to be believed on his oath.

Having convicted Meehan on this evidence, a new jury was impannelled for the trial of Father Sheehy. Toohy, Lonergan and "Mrs. Mary Brady" were again put forward to prosecute. While on the part of the defence several witnesses appeared, as before, in order to prove the incredibility of the story told by Toohy and his partners, Father Sheehy declined numerous offers made by others. His defence was a simple one, but it was effective. It was merely to account for his whole movements during the period when the murder was alleged to have taken place. It will be remembered that from the Spring Assizes of Clonmel in 1764, Father Sheehy "was upon his keeping." As the authorities could easily locate him in Tipperary, much of his time was spent with some kinsmen at Appletown, near Newcastle West. Here, it would appear, he spent the week preceding the 28th October, 1764, returning to his priestly duties at Carrickvisteale, Sunday 28th. That evening he again left and passed the night at the house of Robert Keating of Knockagh, three miles east of Cahir. To establish these facts, he was able to produce witnesses of unexceptionable character.

The Keatings in wealth and influence stood almost at the head of the Catholics of Tipperary. One of them, John of Garranlea, is described by Arthur Young as "the largest farmer that ever was" *(z)*. The other, Robert Keating of Knockagh, held under Lord Cahir an immense district extending some three miles east and west of Cahir. This was the gentleman at whose house Father Sheehy had spent the night of 28th October, 1764, and whom he now proposed to call in testimony of the fact. But the priest and his advisers little knew the men they had to reckon with.

(z) See particulars in Chapter VIII. They were farmers merely, and not landowners, for the reason that being Catholics they could acquire no greater interest than 31 years' lease, and this at a rack-rent.

During his trial Mr. Keating, a person of known property and credit in that country. having given the clearest and fullest evidence, that during the whole night of the supposed murder of Bridge, the prisoner, Nicholas Sheehy, had lain in his house, that he could not have left it in the night time without his knowledge, and consequently that he could not have been present at the murder. The Reverend Mr. Hewetson, an active manager in these trials, stood up, and after looking on a paper he held in his hand, informed the court that he had Mr. Keating's name on his list as one of those that were concerned in the killing of the corporal and sergeant [at Newmarket, Kilkenny] in a former rescue of some of these levellers. Upon which he was immediately hurried away to Kilkenny jail, where he lay for some time, loaded with irons in a dark loathsome dungeon: by this proceeding not only his evidence was rendered useless to Sheehy, but also that of many others was prevented, who came on purpose to testify the same thing, but instantly withdrew themselves, for fear of meeting the same treatment. Mr. Keating was afterwards tried for this pretended murder at the assizes of Kilkenny, but was honourably acquitted; too late however to be of any service to poor Sheehy, who was hanged and quartered some time before Mr. Keating's acquittal (*aa*).

Another of Father Sheehy's witnesses was disposed of by a similar method. James Herbert, a farmer in the County Limerick, came to give evidence as to the priest's whereabouts up to the 28th October, the supposed date of the murder. He was forthwith put under arrest, and he himself charged as an accomplice in the murder. The following naive account of this episode appears in *Exshaw's*:—

Mr. Herbert came to the assizes of Clonmell in order to give evidence in favour of Father Sheehy but his arrival being made known to the grand jury (who before had found bills of high treason against him) they had not an opportunity before of having him taken, as they knew not his person (*bb*). They sent for Toohy who said he knew him very well and would assist to take him. Upon this William Bagnell Esq. attended Toohy with some of the light-horse, went in pursuit of him and soon took him. Being told on what occasion he was secured, said that if accepted of he would make a full confession, would discover the rise and meetings of the Whiteboys and their intentions, acknowledged himself guilty of what he was accused and had no reason to expect mercy from the Government but in doing all in his power to serve it. To this he was led by the appearance of Toohy whom he knew able to convict him of the murder of John Bridge. The taking up of this accomplice gave room to some to report that the evidences in favour of Father Sheehy were intimidated and that he was deprived of the

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(aa) A Candid Inquiry, etc., Dublin, 1766. "On the trial, Father Sheehy produced Mr. Keating of Tubberett *(sic)* as evidence in his behalf, who before he quitted the court was by the Lord Chief Justice's order taken into custody being charged with the murder of a sergeant and corporal in the county of Kilkenny."—*Scots' Magazine*, March, 1766, p. 65. "Last Wednesday the gentlemen transmitted from Clonmel for the murder at Newmarket were acquitted. Yesterday Twohey was sent to Clonmel. Messrs. Mahony (alias Doherty) and Keating are now enlarged."—Letter from Kilkenny, 5th April, 1766—*Freeman's Journal*. The Hon. Martin French, who was Resident Magistrate in Tipperary sixty years ago, took a deep interest in Father Sheehy's case. His account obtained, it would appear, from the Keatings of Garranlea, was—"Madden and Curry are wrong in stating that at the trial in Clonmel Robert Keating of Knocka, was examined for the defence. When it became known that he and James Nagle of Garnevilla, could clearly prove an *alibi*, they were, *before* they could give evidence, arrested and hurried off to Kilkenny gaol on a false charge of murder."—Bellevue, Blackrock, Co. Dublin, 30th December, 1889.

(bb) There is no trace among the Crown Records of Tipperary of these "bills of high treason."

means to defend himself and show his innocence. Never had prisoners more indulgence, everything being allowed by which they could advantage; but sure it must not be insinuated that the securing of an accomplice is depriving a prisoner of an evidence (*cc*).

When men of the standing of Keating and Herbert were dealt with in this way, to put forward humbler folk as witnesses was only to expose them to ruin. Accordingly no further evidence was given in behalf of the doomed priest.

His counsel urged that though Bridge's body "was carefully sought for in the two different places in which the witnesses had sworn it was deposited; and though the particular circumstances of his cleft skull which the same witnesses swore was the cause of his death, would have guided the search and distinguished his from every other body in the place, the body was never found." But all to no purpose; the jury did not want legal proof, and the judge in the words of Griffith "instructed the prosecutors and pieced together the zig-zag evidence." At length after a hearing of five hours, a verdict of guilty was brought in. "Father Sheehy's mind" writes Griffith "was prepared for the awful verdict, which excited the huzzas of some in the court, and the tears of others; and he afterwards declared, such was his resignation, that his principal uneasiness at the moment was, lest the noise and confusion the verdict occasioned, might furnish an opportunity for falling on the people, under a pretence that a rescue was attempted. Nor were his fears visionary, for the military were absolutely encouraged to outrage, insomuch that it was perilous to go near the court" *(dd)*.

(cc) The manufacture of evidence by the managers of the prosecution, is well illustrated by the case of this person Herbert. Upon the condemnation of Father Sheehy, the other prominent men accused of the murder were visited in prison by Hewetson, Broderick, Bagnell, Bagwell, Bunbury and others, and offered their freedom on condition they would corroborate the testimony of Toohy as to the Popish conspiracy. They refused to perjure themselves. Herbert also held out with the rest. The statement by *Exshaw* that immediately on his arrest he volunteered to support Toohy's evidence, is simply untrue. A process of intimidation had to be carried on against the wretched man. For this purpose, on 30th of March, a fortnight after the execution of Father Sheehy, Twohy swore informations before Hewetson, that James Herbert was a French officer, that he had enlisted men for the French service in 1756, and that he subsequently became a White-boy. (Crown Records, Tipperary). One is not surprised, therefore, that when Herbert appeared in the witness box on 9th April against Edmund Sheehy, he told a story of greater breadth and picturesqueness than Toohy's. "On Sunday the 28th of October, 1764, he was called upon by Roger Sheehy who was then on horseback and behind whom he rode to a meeting of about twenty or thirty persons assembled on the lands of Shanbally where they were sworn by their priest, Father Sheehy, to murder John Bridge, John Bagwell, William Bagnell, the Rev. Dr. Hewetson and every other person who should oppose them; that they should be faithful to the French king, conquer Ireland and make it their own. . . . . Edmund Meehan took a bill-hook from under his coat with which he struck Bridge on the back part of the head which so cleft his skull that he instantly expired; that the priest was then present and so near as to be within the distance of two yards with a book in his hand." At the trials of Meehan and Father Sheehy three weeks before, the name of this "French Officer," Herbert, will be sought in vain in the elaborate list furnished by Toohy of those present at the murder.

(dd) "The priest confessed he had been guilty of crimes for which he deserved death, both at the time of his condemnation and that of his sentence, but the crime for which he was to suffer he declared himself innocent of; he said but little at the gallows."—*Exshaw*.

He was now brought back to the old jail in Lough Street, where he was to spend the few hours of existence that remained to him. It is said by some that he was denied even the ministration of a clergyman, but the fact appears to be that he was attended in his last hours by his friend and neighbour, Father Doyle, parish priest of Ardfinnan. It would appear also that the actual murderer of Bridge, communicated with him in the interval, moved probably with horror and remorse *(ee)*. The following day Friday, Toler the high sheriff, together with several members of the grand jury, visited the condemned priest. The object of the visit is not quite clear; some went probably in the hope of obtaining information about "the Popish plot" others, inspired by idle curiosity. Father Sheehy bore himself with dignity and composure, simply asserting his innocence of the crime for which he was condemned. On Saturday morning, March 15th, 1766, the end came. Curry has described the closing scene.

On the morning of that day, just before he was brought forth to execution, he, in the presence of the sub-sheriff [Francis Butler] and a clergyman who attended him [Father Doyle], again declared his innocence of the murder; solemnly protesting at the same time, as he was a dying man, just going to appear before the most awful of tribunals, that he never had engaged any of the rioters in the service of the French king, by tendering them oaths, or otherwise; that he never had distributed money among them on that account, nor had ever received money from France, or any other foreign court, either directly or indirectly, for any such purpose; that he never knew of any French or other foreign officers being among these rioters; or of any Roman Catholics of property or note, being concerned with them.

The gallows was erected in the street, in front of the gaol and facing the entrance of the present SS. Peter and Paul's Church. When the priest was placed on the scaffold in view of the assembled multitude, he prayed that God might spare those who had sworn his life away *(ff)*, adding

He never heard an oath of allegiance to any foreign prince proposed or administered in his life-time; nor ever knew anything of the murder of Bridge, until he heard it publicly talked of; nor did he know that there ever was any such design on foot *(gg)*.

A moment later the bolt was drawn and Father Sheehy was in eternity *(hh)*.

The Apostle St. Paul, accounts amongst his greatest trials "perils from false brethren," and the bitterest ingredient in the cup which the unfortunate

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(ee) Letter to Major Sirr *infra* in which the priest disclosed the fact of Bridge's murder, by consent of the actual perpetrator.

(ff) A Maire ní Ouinléa faoiṫal fada cuiṫe.—*Ita* tradition.

(gg) Curry.

(hh) The name of the executioner was Darby Brahan. "Eternal vengeance" writes Griffith "seems to have pursued him; he was stoned to death some time after in the County Kilkenny."

priest had to drink, was the condemnation of his fellow priests. There is a story in the newspapers of the time, told indeed by his murderers, certainly untrue, but resting on some substratum of fact.

An authentic Anecdote relative to Father Sheehy lately executed at Clonmell.

During the residence of Lord Halifax in quality of Chief Governor of this kingdom, the Titular bishop of the diocese in which Father Sheehy had a parish, received information that Sheehy had constantly assembled with, and frequently headed the Whiteboys in committing outrages. Upon which intelligence he sent for Sheehy, acquainted him with his information, represented the injury he had done the public in general and the Roman Catholic religion in particular, and dismissed him with an injunction to forbear those assemblies in the future. Sheehy nevertheless continued his former behaviour so long and in such a manner that the bishop deprived him of his benefice and office, and at the same time wrote to the Lord Lieutenant a full account of what he knew of the insurrection of the Whiteboys, and also of what he had done to Sheehy, and further offered if it should please his Excellency, to have Sheehy seized and prosecuted to conviction of what he alleged against him. Lord Halifax answered the Titular bishop with his own hand, thanked him very graciously for what he had done, but declined any further prosecution of Sheehy, who finding he might act with impunity, continued to assemble constantly with the Whiteboys, and at length heard the purport of Lord Halifax's letter to his bishop, from which he was encouraged to appeal to the titular Archbishop of Cashel and by means of friends whom he had made among the Whiteboys and elsewhere, procured the restitution of his office and benefice to himself.

This fact was related in Dublin a year after it passed by that very titular bishop who degraded Sheehy, to a gentleman of undoubted truth and character (*ii*).

While this story is in every sentence of it a fabrication, there is no question that the relations of Father Sheehy with his bishop, Dr. Creagh, were strained. The bishop was an old man; he had borne the penal yoke for thirty years; and sorely bruised, he was glad, like the lower creatures, to be allowed to remain in his hiding and die in peace. Though in 1762 he had written a pastoral against the Whiteboys, and had forbidden his priests to absolve them, though he had been prompt to furnish information about them to Government (*jj*), yet even he himself was marked out by some of the approvers as a French agent. At best he was not of the stuff of which martyrs are made; and when Father Sheehy flung himself between the poor and their oppressors, the bishop could only regard the act as wanton foolhardiness, and a dangerous compromising of the whole clerical order. The priests themselves, fearing that at any moment the guillotine of the penal laws might fall upon them, showed to the unhappy Sheehy scant sympathy. Rev. William Egan, parish priest of Clonmel, a man of much influence, firmly declined to intervene in his behalf. And it was remembered for him;

(*ii*) *Exshaw's Magazine.*

(*jj*) "The superiors of the Catholic Clergy in that province (Munster) were edifyingly active in pressing the duty of obedience and loyalty on their people. This is well known. He of Waterford exerted himself by giving the government the best and earliest intelligence he could get, of the intentions and motions of these miscreants."—Observations on Ireland by Nicholas Lord Taaffe, Dublin, 1766, p. 20.

for as the body of the murdered priest was borne past the house in the Irishtown, on the way to Shanrahan, the blood was sprinkled on the door-post *(kk)*. In the Irish dirge it was said—

Bagwell and Maude pierced you in the heart,

but more bitterly it was added—

Egan and Creagh sold you (*ll*).

Father Sheehy's body rests in Shanrahan among the people for whom he died.

Here lieth the remains of the Rev. Nicholas Sheehy,
Parish Priest of Shandraghan, Ballysheehan and Templeteny.
He died March 15th 1766. Aged 38 Years.
Erected by his sister Catherine Burke, alias Sheehy.

And there is a special fitness in the place. A few yards away is the O'Callaghan vault where he, a hunted man, had hidden thirteen months before. In the other corner of the graveyard is the house of the friendly Protestant, Griffith, into which he crept from the vault at night. And to Shanrahan now he came for his last rest and shelter.

"His and Meehan's head," reports *Exshaw's Magazine*, "were spiked upon the gaol of Clonmel the 25th of last month [March] where they remain a shocking spectacle" *(mm)*.

Having tasted blood, the prosecutors should now sate themselves. Three weeks after Father Sheehy's execution, 9th April, a Special Commission opened in Clonmel for the trial of the others charged with the Whiteboy conspiracy and the murder of John Bridge. Three young men belonging to the Catholic gentry class were put forward—Edmund Sheehy, of the Lodge, James Buxton, of Kilcoran and James Farrell, a near relative of Lord Cahir. The same witnesses were again produced. The three were hanged together in Clogheen, 3rd May *(nn)*.

(kk) This was the customary way at the period of bringing home to the accuser or prosecutor the consequences of his action. Among the proclamations in the Record Office may be seen one of 1747 against "the Persons who assembled before the house of William Lefanu, Merchant, at St. Stephen's Green, and laid a Malefactor executed that day at the door of said house."

(ll) Thus—Bagwell agus Maude do ṡháid an ṡroiṁe agat
Egan agus an Ṡréaċ do díol tu—Rev. P. Lonergan in *Irish Eccl. Record*, 1896.

(mm) Mr. William Clarke, editor of the *Clonmel Chronicle*, heard from his aunt who was the daughter of Mr. Reazon, keeper of Clonmel gaol, that when in 1786 the new prison in Richmond Street was being opened, a great multitude gathered, and the skull of Father Sheehy which was spiked over the gate of the old gaol was given them. They formed a huge funeral procession and carried it to Shanraghan for interment.

(nn) Edmund Sheehy was grandfather of the celebrated Countess of Blessington. Within the ruined church of Kilronan near Clonmel, may be seen his tomb now in fragments.

Here lieth the Body of Mr. Edmd
Sheehy of the Lodge in the County of
Tipperary who departed this Life May
The 3rd 1766 Aged 33 years.

The law being now vindicated and the "Protestant interest" secure, addresses from grand juries, corporations and trade guilds, poured in upon Lord Carrick, Hewetson, Maude, Bagwell and Bagnell. The newspapers of the time contain columns of them. Lord Carrick in reply, heartily joins with the Dublin grand jury "in thinking that the late troubles in the southern parts of the kingdom, were not owing to the pretended grievances, but to a settled intention of overthrowing our present happy constitution in church and state." Hewetson writes: "My only merit is my good wishes for the Protestant interest, and that I have been the happy instrument of executing with fidelity and (thank God) with some success, the wise and spirited measures advised by that most eminent friend to his king and country, the Earl of Carrick." John Bagwell writes from Kilmore that "It shall constantly be my endeavours to support the Protestant interest of this kingdom; and to bring to light any schemes that may be contrived to the detriment of this our happy constitution in Church and State. That such schemes were intended, I believe (at this day) no Protestant in Ireland, is in doubt of." Maude has the "greatest pleasure and satisfaction, to find that my endeavours to assist the many worthy and loyal persons in the County of Tipperary, who on every occasion have appeared in defence and support of the Constitution, have been honoured."

And so on.

Yet one may detect in these manifestos a hollow ring; and no amount of party profession could hide away the fact that a great crime had been committed, and five men judicially murdered. The whole world knew the causes and springs of Whiteboyism. What was the truth with regard to Bridge?

Father Sheehy on the evening before his execution, lifted a corner of the curtain.

To Joseph Sirr, Esq., Dublin.

Clonmel, Friday morning, March 14, 1766.

Dear Sir,

To morrow I am to be executed, thanks be to the Almighty God, with whom I hope to be for evermore; I would not change my lot with the highest now in the kingdom. I die innocent of the facts for which I am sentenced. The Lord have mercy on my soul. I beseech the great Creator that for your benevolence to me he will grant you grace to make such use of your time here that you may see and enjoy him hereafter. Remember me to Mr. Waite, the Lord Chancellor, the Speaker, and the Judges of the King's Bench. May God bless them! Recommend to them all under the same charge with me; they are innocent of the murder; the prosecutors swore wrongfully and falsely. God forgive them. The accusers and the accused are equally ignorant of the fact, as I have been informed, but after such a manner I received the information that I cannot make use of it for my own preservation. The fact is that John Bridge was destroyed by two alone, who strangled him on Wednesday night, the 24th October, 1764. I was then from home and only returned home the 28th and heard that he had

disappeared. Various were the reports which to believe I could not pretend to, until in the discharge of my duty one accused himself of the said fact. May God grant the guilty true repentance and preserve the innocent! I recommend them to your care. I have relied very much on Mr. Waite's promise. I hope no more priests will be distressed for their religion, and that the Roman Catholics of this kingdom, will be countenanced by the Government, as I was promised by Mr. Waite would be the case, if I proved my innocence. I am now to appear before the divine tribunal, and declare that I was unacquainted with Mary Butler alias Casey and John Toohy, never having spoken to or seen either of them to the best of my memory before I saw them in the King's Bench last February. May God forgive them and bless them, you and all mankind, are the earnest and fervent prayers of

Dear Sir,

Your most obliged humble servant,

NICHOLAS SHEEHY *(oo)*.

Sometime before Bridge disappeared he spoke to several persons of his intended emigration to Newfoundland *(pp)*. Evidence of this was given at the trial of Father Sheehy. By many it was believed that he actually emigrated, and stories of his having been seen there were circulated. The two earliest accounts of the Sheehy case—Curry's in 1766, and Griffith's in 1787—record the popular belief that Bridge emigrated to Newfoundland. Though both had seen Sheehy's letter to Sirr, they were of opinion that the confession of the murder made to him was simply a snare to catch the unwary priest *(qq)*. Yet the truth is as Father Sheehy stated. Sixty years ago Dr. Madden obtained particulars of the murder from inquiries in the locality. The facts came to the present writer from an unexpected quarter.

(oo) Exshaw's Magazine. To the proofs of authenticity given by Madden of the above document the following may be added, "Corke March 24th. Extract from a letter from Youghal, March 21st, 1766.

There is a most false and scandalous Paper handed about this town and the like is commonly said to be shown in your City and no doubt is dispersed in every City and Town in the kingdom. It is a Declaration made by or in the name of Nicholas Sheehy, Popish Priest lately executed at Clonmell. This piece contains inded a confession of much guilt but pleads Innocence of the Crime for which he died, and also asserts the Innocence of others charged with the same murder. This kind of Reasoning from him is easily understood. And it may also be readily believed as the Paper relates that in some time after John Bridge was murdered that Fact came to his knowledge or was related to him in the way of Confession and that he thought himself not at Liberty to reveal it. Some of the parties concerned with him in the Murder may be naturally supposed to have confessed to him and to have had Forgivness from him and we may readily credit this without believing in the least that he was not concerned in the Murder. That he did not think himself at Liberty to reveal his knowledge is indubitable, for had he informed he must have surrendered to the mercy and justice of the laws, have betrayed the wretched Cause he had zealously engaged in and brought his Accomplices to that End they justly deserve. On the whole the paper in question is wrote in so equivocal a Manner and the Evidence was delivered with such Perspicuity and Circumstance of Truth that there can be no Doubt of Sheehy's Guilt while his Paper must appear calculated only to deceive the Unwary and support the Nefarious Principles of his old Associates."—*Freeman's Journal* 1766, No 59—March 25th—9.

(pp) At this period there was considerable emigration from Waterford and Cork to the Talamh an Iasc, "The Land of the Fish," as it was termed.

(qq) Some instances of a similar snare will be found in the history of the Titus Oates' Plot. As late as 1867, Talbot, a Protestant spy on the Fenians of Carrick-on-Suir, employed the same artifice.

Amongst the oldest of the Irish gentry are the Wyses, of the Manor of St. John, Waterford. They have been prominent in official life from Sir William Wyse, "esquire of the King's body" in 1533, to Sir Thomas Wyse, statesman of the days of Peel. Amidst all the wars and confiscations, they contrived to save a portion at least of their estates. The head of the family in Father Sheehy's time was Thomas Wyse fitz Francis. As a Catholic of property and position, he fell in due course under the suspicion of the leader of "the Protestant interest." When James Buxton, of Kilcoran, was in Kilkenny gaol awaiting trial for the "battle of Newmarket," he was visited by Rev. John Hewetson and Rev. Lawrence Brodrick, with a view to his becoming an approver against "Squire Wyse." Eight years later Wyse in making his will recounts the difficulties he had in preserving his property.

Whereas the abandoned Reprobate my youngest son did in the year 1763, conform in order to take advantage of the said Popery Laws, and distress me, which he has done in a very feeling and sensible manner [i.e. in a way which I have felt and am sensible of] however without success in his attempt to make me Tenant for life and prevent me from selling.

And whereas an Atrocious and Sanguinary Plott was forged in the year 1763, commonly called Heweson's Plott (in which he had many accomplishes) (*rr*) an Obscure Country Curate in the County of Kilkenny who wanted to advance and recommend himself for preferment in the Church tho' at the expence of Innocent Blood, and had accordingly corrupted and suborned several Infamous Wretches in Different Gaols for felony or other Capital offences to Swear away the lives of Several Roman Catholic Gentlemen of Property in the Province of Munster and Leinster and Confiscate their Estates. The unlawful assemblage of the White Boys at that time in Great Numbers who Committed many Disorders and out Rages was Considered and laid Hold of as a favourable Circumstance to propagate the report (industriously uttered) of an Intended french Invasion, as a sanction and prelude to the Execution of that Execrable Plott. Which was providentially discovered by Edmond Sheehy, James Buxton, Brodrick and Farrell (*ss*), who had been tampered with by the said Hewetson, Broderick a clergyman also, and others, to swear high treason against such persons (set forth in a List put into their hands for that purpose) as they had proscribed for distruction. And notwithstanding the promised Reward of Pardon (then under Sentence of Death for the Murther of one John Bridge, of which they were afterwards prooved Innocent by the last dying speech of one Dwyer who was concerned in the said Murther) if they would

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(rr) Added subsequently "because he was the most active in prosecuting and procuring false witnesses to swear against them, but particularly in attempting to suborne one James Buxton to swear against me that I had distributed french money to the White Boys in order to Engage their attachment and allegiance to the King of ffrance and sent amongs" *(sic)*.

(ss) "One Brodrick a Fellow under Rule of Transportation, when they were taking him with other prisoners transmitted about ten days ago to Limerick in order to be transported stopped at the great door of Clonmel Gaol and harangued the people present and told them of the wicked methods which were taking to prevail upon several of the prisoners to swear against innocent people, particularly upon himself who had always been bred a Protestant. He named the persons that attacked him particularly the R—d. Mr. D——s, the R—d. Mr. M——e."—Curry's Enquiry. The Rev. Mr. Dennis and Rev. Mr. Moore wrote to the *Freeman* September 25th, 1766, denying they "knew the person of the infamous Brodrick, nor ever held conversation with him nor with any other prisoner to the base purpose suggested, and that he did not profess the Protestant religion while in jail." The contradiction does not, as the French would say, arrive.

swear the several facts (which are set forth in their last dying Speeches delivered to the Sheriff) and thereby corroborate the testimony of one Toohy a Notorious offender and then in Jail for Horse Stealing. Yet they had the virtue and grace to withstand that Temptation Rather than spill the Blood of Innocent people of whom I was one the unhappy victims set down in the said Black List delivered for distruction (*tt*) tho' at that time in England and a sojourner there for two years before for the Benefit of my health.

Wherefore in the first place to prevent the operation of the popery Laws on my Real Estate. Secondly to save and preserve a Remnant of my family from the Dazzling temptations to perversion (*uu*), and purchase a settlement in some other Inhabitted part of the Globe free from the cruelty and oppression of the popery Laws, where they may Enjoy the Legal Exercise of their Religion with every other advantage and blessing in Common with the natives and subjects of whatever country such settlement may be found. And lastly to Remove it out of the like Danger of Conspiracy against their lives and property to which Every Roman Catholic who has any, is here exposed to, notwithstanding his Loyalty and a professed Allegiance from a Religious principle to the present Royall family on the Throne. For which and many other motives I say, it has been my purpose for some time to sell my Estate, of which I have already made a beginning and hope God will be pleased to spare my life to dispose of the Remainder, and Enable me to carry my purpose into due Execution but in case any part of it should remain unsold at the time of my decease, my will is that, etc. (*vv*).

This piece of autobiography of an old Catholic gentleman throws, as it were, a search-light on the whole case, but it is particularly valuable as it afforded a clue to the true facts of Bridge's murder. The writer was in hopes that a copy of "the last dying speech" of Dwyer might be found among the Wyse papers. An intimate acquaintance with the late Major Wyse enabled a search to be made through the voluminous papers at the Manor house of St. John's, Waterford, but nothing came of it. Several newspaper files from 1766–1775 were also consulted, but unavailingly. At length, by accident, the document came to light. The late W. J. Fitzpatrick, Barrister-at-Law, the well known author of "Ireland Before the Union," and other works, obtained many years ago a considerable portion of the papers of the Kemmis family, who for generations had been Crown and Treasury solicitors. Amongst these was found a document, duly witnessed, and bearing all the evidences of being the authentic "Dying Declaration" of Dwyer himself with his mark upon it. The following is a copy.

(tt) Subsequently added "And whereas Id been represented by a sett of evil minded persons to Government as a person Disaffected (tho' I had Given the stronger proof of my Allegiance and Fidelity to the present Royall family on the Throne) and in consequence thereof my house was surrounded and insulted by a whole Regiment on the false and Industrious rumour of an Intended Invasion, in search of French officers."

(uu) Added "And whereas I have most sensibly felt some of the Baneful and unhappy effects of some of these said popery Laws (Deservedly called Crewel, Inhuman and sanguinary by the late Earl of Clanbrassil a zealous and Conscientious protestant) from the conformity of an abandoned reprobate Youngest son to distress and make me Tenant for life. For which and many other cogent motives tho' not without the most mortification that an estate that the greatest part of which has been in the family upwards of 500 years, but I have had on purpose for some time to sell in order to save a Remnant of the Family" *(sic)*.

(vv) Will of Thomas Wyse fitz Francis dated 4th January, 1775.—Prerogative Wills, Public Record Office.

The last speech and dying words of Dennis Dwyer who was executed in Nag [query Knock] y^e 25^th^ day of April, 1768.

Declares on the last words of a dying man that Sir Thomas Maud, John Bagwell, Ambrose Power, and Mathew Bombary Esq^rs^ with Parson Heuston came to him several times, repeating how happy they would make him if he wou'd prosecute the Rev. Mr. Sheehy, Ned Meaghan, James Buxton and James Farrell. I declare in the presence of my Creator before whome I am shortly to appear that I never did, nor cou'd in justice prosecute, either separately or together them Gentlemen; the answer I made Sir Thomas Maude, and the others concern'd with them was, since I cou'd not serve them that I wou'd receive no bribes, no longer receive the substence money which they allow'd me, being nine and nine pence ℔ week, and I further declare as a dying man, that each and every of the above Gentlemen, that were executed at Clonmel, had neither act nor part, directly or indirectly in the murther of John Bridge, who was strangled by two men in the County of Cork, one of them went to the American Plantations, the other is still in this Kingdom, I cant tell where, as I did not see him since last July. I further declare on the word of a dying man that I had neither act or part in the murther of John Bridge but that I was unfortunate to myself present; and as a further proof of their design to spill the blood of the Innocent, and seeing that they could extort nothing from me, who in Justice and truth had nothing to say against them they confin'd me in the Barracks of Clonmell with a double guard where no person was allowed to see me or to spake to me, except the Guards themselves and kept me there from S^t^ Stevens day was twelve month till the assizes following, offering me Bribes and money, and declaring they would provide for me and Family if I would prosecute the Gentlemen who were to be tryed soon after, and after all Efforts to make me prosecute the Gentlemen then confined, failed them as in the presence of God I had nothing to prove against them, they out of revenge, made three of the light horse make affidavid before a Magistrate that I was enlisting men for the King of France^s^ service and then committed me a Prisoner out of the Barracks to the County Gaol of Clonmell; Sir Thomas Maude and the rest know the truth of all this, I pray G^d^ forgive them, as I heartily do and all my Prosecutors.

Present John Barry, Town Clerk
John Dunlavin
Joseph Braughel

his
Dennis X Dwyer.
mark *(ww)*.

The inquiries carried on by Dr. Madden in Clogheen between sixty and seventy years ago, are singularly verified by the foregoing document. The additional details which he obtained as to the circumstances of the murder, may therefore be relied on, but the motive of the murder—whether Whiteboyism, robbery, or private enmity—will probably never be known.

Bridge was advised to leave the country; and at length he made preparations to do so. On their completion he took leave of his acquaintances; and the last time he was seen by them, he was on his way to the house of an old friend of his, Francis Bier, for the purpose of taking leave of him. It was known that he intended calling on another of his acquaintances, named Timothy Sullivan, a slater. Sullivan and a man of the name of Michael Mahony better known in the neighbourhood by the name in Irish for "wicked Michael" lived at Knockaughrim bridge; he fell into their hands and was murdered by them. No other human being had act or part in this foul deed. Mahony fled the country; Sullivan remained, and lived and died unsuspected by the authorities. Sullivan was a Protestant; Mahony a Catholic.

(ww) Written under the names of the witnesses, in a different hand, are the words "Three Protestants."

Such are the facts of Bridge's murder. That they were known to many at the time of Father Sheehy's execution is certain. Nay, more. That the truth was known even to the prosecutors themselves there is strong reason to suspect. For only a few days later, the efforts they were making to convince the world that the priest was justly hanged, were simply frantic. While Edmund Sheehy was awaiting trial in Kilkenny for "the battle of Newmarket," he was visited by the Rev. Lawrence Brodrick and Rev. John Hewetson who promised to procure his pardon if he would make useful discoveries, and especially prove "that the priest died with a lie in his mouth." The same offer was renewed by Mathew Bunbury and Sir William Barker's son the day after Sheehy's condemnation *(xx)*. The inference is inevitable.

And at this awful time when the lives of innocent men were at the mercy of felons, prostitutes and corner-boys, when the hunting of one's fellow-creatures became, in the words of Lord Charlemont, a fashionable pastime, when ministers of religion darkening counsel, imbrued their hands in blood, it is no wonder that people looked for the opening of the heavens and awaited the avenging hand of God.

Lecky the historian, in his account of the Sheehy case *(yy)* writes: "Stories were collected and believed of how all the chief parties connected with the tragedy came to an unhappy end." The historian is here at fault. That most if not all of them came to a bad end is not, as he suggested, superstitious report or old wives' talk, but a fact notorious and demonstrable. This is clear from a pamphlet discussion carried on in 1787, twenty-one years after Sheehy's execution. In that year Arthur O'Leary, the well-known friar, published a sort of *apologia (zz)* in which the following remarks occurred.

> That unfortunate man (Father Sheehy) was tried before the Court of King's Bench for Whiteboyism and acquitted. Sheehy, whose blood his enemies thirsted for, is at last indicted for the murder of one Bridges, a man of no good character, whose dead body could not be found, but whose living body, if report be true, was afterwards seen in Newfoundland. The dead bodies of rogues who had been murdered in one kingdom have been afterwards seen living bodies in another as so many enchanted dragons watching the Hesperian Gardens of the temple of Venus, alias bullies to a brothel. That this was Bridge's case I cannot afirm but for the rest the history of the kingdom is my voucher.

Daniel Toler of Grague, who had been high sheriff of Tipperary in 1766, the year of Father Sheehy's execution, and was now member of parliament for the county, felt himself called upon to reply, which he did in the House of Commons, Tuesday, March 13th, 1787.

(xx) Declaration *infra*.
(yy) History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century, II., pp. 42 *seq*.
(zz) Defence Vindicating His Conduct and Writing during the Late Disturbances in Munster.—Dublin, P. Byrne, 1787.

He thought it was necessary for him to rise to take notice of a calumny that had been thrown upon the gentlemen of that part of the country in which he lived, by a Mr. O'Leary who had presumed to stigmatize some of the best characters by alleging that Bridges, the person for whose murder one Father Sheehy had been hanged, was still alive. He had the honour to be high sheriff of the county when Sheehy suffered, and had taken care to impannel a most respectable jury; that Sheehy was convicted on the fullest and clearest evidence; that he with some other gentlemen afterwards visited the convict in gaol, who confessed that Bridges was murdered but denied that he himself was a Whiteboy or that he had any hand in the murder; yet the next day at the place of execution, he told the deluded multitude that Bridges was alive and would appear amongst them in two months. He (Toler) thought it necessary to state this, to detect such agitators as Mr. O'Leary in their falsehood; and he concluded with saying that a cause that required such advocates and such means of support must be desperate indeed *(a)*.

The part of the statement as to Sheehy's declaration at the place of execution is a gloss on the words "he (Sheehy) did not know there was any design on Bridge." But Toler's observations led to a very remarkable letter, addressed to him by one Amyas Griffith who had been Inspector General of Excise in Munster *(b)*. In this letter Griffith reviewed the whole Sheehy case, and incidentally referred to the deaths of the several persons connected with the prosecution, as facts known and incontestable.

Sir,—As you were high sheriff of the County Tipperary when the unfortunate Mr. Sheehy suffered, I must take the liberty of addressing this letter to you on the subject to which I am more particularly led in consequence of your declaration some time since in the senate of the nation, relative to the justice of his fate. However I would not wish you would conceive the most distant idea that I intend to cast any reflection whatever on your character. Your existence, Sir, at this day is perhaps the best proof of your innocence of his blood, for indeed I might now truly say that out of all his persecutors there is not an individual but has visited that bourne from whence no traveller returns. Be assured, Sir, no man can be less superstitious than I am, though I firmly believe a Superior Being regards the actions of men. But as the finger of God is so frequently legible, we trace proofs in its progress of His existence and attributes not less demonstrative than those of Sacred writ or the universal voice of nature. . . . . .
Out of all those who were so active in spilling his blood is there an individual living this day, Mr. Toler? Will you account me superstitious for saying that this might be a judgment of God? The judge who tried him, instructed his prosecutors and connected their zig-zag evidence. That judge is now no more. Sir Thomas Maude was the man who impannelled the jury (who ever since were proverbially partial), need I tell you of the manner of his death—that his eyes dropped out of their sockets, that he died with execrations in his mouth, that the stench in his room was insupportable? *(c)* Need I tell you the fate of William Bagnell *(d)*, of John Bagwell *(e)*, Lord Carrick? *(f)* Need I

(a) Parliamentary Debates, 1787, VII., p. 342.

(b) A Letter to Daniel Toler, Esq., Relative to the Death of the Rev. Nicholas Sheehy, etc. Dublin, 1788. See Chapter XVII. for some account of Griffith.

(c) Sir Thomas Maude was elevated to the peerage as Baron de Montalt four months after the execution of Father Sheehy. He died 17th May, 1777.

(d) He died in October, 1780.

(e) He died a maniac, it is said, August, 1784. "The unhappy Bagwell who for some years before his death conceited that he always saw that poor victim of party, the headless Sheehy, at his elbow."—Amyas Griffith to Dominick Trant, Esq.

(f) He was the son of Thomas Butler, chaplain to the army in Flanders. Created Earl of Carrick in 1748. Died 15th April, 1774.

point out the many who fell victims to the Herodian distemper? Recollect, Mr. Toler, the names of the petit jurors and the manner of their deaths. Jonathan Willington of Castle Willington, was one of them as well as I can recollect. He was a particular acquaintance of yours; do you remember he dropt dead in a necessary? Sandy Hoops was another; he was drowned in a ford over which his servant passed with ease (*g*). Robert Going died suddenly (*h*). Edward Dawson was killed by his horse. An assistant in the cavalry (I forget his name) was thrown by his horse and dragged dead into the town of Nenagh with his leg fastened in the stirrup—a spectacle of horror. In short, Mr. Toler, all the jury are dead, and what is more extraordinary, they all got sudden deaths.

To these strange particulars Dr. Madden has added several others.

One of the jury, named Tuthill, cut his throat; another named Shaw, was choked; another named Alexander Hoops was drowned; the last survivor of them was said to have been accidentally shot by Mr, Sheehy Keating in Rehill-wood, on a sporting excursion. Ferris died mad. One of them dropped dead at his own door. Another at a gentleman's house where he had spent the night, was found dead in a privy. Dumvill by a fall from his horse, was frightfully disfigured. Minchin was reduced to beggary, and of all I have heard only of one, named Dunmead, who died a natural death.

The brochure of Griffith was fiercely resented, but no attempt whatever was made to challenge his statements. The most skilful pamphleteer of the day, Patrick Duigenan, Advocate-General and Privy Councillor, in a reply written under the name of "Theophilus," feebly remarks:—

Indeed Amyas, on that subject [of Father Sheehy] you have earned strangulation. You have opened wounds which the lenient hand of time had closed. You say those who were concerned in the death of that man a visible judgment pursued, and that they all died in undescribable misery. May their relations not forgive you such transcendant impiety. May they pursue you till you meet with a similar fate! Not content with reprobating the most sacred living characters you open the tombs of the dead with your unhallowed hands, and hold up ashes to obloquy which can no more defend than offend. The relations of those who slumber in the dust should whet daggers for your bosom, and drag you like another Cacus from your den into daylight there to inflict tortures on you who have ever gloried in inflicting them on others (*i*).

Griffith, in a further letter to Toler, returned to the charge.

Several of the surviving friends of those who thirsted most for Sheehy's blood extorted from me a promise that I would not, to use the language of Theophilus, "open their graves." The frankness with which I always disclose my sentiments and which was not to be shaken even by the idea of self-preservation, struck with terror those concerned for their fame. But though I promised to avoid personalities, I declared that I would, as you rose up in the House of Commons to defend their memory, throw such a light on the subject as would prevent anything that fell from you hereafter, have any weight whatever in the public estimation. . . . . .

(g) "Clonmel 20th November, 1780. Last Tuesday evening as Alexander Hoops of Tipperary, Esq., was crossing the ford of Ballyhooley (near Fermoy in the Co. Cork) on the river Blackwater, his horse having stumbled and fell, he was unfortunately drowned. Every search has been made for his body but hitherto without effect."—*Hibernian Magazine*, December 1780.

(h) In 1779.

(i) Observations on Tithes, Theophilus, Dublin, 1788.

You Sir, are happy in one respect their blood lies not on your head. As an executive officer you did but your duty—painful however must be the remembrance of that duty be to you on reflection—for I know you are not destitute of feeling.

In the whole province of Munster there was not one moderate man at the time of Sheehy's death who would be certain of his own life, such great rewards were promised to *good swearers*. How many have been hanged attesting their innocence in the awful moment of launching into eternity! Why then Mr. Toler do you blame me of contributing my mite towards raising my countrymen beyond the influence of similar prejudices! . . . . . .

Where are the powerful leaders of all the prosecutions at Clonmel, Kilkenny, etc., all—all long since sleeping in death. Can you contradict this fact? You dare not for your honour. If there be a God ruling all the orbs of the vast inane, and that there is, all nature cries aloud, ere this, they have repented of their bloody deeds. Silent in the dust they lie, recollected by mankind with execrations for the mischief of their lives (*j*).

The reader has now all the contemporary evidence upon the case. For a long time the hanging of Father Sheehy was the subject of angry controversy. Few at this day will question Lecky's judgment as to the infamous partiality that characterized the proceedings against him *(k)*. The issue really tried was not the murder of Bridge; it was a wider and more passionate one. John Hampden was not more the representative of English resistance to despotism, than Nicholas Sheehy the champion of a persecuted creed and an oppressed people. For this he was hanged, and for this the hearts of the people have gone out to him.

APPENDIX.

The following documents illustrate the process of manufacturing evidence by the managers of the prosecution. In the examination of Toohy it will be noticed that there is not a single reference to the murder of Bridge, or of the Whiteboy meeting at which it was supposed to be perpetrated. That piece of evidence had not been yet evolved.

(j) Griffith to Toler, 23 Clarendon Street, April 20th, 1789. "The condemnation of Mr. Sheehy occasioned great dissatisfaction and complaint amongst the Roman Catholics in general; and the proceedings on his trial (which lasted about ten hours) became the subject of much animadversion. It has been asserted that amongst the twelve persons of whom the Jury on this trial consisted, not one of them died naturally. The fact is not true in general, but it is known that some of them met with an untimely end. However it does not seem that any inference can be reasonably drawn from that circumstance."—Collectanea Politica, William W. Seward, I., p. 158. II. Dublin, 1801.

(k) There is one—that paragon of historians, Froude. He states "an escort of troops carrying a prisoner to Clonmel Jail was set upon near Sheehy's house and several soldiers killed. He was suspected of being concerned in the rescue," etc. This is the historian's account of the affray at Newmarket. *Ex pede Herculem*.

The information of John Twohy now Prisoner in his Majesties Goal of Clonmell in s^d^ County.

Town of Clonmell and County of Tipp^ry^ To wit.

Who being duly Examined and sworn on the Holy Evangelists Deposeth and saith that sometime in the month of 8^ber^ 1762 James Buxton of Killroe Farmer and James Farrell otherwise Buck Farrell of Rehill Farmer both in said County became acquainted with the Informant in the Town of Tipperary and inticed him to go home with them and that as the informant played on the fiddle the s^d^ Buxton and Farrell would engage to get him a livelyhood in their Neighbourhood, inform^t^ saith that about 3 or 4 days after he had gon to Buxton's house the s^d^ Buxton and Farrell together with Edm^d^ Butler of Killroe afores^d^ John Hickey of Curraghtour James Herbert a French officer who frequently lived with James Hilan of Lisfunshion all in s^d^ County compelled inform^t^ to take an oath to be true to Shevan ne Meskill and her children during inform^ts^ life, and to be ready on all occasions that the society may at any time want him for. Saith that some time after the above swearing Nicholas Sheehy Popish Priest of the Parish of Shanrahan, Edmond Sheehy otherwise Buck Sheehy of the Lodge, Thomas Beere of Burgess, Robert Keating of Knocka, John Burk of Rouska, James Hickey of Frehans, James Hilan of Lisfunshion, Tho^s^ Magrath of Cloheen woolcomber, Edm^d^ Mehan of Cloheen also called the Bracked Bailiff, James Green and Michael Green of Cappagh, Edmond Prendergast, the said Buxton and Farrell all in the s^d^ County together with several other persons unknown to this informant met at night on the lands of Drumloman in s^d^ County all or most of them dressed in white, white Bandages and cockades in their hats and several of them armed with swords guns and pistols and that the aforesaid persons acted as officers and drew up the rest of the party in Ranks and exercised them as soldiers and that inform^t^ played the fiddle for them. Saith that on the Eve of Christmas following, the s^d^ James Buxton, James Farrell, Tho^s^ Magrath, Edm^d^ Butler, John Hickey, John Burk, Edm^d^ Prendergast, Edm^d^ Sheehy otherwise Buck Sheehy, James Herbert, James Hilan and one Nathaniel Carew and several others with whom the inform^t^ was in Company feloniously set fire to and burned a Haggard of corn the property of Joseph Tinnison on the lands of Killdonogy in s^d^ County, informant further saith that about Shrovetide in the year 1763 the white boys met at Cashell from the different parts of the Country headed by John Purcell of Thurles Gent., W^m^ Ryan of Mealive, Mathew Thomson of Monroe, Edw^d^ Doherty of Roxborough, John Baldwin of Cahir, Robert Keating of Knocka, Edm^d^ Prendergast who sometimes lives at Thos Butler's of Monroe, Tho^s^ Beere of Burgess, John Burk of Rouska, James Buxton afores^d^, James Farrell, Edm^d^ Sheehy otherwise Buck Sheehy, Edm^d^ Butler and John Hickey afores^d^ with several other gentlemen whom informant cannot at present recollect; and that the s^d^ persons ordered their different parties to levell the wall about the Rock of Cashell and that as soon as the wall was levelled the afores^d^ Officers distributed money to each of the parties who assisted in levelling the wall. Informant further saith that most of the afores^d^ persons with several others frequently assembled at night at different times but parted without doing any mischief, saith that on the night of the 3^rd^ of September last the s^d^ James Buxton, James Farrell, John Burk, Edm^d^ Sheehy, Nicholas Sheehy the Priest, Edm^d^ Prendergast, James Hilan, James Herbert and several others met on the Green of Ardfinan in s^d^ county to consult about some business they were to undertake and further that on the night of the Eleventh or thereabout of September aforesaid the s^d^ persons met again at the same place and collected or made up among them four guineas which they gave to the informant in order to purchase what quantity of arms of any kind he could and that he came to Clonmell with intent to purchase s^d^ arms but was robed and the money taken from him; inform^t^ further saith that about the 16^th^ or 17^th^ of September aforesaid at night the s^d^ James Buxton, James Farrell, James Herbert, Edm^d^ Butler, John Hickey and the inform^t^ went into a field belonging to Edm^d^ Kent of Castlegrace in s^d^ county and catched a horse belonging to s^d^ Kent and the s^d^ Buxton and Farrell cut off the ears of the s^d^ horse close to his skull while the s^d^ Butler held the horse with a grin by the nose which horse the infor. has since heard is dead.

John twohey.

Truely read to inform^t^. Taken sworn and by me W^m^ Bagnell acknowledged before me 8^ber^ 26^th^ 1765.

In Dorso.

I believe this is exactly the same ev^ce^ what you gave me in Court this morning,

County of Kilkenny to wit. The information of Mary Butler Prisoner in his Majesty's goal in s[d] County who being duly sworn and examined deposeth and saith that many times in or about the beginning of the year 1762 she saw John Butler, Ed Meehan and Tho[s] Magrath of Cloheens in the County of Tipperary, James Buxton of Kilcooran, Roger Sheehy of Ballyporeen otherwise call'd Red Roger—one Brian of Ballyporeen, James and Tho[s] Couglan both of Ballyporeen, John Coughlan of Cranagh Phisician, Ed Prendergast of Tullough, Ed Sheehy of the Lodge commonly called Buck Sheehy, John Burk of Rowskagh, Ed Burk of Tullagh, James Hilan of Rosaclinane, James Neagle of Garrynavalla, James Hickey of Frehans, Tho[s] Beere of Burgess, all in s[d] County that often about s[d] time she saw above named persons at several meetings of the White Boys aiding and assisting them under the direction of Nic[s] Sheahy of Shanrahan Popish Priest in several treasonable practices all which Dep[t] swears to be true and further saith not.

her
Mary X Butler.
mark

Sworn before us March 1[st] 1765.
Carrick Her[s] Langrishe.

(In Dorso)
Mary Butler's Information.
Received from Lord Carrick
4 March 1765.

County of Kilkenny to wit. The Information of Mary Butler Prisoner in his Majesty's goal who been duly sworn [and exa] mind deposeth and saith that in or about the beginning of the year 1762 she has frequently seen Tho[s] Brofy of Callan Carrier deliver and carry Letters backwards and forwards between Nic[s] Sheehy Popish Priest and the white boys of Callan and that he was present at several of their Treasonable meetings near Cloheen—and that W[m] Scully near Callan in s[d] County Farmer, Pat Cantwel of Callan Carrier, and one who was call'd the Gen[l] of Callan whose name Dep[t] does not know, but would know him if she were to see him, were aiding and assisting the white boys in their Treasonable practices all which Dep[t] swears to be true and further saith not.

her
Mary X Butler.
mark

Sworn before us 1[st] day of March 1765.
Carrick Her[s] Langrishe.

In Dorso
Mary Butler's Information.
Rec[d] from Lord Carrick
4 March 1765.

IRELAND.

The Information of Mary Butler Prisoner in Kilkenny goal who being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists deposeth and saith that she was three several times between the first of October last and Christmas day in company at Clogheen in the County of Tipperary with a person now confined in Waterford goal who went sometimes by the name of John Meahan and sometimes by the name of Maghedan, and sometimes by the name of Magan, that there were also present Nicholas Sheehy Popish Priest, John Butler her brother, Michael Mahony Countryman, James Butler, Timothy Malone and John Driscal all reputed French Officers and one Read another reputed French Officer and that at all these times the said Magan or Maghedan and the above named persons were consulting about raising men in order to join French forces who were expected to invade the kingdom and that at one of the said Meetings said Magan gave nine guineas to said Sheehy in order to pay the inlested men and that Sheehy gave two of the said guineas to her brother John Butler and put the other seven in his pocket and said many mouths were calling for it and said Mary Butler farther says that at sundry other particulars she refers to her examination given before the L[d] Chief Justice of the King's Bench at his house in Dublin and further saith not.

her
Mary X Butler.
mark

Sworn before me this
14[th] day of March, 1765.
Carrick.

"*The Dying Declaration of Mr. Edmund Sheehy*:—

"As I am shortly to appear before the great tribunal of God, where I expect, through the passion and sufferings of my Redeemer, to be forgiven the many crimes and offences, which I have committed against so great and merciful a God, I sincerely forgive the world, I forgive my judges, jury, prosecutors, and every other who had a hand in spilling my innocent blood; may the great God forgive them, bless them, and may they never leave this world, without sincerely repenting, and meriting that felicity which I hope, through the wounds of Christ, soon to enjoy.

"I think it incumbent, as well for the satisfaction of the public, as the ease of my own mind, to declare the truth of every crime with which I was impeached, from the beginning to the day of my conviction.

"*First.* The meeting at Kilcoran, sworn by James Herbert, and the murder of John Bridge, sworn to by him, and the rest of the informers.

"*Second.* The meeting at Ardfinan, swore by Guinan in October, 1763, and several other meetings and treasonable practices, at all which I was sworn to be present as the principal acting person.

"*Third.* That I had a hand in burning John Fearise's turf, and extirpating his orchard, taking arms from soldiers, *burning Joseph Tennison's corn*, levelling walls, and many other atrocious crimes against the peace and tranquility of the present happy constitution.

"First. I now solemnly declare, that I did not see a Whiteboy, since the year 1762, and then but once or twice; and that I never was present at the levelling at the Rock of Cashel, or any other wall or commons in my life, nor even gave counsel or advice to have it done, or ever had any previous knowledge of such intentions, nor do I know to this minute any one man that was at the levelling of the said wall.

"2ndly. I declare that I never saw Herbert until the day of my trial, and that I never was at a meeting at Kilcoran; never heard an oath of allegiance proposed nor administered in my life to any sovereign king or prince; never knew any thing of the murder of Bridge, until I heard it publicly mentioned; nor did I know there was any such design on foot, and if I had I would have hindered it, if in my power.

"3rdly. The battle of Newmarket, for which I was tried—I declare I never was at Newmarket, nor do I know there was a rescue intended; nor do I believe did any man in the county of Tipperary.

"4thly. I declare that I never meant or intended rebellion, high treason, or massacre, or ever heard any such wicked scheme mentioned or proposed, nor do I believe there was any such matters in view, and if there was, that I am wholly ignorant of them.

"5thly. I declare that I never knew of either French or Spanish officers, commissions, or money paid to those poor ignorant fools called Whiteboys, or a man held in the light of a gentleman connected with them.

"I was often attacked, during my confinement in Kilkenny, by the Rev. Lawrence Brodrick (*l*) and the Rev. John Hewson, to make useful discoveries, by bringing in men of weight and fortune, that there was an intended rebellion and massacre, French officers, commissions, and money paid, and by so doing, that would procure my pardon, difficult as it was.

"The day after my trial, Edmund Bagnell came to me from the grand jury, and told me if I would put those matters in a clear light, that I would get my pardon. I made answer, that I would declare the truth, which would not be heard. Sir William Barker's son and Mr. Matthew Bunbury came to me the same evening, with words to the same purpose, to which I replied as before. Nothing on this occasion would give sufficient content, without my proving the above, and that the *priest died with a lie in his mouth*, which was the phrase Mr. Hewson (Hewetson) made use of. I sent for Sir Thomas Maude the day of my sentence, and declared to him the meeting at Drumlemmon, where I saw nothing remarkable, but two or three fellows, who stole hay from

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(*l*) Broderick was rector of Newcastle. His enmity to Father Sheehy arose, it would appear, out of the latter's opposition to Church Rates.

Mr. John Keating, were whipped, and sworn never to steal to the value of a shilling during life. I saw Thomas Bier there, which I told Sir Thomas and Mr. Bunbury, and begged of them never to give credit to Herbert, who knew nothing of the matter except what Bier knew.

"I do declare I saw Bier take a voluntary oath more than once, in the gaol of Clonmel, that he knew nothing of the murder; nor do I believe he did. May God forgive him, and the rest of those unhappy informers, and all those who had a hand in encouraging them to swear away innocent lives.

"I further declare, that I have endeavoured, as much as was in my power, to suppress this spirit of the Whiteboys, where I thought or suspected the least spark of it to remain.

"The above is a sincere and honest declaration, as I expect to see God; nor would I make any other for the universe, which must be clear to the gentlemen who offered me my life if I would comply. May the great God forgive them, and incline their hearts to truth, and suffer them not to be biassed, nor hurried on by party or particular prejudices, to persevere any longer in falsely representing those matters to the best of kings, and to the humanest and best of governments, which I pray God may long continue.

"I die, in the 33rd year of my age, an unworthy member of the Church of Rome; the Lord have mercy on my soul!—Amen! Amen!

"I was informed that Mr. Tennison's corn was burnt by one of his own servants, but accidentally, and that since my confinement; I thought so always.

"Signed by me this 2nd of May, 1766.

"EDMUND SHEEHY.

"Present—James Buxton, James Farrell."

"*A Copy of the Dying Declaration of James Buxton, of Kilcoran, in the County of Tipperary,*

for the murder of one John Bridge; John Toohy, and Thomas Bier, prosecutors; God forgive them. Whereas I, the said James Buxton, was arraigned at my trial, for having aided and assisted, and committed many flagrant crimes against his Majesty's law and government since the rise of the Whiteboys, upon the information of Michael Guinan and John Toohy. I thought it proper to disabuse the public, by this declaration, which I make to God and the world concerning my knowledge of these matters.

"First, as to the murder of John Bridge, I solemnly declare in the presence of God, before whose holy tribunal I shortly expect to appear, that I neither consulted nor advised, aided nor abbetted, nor had I the least notion of any one that did, to the killing of John Bridge; nor did my prosecutor, John Toohy, ever serve me an hour since I was born; neither did I ever, to the best of my knowledge, lay my eyes on him but one night, on the 18th September last, when he lay at my house and went by the name of Lucius O'Brien. He was pursued next morning by one William O'Brien, of Clonmel, whom he robbed of some clothes two days before, and was taken in Clogheen for the same robbery, and said O'Brien's clothes and other things were found upon him, for which he was committed to gaol and then turned approver.

"As to every other thing that Michael Guinan and said Toohy swore against me, I further solemnly declare, in the presence of my great God, that I neither did any such thing, nor was at any such meeting or levelling as they swore against me, except Drumlemmon, and upon the word of a dying man, neither of *them* was there. Nor was any man, upon the same word of a dying man, that was yet apprehended or suffered, in my belief concerned in the murder of Bridge; and that I verily believe and am persuaded that no prosecutor that yet appeared was present, or any way concerned in that murder, though Thomas Bier, God forgive him, swore that he and I were within two yards of John Bridge when he was murdered by Edmund Meehan with a stroke of a bill-hook.

"Secondly, I solemnly declare and protest in the presence of my great God, that I never heard nor ever learned of a rebellion intended in this kingdom, nor never heard of

nor ever saw any French officers, or French money coming into this country, nor ever heard that any merchants supplied or intended to supply any money for the Whiteboys, or for any other purpose; nor ever saw, heard, or could discover, that any allegiance was sworn to any prince or potentate in the world, but to his present majesty King George the Third; and I further declare, on my dying words, that I never knew nor discovered, nor even imagined, that any massacre whatsoever was intended against any person or persons in this kingdom. And I declare, in the presence of Almighty God, that I positively believe and am persuaded, that if any of the foregoing treacherous or treasonable combinations were to be carried on, I would have learned or heard something of them.

"Thirdly. That last Lent Assizes, in Kilkenny, where I stood indicted and was arraigned for the battle of Newmarket, that the Rev. John Hewetson and Rev. Lawrence Broderick tampered with me for six hours and more, setting forth the little chance I had for my life there at Kilkenny; and though I should, that I would have none at all in Clonmel, but that they would write Lord Carrick immediately to procure my freedom, if I would turn approver, and swear to an intended rebellion, treasonable conspiracies, and a massacre against the principal Popish clergy and gentlemen of my county, whose names they have set down in a long piece of paper; but wanted me particularly to swear against Squire Wyse, Philip Long, Dominick Farrell, Martin Murphy, Doctor Creagh, and Michael Lee, and that I should also swear the *Priest Sheehy* died with a lie in his mouth. Likewise, that I was at the battle of Newmarket and received a letter from one Edmund Tobin to be at said battle, and this in order to corroborate the informer Toohy's oath and the oaths of three of the light horse, who swore they saw me there. One in particular swore he broke his firelock on my head. Now, as I expect salvation from the hands of God, I neither received a message or letter, nor heard or discovered that this battle of Newmarket was to occur, nor any circumstance regarding it until it was advertised. And I further declare in the presence of my great God, that I never was nearer this place they call Newmarket than the turnpike road that leads from Dublin to Cork, for I never was two yards eastwards of that road. As to the schemes of the Whiteboys, as far I could find out in the parish of Tubrid, where I lived, I most solemnly declare before Almighty God nothing more was meant than the detection of thieves and rogues, which the said parish was of late remarkable for; an agreement to deal for tithes with none but the dean or minister whose tithe was of his or their immediate living; as to levelling, that I never found out any such thing to have been committed in said parish of any consequence but one ditch belonging to John Griffin, of Kilcoran; nor was I ever privy to any wall or ditch that ever was levelled by Whiteboys in the county of Tipperary or any other county.

"I also declare, that I never approved of the proceedings of levellers, and that my constant admonition to every person whom I thought concerned in such vile practices was to desist, for that the innocent would suffer for the guilty.

"Given under my hand this 2nd day of May, and the year 1766.

"JAMES BUXTON.

"Present—Edmund Sheehy, James Farrell."

The Declaration of James Farrell.

"As I am shortly to appear before the great God, where I expect, through the passion of our dear Redeemer, to be forgiven the many crimes and offences which I have committed against so great and just a God, I now sincerely forgive the world in general, and in particular them that have been the cause of wrongfully spilling my blood.

"1st, The crime for which I am to die, is the murder of John Bridge, and swearing at Kilcoran.

"2ndly, The burning of Joseph Tennison's corn, John Fearise's turf, and all other things that belonged to the Whiteboys.

"3rdly, The battle of Newmarket, which I stood a trial for in Kilkenny;—I now declare to the great tribunal, that I am as innocent of all the aforesaid facts which I have been impeached with, as the child unborn, in either counsel, aiding, assisting, or knowledge of said facts. I therefore think it conscionable to declare what the following gentlemen wanted me to do, in order to spill innocent blood, which was not in the power of any man in the world to perform.

"These are the gentlemen as follow: The Revd. John Hewetson, John Bagwell, Matthew Bunbury, Mr. Toler, William Bagnell, Edmund Bagnell, and some of the light horse officers. The day I was condemned they came along with me from the court-house to the gaol, where they carried me into a room, and told me it was in my power to save my life. I asked them how? If I swore against the following persons, they told me they could get my pardon.

"The people are as follows: Martin Murphy and Philip Long, both of Waterford, and some other merchants of Cork; likewise Bishop Creagh and Lord Dunboyne's brother, and a good many other clergymen; likewise James Nagle, Robert Keating, John Purcell, Thomas Doherty, Thomas Long, John Baldwin, Thomas Butler of Grange, and Nicholas Lee, with a great many others of the gentlemen of the county and responsible farmers, to be encouraging French officers, enlisting men for the French service, to raise a rebellion in this kingdom, and to distribute French money.

4thly, If in case they should get a person to do all these things, it would not do without swearing to the murder of John Bridge, to corroborate with the rest of the informers, and strengthen their evidence.

"5thly, I solemnly declare to his Divine Majesty, I was never present at the levelling of a ditch or wall in my life, nor never was at a meeting belonging to Whiteboys in my life.

"6thly, I likewise declare, that I had neither hand, act, nor part, in bringing James Herbert from the county of Limerick, and also declare, to the best of my knowledge, he swore not one word of truth, and, in particular, what he swore against me was undoubtedly false.

"The great God bless all my prosecutors, and all other persons that had hand, act, or part, in spilling my blood innocently, which the Divine tribunal knows to be so.

"Given under my hand, this 30th day of April, 1766.

"JAMES FARRELL.

"They also wanted me to swear against Thomas Butler, of Ballyknock, Edmund Doherty, and Philip Hacket.

"In the presence of us:—Edmund Sheehy, James Buxton, Catherine Farrell" (*m*).



(m) The informations of Toohy and Mary Butler are in the Records of the King's Bench P.R.O. The dying declarations were printed in *Exshaw's Magazine.*

CHAPTER XIX.

"OUR LADYE OF YNISLAUNAGHT."

THE Suir pictures in its waters the ruins of many a castle and abbey, yet of these, few in this day were more remarkable for age and beauty (*sive vetustatem sive venustatem spectes*, says Ware) than the abbey of Innislounaght. It stood about two miles west of Clonmel, where the river gives a sharp turn to the north, and from its situation was called "De Surio" by the Latin annalists. The Irish name, Inis Leamnacta "Holme of the new milk," is a word-picture of the place—the slope, sunny and verdant, dipping down to the river, and dotted over with numerous cattle. The situation is charming, for the monks of old as keenly appreciated the beauties of nature as of art. Yet the elements of beauty—mountain, wood and water—were the very conditions of their vocation. The mountain gave isolation from the world, "trees and stones could teach them what they could not learn from masters" (St. Bernard to Henry Murdock), and from the river they could obtain the fish which formed so large a part of their dietary.

The abbey, which was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, stood about three hundred paces north of the river, and seemingly occupied the western portion of the present graveyard. An attempt was made in August 1840, by O'Donovan and others of the Ordnance Survey, to trace the foundations, but it was wholly unsuccessful. The letters on the subject in the Memoirs (R.I.A.) are mostly abusive of a local family, and seeing that an arch of the old church was standing some seventy years ago, the popular story is not improbable that the ruins were used as a quarry for the neighbouring mills and mansions. There is, however, incorporated with the present Protestant church, a Romanesque doorway of four orders, the columns of which are gone, but the

scalloped capitals remain. The sharpness of the stone work and a peculiar leaf ornamentation resembling an acanthus make it improbable that this is a genuine part of the oldest abbey buildings. Two sepulchral slabs also survive, one of which is inscribed in Lombardic characters of the thirteenth century, but there is no further vestige of departed greatness. At the dissolution of the monastries, an inquisition held in Cashel "found" the abbot seized in fee of a church and belfry, a hall, dormitory, four rooms, a cloister containing two acres, with various lands and houses.

A very early origin has been assigned to the abbey of Innislounaght. Colgan *conjectured*, and Harris and Archdale—mere compilers—*affirmed* that Innislounaght was identical with Inis Damhle where St. Pulcherius founded a monastery early in the seventh century. Later and more accurate inquirers, amongst them O'Donovan, our master topographer, have demonstrated that the monastery of Inisdamhle was in "Little Island," below Waterford *(n)*. Apart from the reference in the 34th chapter of the life of St. Pulcherius, there is no ground for the statement that the abbey of Suir was an old Irish monastic establishment. Like its two Cistercian sisters on the same river—Holy Cross and Dunbrody—it belonged to the second period of Irish monasticism, the twelfth century. Its exact date, however, is not easy to determine. St. Bernard *(o)* tells us that in his time Mellifont had five "daughters," one of these being "Suir" (Suriense). If this be the abbey of Innislounaght, as there seems no reason to doubt, it must have been founded between 1142 and 1148, for St. Malachy who died in the latter year, visited Suriense to which he presented its first lay-brother *(p)*. The then abbot was Congan, whom St. Bernard styles "his dear friend," and at whose request the charming Life of St. Malachy was undertaken. Congan seems to have been a practical sort of man, for in supplying the material to St. Bernard he says that he wants not style but matter *(non eloquium sed narratio)*. At this period, however, it would appear that the Cistercians had no settled establishment at Innislounaght, for we find several later dates assigned for the foundation *(q)*. These presumably are the dates of the endowments, the great benefactors being Malachy O'Phelan, lord of the Decies, and Donald O'Brien, king of Munster. The lands given by each would, I suppose, be roughly estimated by the portions of the parish of Innislounaght lying in the counties of

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(n) Colgan Acta, 295, Chap. II.; Ware's Annals, ad an 1184; Archdall at Innislounaght; O'Donovan's Works *passim*.

(o) Life of St. Malachy, Chap. VI. and IX. Ed. Messingham.

(p) Ibid.

(q) 1148, MS. Dunensis; 1159, E. 3, T.C.D., Liber Statutorum Cist. Hib.; 1184, Harris; 1187, Ware.

Waterford and Tipperary respectively. Part, indeed, of O'Phelan's territory lay north of the river, for his residence, Dún Uí Faolain, west of the abbey, was pointed out in Keating's time *(r)*.

For many years subsequent to its foundation we learn little of the history of the abbey. It is probable that many historic personages entered its portals from time to time. Henry II. on his way from Lismore to Cashel, would cross the Suir at a ford hard by; and Cambrensis tells us that Donald O'Brien, the great benefactor of Innislounaght, came to the water of the Suir to sue the king for peace. King John enfeoffed the abbot and convent, in frankalmoign, of a meadow in Glannewaydan *(s)*, a return probably for hospitality received while in the neighbourhood, monasteries being the hotels of the period. Hither also came in 1236 to lay his bones amongst the Cistercians, whose habit he had put on, Archbishop Malmaire O'Brien, who gave Cashel its corporate existence *(t)*. But the prayers and labours of the good monks were often disturbed by other causes than the advent of an Irish chief or Norman baron. It was a time of trouble, and the monks had their share. In 1227 the king found it necessary to write to the Justiciary granting protection to the abbot, his tenants, chattels, and possessions, and help to recover what had been plundered *(u)*. It is not improbable that some of the troubles arose from grants of the lands of neighbouring chiefs being made by the English to the abbey. This at least is certain, that the disputes were accompanied by violence and bloodshed, for in 1230 a statute passed at a General Chapter in Citeaux enjoined the abbots of England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland, "with lighted candles on the days when a sermon is preached in the Chapter," to denounce as excommunicated the murderers and their abettors of the abbot of Fermoy and a monk of Innislounaght. Nor did the monks fare better in their legal contests. The abbot went to law with the abbot of Dunbrody, the result being that he was sentenced at a general Chapter of the Order in 1234 to be excommunicated, and deposed if it should appear the action was illegal *(v)*. Likely enough the abbot proved refractory, for a colony of English Cistercians from Furness was introduced in 1240, and nine years later, by a formal act of the General Chapter at Citeaux, Innislounaght, with three other houses, were transferred from the jurisdiction of Mellifont to that of Furness.

For many years subsequent to this, as far as can be gleaned, the monks of Innislounaght followed their vocation in peace; the only notices we get of

(r) History, 275.
(s) State Papers.
(t) Ware's Bishops.
(u) State Papers.
(v) Capit. of St. Mary's Dublin.

them are when they appear in the king's courts to protect their property. On May 9th, 1283, they complained to the king that his bailiffs were distraining the lands of Tachkerach which had been held from time immemorial, quit of all suit. Again, a few years later, they prayed the king for a special order to his escheator restoring them their meadow in Glannewaydan which one of their abbots originally leased to the le Poers. They did not always appear as plaintiffs. In 1311 Michael de Lanstafford, as son and heir of William, sued the abbot for 9 acres arable and 4 turbary in Lithbalyfufue. The abbot pleaded that William was never possessed of such lands, and left the decision to a jury *(w)*. This same abbot was sued by William de Mouner for the sum of ten marks, and the sheriff was ordered to arrest the abbot and produce his body in court *(x)*. The default may be explained by an entry which occurs on the Patent Roll four years later, 1317 *(y)*, recording the payment by bond of £255 to Richard Walsh for his services in the war against Edward Bruce. The bond had been given by the abbot and convent of Innislounaght to the "Merchants of the Society of Ricards de Luca," from whom it passed to the king. The abbey must have been in financial difficulties, for these merchants were the money-lenders of the time, and the sum was more than five times the income, which appears in the taxation of 1306 as £50.

The glimpses we catch of Innislounaght during the next two centuries are exceedingly few. In 1377 the abbot obtained a writ of protection against his rapacious neighbours. Twenty years later an event is chronicled more in keeping with the peaceful character of the abbey. "On the Sunday next before the Octave of St. Michael," the Earls of Desmond and Ormond met at Innislounaght "and an end was put to all their controversies by a mutual engagement to preserve a strict peace and amity" *(z)*. The "controversies," as the annalist euphemistically styles the murderous cattle-lifting, soon broke out worse than ever, and it is more than probable that during this century the din of arms was often heard within the monastic walls. Moreover, as the English power contracted, the "Irishrie" gained admittance into the monasteries, elected abbots of their own nationality, and threw off the yoke of the English mother-houses. Even with Mellifont they would have nothing to do. An abbot of that house wrote to the Pope that "for a full hundred years none from the remoter districts from any of the Irish Cistercian houses could be induced by promises, or threats, or friendship, to visit their superior *(aa)*.

(w) Archdall.
(x) Ibid.
(y) 11, Ed. II., p. 2, n. 77.
(z) Lodge Ed. Archdale.
(aa) Theiner.

Theiner has given us some particulars of the struggle in Innislounaght. On the death of Abbot Patrick in 1462, Richard Loundres had himself elected abbot. An Irish claimant appeared in the person of Dermot O'Heffernan, a monk of Holy Cross. The Pope being satisfied that Dermot was possessed of zeal, purity, sanctity, foresight in spirituals and tact in temporals, referred the case to the Archbisbop of Cashel, Dermot alleging that he could not expect justice in the diocese of Lismore *(super praemissis non speret in civitate vel diocesi Lismorensi posse consequi justitie complementum).* The archbishop who lived outside the Pale, after citing Loundres and the others concerned, gave judgment, as we might expect, in favour of O'Heffernan. But the monks demurred, and one of them, William O'Dineen, made grave charges *(excessus et crimina)* to the Holy See against the new abbot. These charges were probably sustained by the Bishop of Lismore, for apostolic letters were directed to that prelate empowering him to remove O'Heffernan and appoint O'Dineen. Someone "peached," and O'Heffernan contrived to intercept the letters in England, but none the less was cited by the Bishop. Thomas O'Flatwayn (O'Flavin), Canon of Lismore, by delegation tried the case, formally deposed O'Heffernan and appointed Dineen. O'Heffernan appealed to the Pope, but ultimately withdrew the appeal, and Paul II. on 21st January, 1468, confirmed the sentence and gave peace to the long distracted abbey. O'Dineen was succeeded by Thomas Ochael who was provided by Innocent VIII., 19th May, 1492. Walter Butler appears as abbot in 1503 and 1509, being succeeded in 1510 by James Butler, the last who held the temporalities.

The abbey had now become completely Irish; evidence of this fact is furnished by a lease made by this James. Instead of the feudal services we find coyne and livery, the abbot being transformed into a chief, the tenants into clansmen. The lease was executed by the abbot "with the consent of his convent" on the 10th December, 1519, and granted to Thomas Butler, a layman, the grange of Loughkyrraghe for the term of sixty years on condition that the said Thomas build a chapel in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary, pay a rent of 13s. 4d., "together with the support of twenty-four men at the feast of Christmas or 6s. 8d. instead, of sixteen at Easter or 4s. 3d., and all other dues which are included under the name of coynaghy" *(bb).*

The Butler family who now obtained control of the abbey appear to have been a branch of the Cahir house. The picture of Abbot Butler which the lease affords—setting out at Christmas and Easter to "cosher" on his tenants; himself and his twenty-four followers hunting by day, eating and drinking

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(bb) Record Off., Dublin, 1 D., Inquis. Tip., Chief Rem., Hen. VIII., No. 14.

by night—is more piquant than pious. As the abbot, so the community. We look in vain for the successors of Bernard and Malachy of Congan and Malmaire. Some four or five men, calling themselves Cistercians, monopolised the thousands of acres belonging to the abbey. They lived like the gentry around them, half chiefs, half lords, and they had all the aristocratic vices. Amid the hundreds of religious houses which studded the country at the time of the Reformation, Innislounaght stood distinguished and alone in evil prominence *(cc)*.

On the 3rd February, 1538, Henry VIII. in pursuance of his new ecclesiastical policy, commissioned *(dd)* Allen, the Chancellor, Browne, the royal nominee in the see of Dublin and others, to inquire where in Ireland any remarkable images or relics might be to which the simple people repaired through superstition, or through the circuit of which they used go as pilgrims *(ubi infra dictam terram Hibernie alique notabiles ymagines, vel reliquie fuerunt ad quas simplices popul[ ] superstitiose convenire, ac tanquam vagantes peregrine ambulare et vagare solebant)*. The commissioners plied their business well; whatever they touched turned into gold, and we find duly recorded "£3 7s. 6d. for the price of divers silver or holy crosses in the late abbeys of Kilcooly and Innislaunagh" *(ee)*. They were further empowered on 7th April to receive surrenders of the religious houses from abbots and other superiors, and to grant to those so surrendering licence to exchange the monastic habit and accept benefices from the king.

Before hanging the dog, Henry proceeded to give him a bad name. "From the information of trustworthy persons, it being manifestly apparent that the monasteries, abbies, priories, and other places of religious or regulars in Ireland are in such a state that in them the praise of God and the welfare of man are next to nothing regarded: the regulars and nuns dwelling there being so addicted, partly to their own superstitious ceremonies, partly to the pernicious worship of idols and to the pestiferous doctrines of the Romish pontiff, that unless an effectual remedy," etc. *(ff)*. As Henry's main object was to get hold of the monastic property *(gg)*, the monks had their revenge by

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(cc) The jury of the City of Waterford presented *inter alia* to the King's Commissioners 12th October, 1537:—

"That in the same quarter of Tipperary howe James Butler Abbot of Innislonaght and deane of lysmore, hath sundry times disobeyed the king's writ and is a man of odyous lif, taking yerely and daily mennes wifs and burges daughters and kepeth no devyne service but spendeth the goods of his churche in veluptuousytie and morgageth the lands of his churche and so the house is all decayed, and useth coygne and lyvery."

This is confirmed with other particulars by the Clonmel jury.

(dd) Rot. Comp., Hen. VIII., ex Pub. Rec. Rep., 1810-15, Pl. vi.

(ee) Mant. I., 161.

(ff) Morrin I., 55.

(gg) For this see Morrin I., 73, 84; Mant I., 183; State Papers II., 130, etc., etc.

alienating as much of their estates as they could *(hh)*. But the abbot and brethren of Innislounaght were too dutiful subjects to do anything of that kind, and on the 6th of April, 1539, they voluntarily surrendered the abbey and its possessions. On the 10th of April the commissioners "for the lymyting, appointing, and gyving convenient lyvings or pencons unto the heedes or governors and religious persones of soche houses," granted to the following "conventual persones," for their "lyfes naturall," in "lawffull money of Irelande," William Cahill 40s., Mathew Cahill 40s., Maurice Keyny and Edmund Cahill 20s., issuing out of Enislawnaght *(ii)*. The abbot, James Butler, on the 30th of April, 1540, was collated to the vicarage of the church of St. Patrick's Well, receiving the altarages and oblations with a "pencon" of £5 6s. 8d. *(jj)*. This church was a rectory appropriate to the abbey. The abbot survived his degradation nine years, his successor in the vicarage, Thady Conway, being presented 19th September, 1549.

Now that the abbey was suppressed, the distribution of the monastic inheritance began. Two days after the surrender the Lord Deputy, Grey, secured a lease for the Tipperary portion of the estates, whilst the Treasurer, Lord James Butler, on the 30th June was granted those in the Co. Waterford. The latter comprised thousands of acres, in fact the whole of the present parish of Innislounaght, situated in the Co. Waterford—being described in the lease as extending from "the bounds of Kilmanahan Castle on the west to the bounds of the Clonmel burgagery lands on the east." So little was conscience concerned in those transactions that Catholics freely took their share in the plunder. Grey professed himself a sincere Catholic. Amongst those having subordinate interests we find the Brays, Barrons, and Brennocks of Clonmel, whose faith was proved later on. David White and his wife "Sawerie" Burke, nothing loath, made their abode in Grenane Castle, being succeeded by John Aylward, Ormond's steward. If the Catholics had any scruples, they were set at rest by the Bull of Paul IV. Besides, the grants in many instances brought the same profits as if they conveyed so much real estate in the moon. For the Desmonds, in the elegant phraseology of Cox, long "played the devils" in the neighbourhood. Mary, the wife of John Aylward, wrote to Elizabeth to be released from the rents as the lands had "remained waste above three years in consequence of the troubles there by undutiful subjects." The queen granted the prayer in consideration of her offer "to build and re-edify the castles, houses and churches upon the lands which the

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(hh) State Papers, p. 41.
(ii) Rec. Off., Dublin, 14 Fiants Hen. VIII., An. xxxi., 72.
(jj) Ibid, No. 509.

rebels had lately burned and otherwise spoiled" *(kk)*. Cormac Mac Teigue McCarthy, "the rarest man," says Cox, "that was ever born of the Irishry," got for his services against the Desmonds a grant in fee-farm of the abbey and lands. He held them just four years, could make nothing of them presumably, and on the 25th October, 1580, alienated them to Edward Gough of Clonmel. Gough's sons, James and Thomas, inherited them successively, but they were forfeited in the wars of 1641 by Patrick, son of Thomas.

Meanwhile, like ghosts of the things that had been, the Cistercians still flitted round the ruined walls of Innislounaght. They had an abbot too, Nicholas Fagan, the son of a distinguished Waterford citizen who, after reading philosophy at home, proceeded to Salamanca and Rome where he finished his theological course. Through the influence of Lombard, his townsman, he was appointed by the Pope abbot of Innislounaght. His life and virtues, like the sunset rays, shed a glamour upon the decaying abbey. He died in 1617. Laurence Fitzharris, a native of New Ross, was consecrated abbot in Waterford on Trinity Sunday, 1625, by Fleming, Archbishop of Dublin. He had the happiness of presiding over his community within the old abbey from 1641–49, and was present at the historic synod of Waterford 1646. On the collapse of the Irish cause he escaped to the Continent, and died there during the Cromwellian *régime*. With him passed away Innislounaght Abbey *de jure* as well as *de facto*.

Though no vestige of the buildings exists, the history of the abbey is written indelibly on the face of the district. The Clonmel citizen takes his boat at "the Island" (Ilean Tybraghevyne of the leases), once part of the abbey possessions, rows up the river, passing with difficulty the monastery weirs of Grenane and Glenbane. He lands at Marlfield on soil fertilized by the labours of twelve generations of monks. Hard by is the village of "Abbey," now almost a name. The monks' "grange," or "outside farm," is not far off; their "territory" (Farranamanach) and their Daile, *ville*, or homestead (Monkstown), survive in local names. Our citizen taking a circle of a mile radius, could hardly step outside the abbey estate. The acreage given in Archdall and the Patent Rolls *(ll)* was only a guess (and a very bad

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(kk) Morrin, Patent Rolls, Elizabeth.

(ll) 16 Jas. I., LXIV., No. 28. Grant to Sir James Gough, Knt., 10th December, 1618:—

The site ambit or precinct of the late abbey of Innislawnaght; the church of said abbey; 100 acres arable of its demesne lands of Innislawnaght; 1000 acres mountain, wood, underwood and common of pasture in Waterford county parcel of demesne lands; 7 messuages, 45 acres arable, 11 cottages, 2 water mills, 3 eel weirs, 1 salmon weir, a small island containing an acre; the grange of Innislawnaght; one messuage with garden, 60 acres arable, 20 acres pasture; Ballyorcley or Ballyorley, 120 acres arable, 40 acres pasture; Kilmolash 60 acres arable, 40 acres pasture; Loghkeragh alias Loghtikeragh 60 acres arable and 40 acres pasture; Grangeharvey 60 acres arable, 40 acres pasture; Killmaveigh alias Kilmaire 60 acres arable, 40 acres pasture; the predial

one) at the actual contents. Suffice it to say that the estate, the glory of the abbey and its danger, comprised almost the whole of the present parish of Innislounaght, some 8,993 acres. If it had not been so extensive it were better for the monks themselves, and the cupidity of the powerful would never have been excited. But though "the cares of this world and the deceitfulness of riches" choked the old monastic spirit, yet that spirit never dies. Two hundred years later, there came again from sunny France another colony of Cistercians to begin at no great distance off, a career which promises a more lasting and far-reaching influence for good than that of Innislounaght.

ST. PATRICK'S WELL.

This as an old Celtic sanctuary, goes back to a period long prior to the great Cistercian foundation which afterwards overshadowed it. As stated in Chapter I., there are good grounds for believing it was hallowed by the National Apostle. The rude stone cross which stands in the stream is of the earliest Irish type, and cannot belong to a period more recent than the eleventh century. That an Irish Romanesque chapel once stood in the place there is also evidence. Built into the doorway pier of the existing structure may be seen a fragment of the earlier work. It is a small sandstone coign, with an exceedingly delicate chevron ornament. The chevron is formed by a shallow bead outside which is a row of pellets. The bead encloses a flower evidently reminiscent of the Greek anthemion, the whole design being almost identical with that in the inner order of the chancel arch of the "Nun's

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personal and mixt tithes of Killnaveigh; a messuage and garden in Clonmel at the East Gate; the rectory of Innislounaght, and the tithes of hay and grain of the towns of Innislounaght, Grangeharvey, Grange, Ballyorcley, Kilmolash and Loghkeragh.

Co. Waterford. The manor of Killnemack, 60 acres arable and pasture, 80 acres wood; the rectory of Glanwydan with predial, personal and mixt tithes; the castles, lands, etc. of Curraghnemanagh, Grenane, Inismore, Killmoghonie alias Killmocom, Muic Keanan, Dromcure alias Dromcouragh, Knocknecurragh; the marshall lands and marshal weirs of Glanbane and all other lands and weirs within the limits of the castle of Kilmanehin from the west, to the bounds of the burgage of Clonmel lying in length on the east; the mill field alias Gort millen; the Dean's field; Gortard; and the field of Clonmel; the mill of Tipperheny, Lemlisse Molleran alias Killmereran or Killvereran, all being parcel of the late dissolved abbey of Innislounaght, Ballyorley, St. Patrick's, Monkstown and Killeneran or any of them. To hold to said Sir James and his heirs male, remainder to the heir male of the body of Sir Edward Gough, remainder to the Crown.

During the Cromwellian regime, in pursuance of an Order in Parliament to settle lands of £200 yearly value on Colonel Heirome Sankey, Governor of Clonmel Precinct, an order was made by the Clonmel Commissioners granting him "the castle of Kilmanahan and the farm of Grenane with these appurtenances and all other lands reputed to belong to Innislounaght, all which belonged to Patrick Gough and were forfeited." The survey was made by Mr. Thomas Jackson and Mr. Richard Osborne and is dated 14th November, 1653. The acreage was, Kilmanahan 317 ac., Kilnamack 334 ac., Grenane 128 ac., Abbey Slenaght *(sic)* 591 ac. with 150 ac., and Garricane 52 ac. In all 1424 acres 18 per., worth in 1640, 2s. 6d. per ac., meadow 8s. per ac.—Council Books, Brit. Mus.

Church" at Clonmacnoise *(mm)*. It would appear that though the parish became merged in Innislounaght the church remained, the canonical status of a rectory appropriate being preserved. For on the dissolution of the abbey the former abbot, James Butler, was presented by the Crown to "the vicarage of St. Patrick's Well." In the Protestant visitations of 1588 and 1617 there is no mention whatever of the chapelry, and the Catholics seem to have re-possessed themselves of the place. The existing structure probably dates back to the seventeenth century, and was constructed by them as the parish chapel of Abbey. The Franciscans, it would appear, served the parish, and doubtless at their instance the following Papal Bull was issued.

PAULUS QUINTUS universis Christi fidelibus præsentes litteras inspecturis salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Ad augendam fidelium religionem et animarum salutem, celestis Ecclesiæ thesauris pia charitate nitente omnibus utriusque sexus fidelibus vere penitentibus et confessis ac Sacra Communione refectis qui ecclesiam Sancti Patricii Abbatiæ de Surio Cisterciensis Ordinis Lismorensis diocesis in Hiberniæ in Pentecostes ac ejusdem Sancti Patritii festis diebus a primis vesperis usque ad occasum solis dierum dictorum singulis annis devote visitaverint et ibi pro Christianorum principum concordia, hæresiarum extirpatione ae Sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ exaltatione pias ad Deum preces effuderint quo die prædictorum id egerint plenariam omnium peccatorum suorum indulgentiam ac remissionem misericorditer in Domino concedimus, præsentibus ad triginta annos valituris, Volumus autem ut si aliis Christi fidelibus dictam ecclesiam visitantibus aliquam aliam indulgentiam perpetuam vel ad tempus nondum elapsum duraturam concesserimus præsentes nullæ sint. Datum Romæ apud Sanctam Mariam Majorem sub annulo piscatoris die sexto Martis anno millessimo sexcentessimo undevicessimo pontificatus nostri anno decimo quarto.

[*Translation.*]

PAUL THE FIFTH to every one of Christ's faithful who shall see this present letter, greeting and apostolic benediction. For the increase of religion and the good of souls, we grant through our pious charity, out of the heavenly treasures of the church, mercifully in the Lord, full indulgence and remission of the temporal punishment of sin, to all the faithful of either sex who truly penitent, having gone to confession and Holy Communion, visit the church of St. Patrick of the Abbey of Suir, belonging to the Cistercian Order in the diocese of Lismore, Ireland. Such visit to be devoutly made on the feast of Pentecost or the feast of St. Patrick, any time from First Vespers to Sunset on the feast day, the person so visiting to pray for peace among Christian rulers, for the uprooting of heresies and the exaltation of Holy Mother Church. The present grant is to be valid for thirty years. We will also that the present grant be null and void in the case of persons to whom already a plenary or partial indulgence has been granted for visiting said church. Given at Rome in St. Mary Majors' under the ring of the Fisherman on the sixth day of March in the year one thousand, six hundred nineteen, the fourteenth of our pontificate.

(mm) A woodcut by Jewitt will be found at p. 80 of Miss Stokes' Early Christian Art in Ireland, wrongly described however, as "Moulding Tuaim Greine." The date of the "Nun's Church" is 1167.

The little chapel is said to have been used for Catholic worship until the close of the eighteenth century. At the "savage period," as Edmund Burke describes it, 1760–66, returns of the Protestant and Popish families were made to parliament. Rev. Joseph Moore, Vicar of Clonmel, reported:—

Like return for the Parish of Inislonaght in the Diocese of Lismore and County of Tipperary by the said Moore, Curate.

Number of Protestant Families ... 16
Do. „ Popish do. ... 202

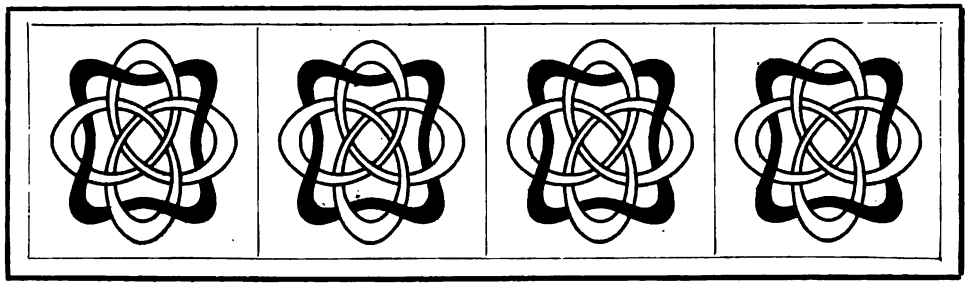
One popish priest who lives in and has the parish of Clonmel, One Fryar (*nn*).

The friar here mentioned was probably the last Catholic vicar of St. Patrick's Well as a separate parish *(oo)*.



(nn) Parliamentary Returns, P.R.O.

(oo) The above indulgence does not afford, it will be observed, any warranty for the "thurrus" made at the well. The probability is that the latter belonged to what may be termed pre-historic religion. The pilgrim began with seven Paters and Aves, and the Creed. Then he waded the stream to the cross round which he went, saying the same prayers as before. Returning to the starting place, he repeated the whole, after which he proceeded to the chapel where the seven Paters and Aves with the Creed were said for the third time. The altar was kissed three times in honour of the Blessed Trinity, after which the well was visited and three Paters and Aves said. Seven Paters and Aves with the Creed were now recited while making the round of the well. This concluded the "thurras."



CHAPTER XX.

DONOUGHMORE.

CHURCHES of this name had special honour amongst the holy places of early Christian Ireland. Even as far back as the tenth century we find them regarded with all the reverence due to hoary antiquity; legend was busy about them; they were associated with particular events in the life of the National Apostle, and their erection assigned to him by universal tradition. Their name, too, formed the subject of curious etymological speculation. In one of the oldest lives of St. Patrick we read:—

"He stayed in the district of Kennact [Kennaght barony, Co. Derry] for seven Sundays, and laid the foundation of seven churches, which he accordingly styled *Dominicas*" *(pp)*.

Jocelyn, a monk of Furness, wrote in the twelfth century:—

"The saint was accustomed if he happened to found a church where he spent a Sunday, to call it Domnach, that is Dominica" *(qq)*.

Again:—

"Every place Patrick used to remain on a Sunday is called Domnach Mor" *(rr)*.

Notwithstanding the venerable authority of this explanation, and sanctioned though it is by Reeves and O'Donovan, we are constrained to reject it. The word ᴅomnaċ is confessedly the low Latin *Dominicum* introduced with Christianity into Ireland. Now, at the period of its

(pp) Colgan Trias Thaum, l. ii., c. 119.
(qq) Ed. Messingham, Paris, 1629, p. 42.
(rr) E. 3, 18, T.C.D., quoted by Reeves, Proc. R.I.A., vii., 488.

introduction it is certain that *Dominicum* meant "the Lord's House" as well as "the Lord's Day." Many proofs of this may be found in the works of contemporary Fathers. St. Jerome, for instance, writes:—

"In Antiochia Dominicum quod apellatur Aureum ædificari cœptum" *(ss)*.

Indeed, our "church" and the Scotch "kirk" are kindred terms from the Greek "kyriakon"; while the German "Dom" is the direct representative of *Dominicum*. The distinctive appellation mór was added, as it would seem, not to indicate the size, but rather the dignity or precedence of the church.

Though it is probable that Donoughmore was a Patrician foundation, it is not so stated in any of the numerous lives of the saint. The Tripartite, and Jocelyn's which appears to be mainly based on it, relate St. Patrick's visit to Magh Feimhin, as the part of Lismore diocese north of the Suir used to be called. A life of St. Declan, written in the eleventh century *(tt)* gives a rather circumstantial account of the visit, and the meeting of the two saints at Inbeoin na n-Déis now Mullaghnony. This, in view of the fact that the principal church of the locality for ages was Donoughmore, affords a reasonable presumption that the foundation belonged to St. Patrick. Further, about 950, we find mention of a coarb of St. Patrick in connection with the church. The *Liber Kilkenniensis* in Marsh's Library enumerates some twenty-three saints "descended from the family of St. Mida" [St. Ita of Kilmeaden], amongst whom is "St. Faranan of Donoughmore in Magh-Femin." The pedigree describes him as the "son of Ronan, who was the son of Fiach, who was the son of Fintan . . . . Maclassius . . . . Carnech . . . . Escleronius . . . . Nicbronius . . . . Brofinnius . . . . Eugenius . . . . Artcorb." After ruling Donoughmore for some years, Bishop Farannan, with the true Irish instinct for travel, betook himself to the Continent, and settled at Valcoidore, now Waser, on the banks of the Meuse. Here he passed away, 30th April, 982, and here his relics are still venerated and his name held in benediction *(uu)*. At the synod probably of Rathbresail in 1115, Donoughmore was merged in the diocese of Lismore, and its lands, like those of the other ancient monastic Sees of Mothel and Ardmore, passed to the bishops of Lismore. A manuscript in the British Museum of the year 1544 states that the bishop's lands of Donoughmore consist of two and a half ploughlands worth four pence per acre; that a manor court is held there the

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(ss) Chron. Olymp. 276 Au.

(tt) Ussher MSS., T.C.D., known to me only by a transcript, made in 1627, by Dr. Thomas Arthur, whose "Fee Book" was published in the Journal of the R.S.A.I. some years since.

(uu) Our hagiologists from the O'Clerys and Colgan to O'Hanlon, have laboured to connect St. Faranan with the See of Armagh. But the fact is the coarbship of Patrick did not necessarily imply the tenure of the archbishopric of Armagh. For instance, a succession of coarbs of Patrick was kept up at Trim, a church founded by the saint.

"pleas and perquisites" of which are valued at eight pounds yearly. At the death of Patrick Walsh in 1578, a commission was issued and an inquisition taken at Donoughmore 14th April, 1579. The jurors found *inter alia* that "the aforesaid bishop in right of his bishopric was seized in demesne as of fee of the town of Donoughmore containing twenty acres great measure, and that Theobald Butler knight [of Cahir] holds the town aforesaid for a term of years by lease of the bishop subject to the rent of four marks" *(vv)*. The only other vestige of former eminence which Donoughmore retained was that, on the creation of the chapter of Lismore, the parish was constituted one of the prebends. The right of presentation was vested in the bishop, for in 1355, during a vacancy in the see, we find the king *jure devoluto* presenting Nicholas de Chedelyngtoun. The church has been in ruins since the Reformation, if not before. It has, however, suffered less from time than from vandalism. Not a stone of the triple chancel arch is now to be found; the face of the canopy which covered the west doorway has been completely torn away, together with the outer order of the doorway itself. In 1883, under the National Monuments Act, 32 & 33 Vic., c. 42, the Commissioners of Public Works took charge of the ruin and, under the judicious care of Sir Thomas Deane, such repairs were effected as are likely to preserve it for ages to come.

Donoughmore is probably one of the best existing specimens of Irish-Romanesque. Though modest in its proportions and character, it perfectly exhibits that combination of early Irish and foreign elements which has given rise to a variety of Romanesque distinctively national. Compare it for example with the Church of St. Laurence, Bradford-on-Avon, built at the same period. Both are about the same size; both consist of a nave and chancel, and in each, unlike Continental churches, the chancel is square-ended not apsidal *(ww)*. But here the likeness ends; the Church of St. Laurence, like the Romanesque churches of the Continent, has a low-pitched roof, that of Donoughmore was lofty and acute angled, presenting the old Irish symbol of the ark, so striking a feature in oratories of the Gallarus type. Again, the doorway and windows of Donoughmore have the inclined jambs characteristic of earlier or "cyclopean" buildings, while the openings in the English church are quite perpendicular. The detail affords evidence of the same combination of Irish and foreign elements. Side by side with native scroll work we find ornament of

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(vv) At the disestablishment of the Protestant Church in 1869, Donoughmore, containing 395 acres, plantation measure, was leased to Charles Manners St. George for £307 in perpetuity.

(ww) It is curious that in the case of Cormac's Chapel, built entirely under foreign influence, there are some features which go to show that the builders were at first inclined to make the chancel apsidal.

unmistakably classic origin. The only attempt at decoration in St. Laurence's Church is panelling or arcading, in all respects similar to that found in the Romanesque churches of France, the Rhine, and Italy. The masonry in Donoughmore is excellent rubble throughout, built not in courses, but on the dove-tail system—the stones fitted to one another. The doorway and windows are of the best close-jointed ashlar, much superior to work of the same period found in England.

In accordance with the custom introduced by St. Patrick, which became a law to the Irish, the church is of diminutive size. Its dimensions are:—

Nave, 39 ft. 6 in. × 23 ft. 5 in. internally.
Chancel, 12 ft. 6 in. × 8 ft. 6 in. internally.

In accordance also with the primitive custom of making the building at once a church and a cell or dwelling, we find provision for the resident ecclesiastic over the chancel *(xx)*. This consisted of an attic entered by a doorway immediately over the chancel arch, and lighted by a narrow window in the east gable. After placing the door of the church against the stone jambs, and securing it on the inside by the bota builtig—i.e., a stout ash pole, the ends of which were inserted in holes in opposite sides of the doorway *(yy)*—our ecclesiastic, Crusoe-like, reached his habitation by a ladder which he probably pulled up after him.

The chancel is somewhat displaced; the axis at the junction of the nave and chancel being six inches nearer to the north wall of the nave than the true axis. This displacement is not accidental, for we find it also in Cormac's Chapel, with the difference that the chancel is moved south instead of north. A fanciful antiquarian suggests that the church was intended to symbolize the dying Saviour, the nave representing the body and the chancel the head, inclined to one side in the manner we are so familiar with. This guess would be better than none, but for the fact that in all contemporary Celtic manuscripts and crosses the Saviour is represented alive with head erect. A further peculiarity of the chancel is its exceedingly small size, the ratio of the lengths of the chancel and nave being as 2 to 6 nearly, while the average ratio is about as 2 to 3 *(zz)*. The original barrel vault still remains at a height of 12 feet, measuring from the apex to the ground. A semi-circular headed window in

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(xx) For this custom see a paper on St. Dolough's by the late Dr. Reeves, read before the Royal Irish Academy, April 1851, where the subject is treated with all the thoroughness characteristic of the writer.

(yy) The holes are about three inches square, and it may be observed that this is still the usual method of securing doors adopted by the peasantry.

(zz) In some churches, however, e.g., St. Camin's, Inniscaltra; Dysart, Co. Clare; Innismain, Co. Galway, the ratio is as 2 to 4.

the middle of the east wall gave light to the interior. This window is very deeply splayed, its external dimensions being 3 feet 2½ inches, by 10½ inches wide, the internal are—height, 8 feet 3 inches; width, 4 feet, diminishing to 3 feet 10 inches at the spring of the arch. The windows of the nave are similar in all respects but somewhat smaller.

As usual in Romanesque churches the most elaborate feature is the doorway. This, after the manner of the Irish, is placed in the west gable, and is of great depth, owing partly to the thickness of the wall, partly to the fronting canopy, and piers *(a)*. The doorway consisted of three orders which supported an outer arch, a sub-arch, and a tympanum, respectively. The outer order has been completely denuded of its carved face, and would probably have fallen ere now but for the restorations effected in 1883. The second order with its superincumbent arch is perfect, having weathered very slightly because of the great depth of the outer order. Portions only of the inner order survive. On this order rested the tympanum, bearing what was popularly described as "The Cat and Two Tails." This uncanny thing long baffled research. The "oldest inhabitant" thought he had seen it when a boy, but his description was somewhat nebulous. O'Donovan was not more satisfactory :—

> A stone inscribed with Cat and Two Tails was said to be put over the door by the Gobban Saor and the stone was stolen by Cashel carmen and brought to Holy Cross (*b*).

At length the feline monster was discovered safe and sound in the *Codex Mailbrigte*, British Museum. This manuscript, written at Armagh in 1138, by Mailbrigte Hua Mailunagh, has, like other Celtic manuscripts of the Gospels, representations of the four evangelists. At folio 60 is the figure of St. Mark with the emblematic lion, "made," as the catalogue quaintly says, "by one who never saw the creature" *(c)*. The lion, according to the old tradition, is born dead, and remains so for three days when its father gives it life by

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(a) Like orientation, the western position of the doorway is not invariable. In addition to Kilcash, the "Priest's House" at Glendalough, Templemurry, at Kilmacduagh, and several others, might be mentioned as examples of the contrary practice.

(b) Ord. Papers, R.I.A.

(c) The debasement of a type is instructive, as evidenced by "The Cat and Two Tails." The original came from Gaul or Northern Italy, where there was more or less knowledge of the "creature." In older copies, such as in the Book of Kells, there is a tolerable representation of a lion. In later MSS. the resemblance is rather remote, while there is none whatsoever in MSS. of the 12th century, such as the Codex referred to. The climax is reached in the confusion of type and antitype in the cumdach of St. Molaise's Gospels, when what is supposed to represent the head of a lion has the legs of a man attached to it.

breathing on it. It became, accordingly, the symbol of the Resurrection in early Christian art. That this tradition was not unknown to the Irish is clear from a passage in the Leabhair Breac :—

> For this is the peculiarity of that whelp that it is three days in death immediately after its birth, and the male lion comes to it, and puts his breath round it, and roars over it with a great voice, and then raises up the whelp to life, thus then rose Christ from the dead through the might of the Heavenly Father (*d*).

The tail of the "lion" being bifurcated and each end tied, Celtic fashion, into a knot, the popular "Cat and Two Tails" was thus made intelligible.

The detail of the doorway exhibits a harmonious blend of classic and native elements. The classic neck, bell and abacus of the capital are unmistakable. At first sight the double spiral on the bell looks like a degraded form of the Ionic volute; but on closer inspection it will be seen that the spirals terminate in leaves, and spring from a stalk which is continued along the face of the pier to the bottom. This adaptation of the blossoming sceptre—for such it is—to architectural ornament, is indicative probably of the dignity of a church belonging to a coarb of Patrick. But whether symbolic or merely decorative, it is unique, occurring on no other church known to the writer, native or foreign *(e)*. On the abacus is interlaced work of the pattern called the double true-lovers knot.

The pier has a demi-octagonal column at the corner, adorned with chevron ribbons pelleted, the face of the pier itself showing a kind of chain work. The only parallel to this chain work is at Annaghdown, Co. Galway, where diamonds are substituted for the rings. Coming to the inner order, we find in addition to the beautiful cable moulding a curious triple-leaf ornament. The Celtic character of this I doubted from the first, and after a long search on crosses, illuminated manuscripts, &c., I am satisfied the ornament is foreign. In Westwood's "Paleographia Sacra" is figured the Church of Laodicea (Apoc. c. iii.) taken from a Visogothic choral book. The architecture of the church is Moorish, and along the pilasters is an ornament almost identical with that of Donoughmore, the only difference being that the bunches have four leaves instead of three, and are separated by bars. The exceedingly delicate work on the soffit of the arch is obviously a reminiscence of the classic anthemion. It has no trace whatever of the geometrical restraint peculiar to the Irish, and though conventional is clearly founded on natural forms.

(d) I am indebted to Miss Stokes' book on "Celtic Art" for this passage.

(e) The blossoming sceptre (Numbers XVII.) is a mark of special distinction with Irish sculptors and illuminators. It is found in the hands of Christ, the Blessed Virgin, the angels and occasionally the evangelists.

The chancel piers, like those of the doorway, are slightly battering. The outer columns, one cylindrical, the other octagonal, are semi-detached; the inner is a three-quarter column. Their height is 4 feet 9½ inches; adding to this 20 inches for the base and capital, we have a total height of 6 feet 5½ inches to the spring of the arch. The bases consist of a heavy bulb placed on a shallow plinth, and crowned by a torus. They have nothing distinctively Irish about them, the stiff flowers at the angles differing little from Romanesque foliage elsewhere.

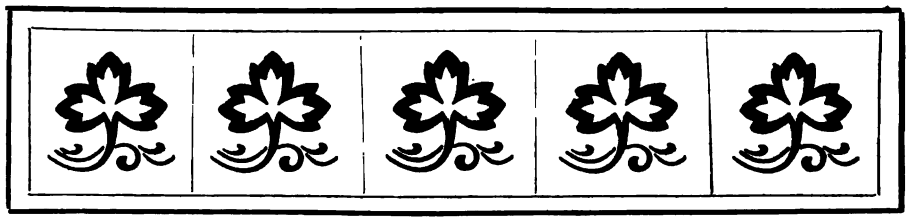
These flowers, or *griffes*, as the French call them, afford some clue to the age of the church. "C'est vers le commencement du XI. siècle qu' l'on voit apparaitre les premieres griffes aux angles des bases," says M. Viollet le Duc *(f)*. Allowing fifty years for their importation into Ireland, this would give about 1050 for the date of the church, a date that tallies admirably with its other architectural peculiarities. The capitals show the same imitation of foreign, and (more remotely) classical models. The idea is clearly borrowed from the petals and stamens of some flowers, but it is more than probable that the carver copied from some prototype rather than directly from nature. They differ greatly from contemporary Irish capitals, which for the most part consist of masks at the angles connected by ribbon work; the only approach to them are the capitals at St. Camin's, Inniscaltra, a church, according to Keating, erected by Brian Boru.

The general features, therefore, of Donoughmore may be summed up—Romanesque growths engrafted on an Irish stock. The visitor entering the west portal with its overhanging canopy, was reminded of continental churches; the gloom within, brought him back to the earlier oratories, and farther still, to their prototypes in the Catacombs, where a *gens lucifuga*, as Pliny called them, gathered together to celebrate the divine mysteries. The enduring character of the masonry and the delicate beauty of the detail, would extort his admiration. He would probably find in use on the altar a chalice of chaste and exquisite workmanship, such as the Ardagh chalice still existing. Everywhere around him was evidence that the worshippers had reached a point of culture far in advance of neighbouring peoples.

Those who think that civilization and the arts reached Ireland with the English, should study Donoughmore and such as it. "The sun," in the words of Ruskin, "was risen upon the earth when Lot entered into Zoar" *(g)*.

(f) Dict. de l'Archit. Franc. II., 133.

(g) Reprinted from a paper, with illustrations by the writer, in *Waterford Archæol. Journal*, Vol. II., No. 1.



CHAPTER XXI.

THE PALATINATE OF TIPPERARY.

AFTER the Anglo-Norman invasion, the present county of Tipperary with the baronies of Clanwilliam and Coonagh in Limerick which formed part of it, was made shire ground. The king regularly appointed sheriffs, coroners, escheators and other officers who exercised criminal, civil and fiscal jurisdiction. This state of things lasted until 1328. In that year Edward III. issued letters patent in favour of James le Botiller, Earl of Ormond, of which the following is a translation.

EDWARD KING and so forth, to all those to whom and so forth. Be it known that on account of the good service which James le Botiller of Ireland (whom we have made Earl of Ormond in Ireland) has rendered to Edward late king of England, our father, and to us, in order that he may support the dignity and honour of Earl more becomingly, WE have given and granted to the said Earl for his life, the royalty and other liberties with military fees, and all other things whatsoever, we are possessed of, in the County of Tipperary in Ireland, (only excepting the four pleas, viz., arson, rape, forestalling and treasure-trove, as also the profits of the cross in the said county with all their appurtenances which we wish to remain with us). In testimony whereof we have had these letters patent issued. Witness myself, at Walyngford on the ninth day of November in the second year of our reign (*h*).

This grant originally made for life, was by a new patent, 5th June, 1372, made in fee to James, second Earl, and his heirs. The effect of the grant was to divide Tipperary into two counties, one subject to the Earls of Ormond and known as the "Liberty of Tipperary" or county Palatine, the other still subject to the king and called "the County of the Cross of Tipperary," and the most curious part of the arrangement was that the two counties were inextricably mixed up. All lands held from an ecclesiastical corporation, sole or aggregate—archbishop, bishop, chapter or monastery—formed the

(*h*) Latin original, Carte's Ormond, Introduction LXVI.

"County Cross." Lands, on the other hand, held of the king *in capite* or indirectly through others by infeudation, belonged to the Palatinate. In practice, therefore, the king's sheriff issued writs and his bailiffs distrained in one townland, while in the adjoining one Ormond's officials alone had jurisdiction *(i)*. There were, however, down to the reign of James I. large districts of Tipperary where neither the earl's nor the king's writs ran. Though Arra and Kilnemanagh are described in a State Paper of 1586 as belonging to Tipperary *(j)*, yet the latter appears in the Down Survey as a "territory" belonging to the O'Dwyers, not as a barony. The legal union of Arra with the County Cross Tipperary was effected by the following document.

The Unyon of Dugh Arra to the County of the Cross of Typerary. Whereas oure sov'aigne Lord the Kinges moste excellent ma^tie^ James by the grace of God King of England Scotland ffraunc and Ireland by his hignes comission under his greate seale of this his realme of Ireland unto us directed bearing date at Mellefount the xx^th^ day of July and in the fourth year of his most prosperous Raigne of England ffraunc and Ireland and of Scotland the nyne and thirteeth hath ordeyred dyrected and appointed that the Countrey or Territory of Dough Arra otherwise called M^c^ Bryen Arraes Countrey lying and being in the bords and confynes of the sev'all Counties of Clare Lym'ick the County of the Crosse of Tiperary and the County of the Liberty of Tiperary being hearetofore doubtfull and uncertayne whether the said Countrey of Dough Arra weare parcell if enny of the said sev'all counties or rather a place exempt and seperate from all and every of the said sev'all Counties by reason whereof manny treasones felonies and other offences comitted within the said Countrey of Dough Arra have for manny yeares past gon unpunnished because the inhabitaunts of the said Countrey have not beene drawne to make their apparaunce at anny sessions within enny of the said sev'all Countres and that it hath beene conceyved that there hath beene no apt and proper place of triall of the said crymes and offences. His highnes for sundry goode respectes and for the advauncement of justice among his subjectes have thought meete and convenyent to annex unite and joyne the said Countrey or Territory of Dough Arra and the sayd County of the Crosse of Tiperary into one County and the said Countrey of Dough Arra to be hencfoorth reputed accepted and taken as parcell and member of the said County of the Crosse of Tiperary. Knowe all men that wee for the perfourmanc of his highnes dyrection to us in that behalf have called before us a Jury of the County of the Crosse of Tiperary aforesaid retourned by the Shierif of the said County at Cashell within the said County the third day of September 1606 whose names do ensue vizt.: Edmond Butler of Mullenony gent., Edmond Butler of Clogcully gent., John Phelane of ffitherd burges, John Keating of Moorestown gent., Eustace English of Rahin gent., James Prendergast of Rathogally gent., Thomas Stapleton of Leynestowne gent., Geffrey Mocler of Ballyclerighane gent., John Hyffernan of Lattin gent., James Meaghir of Burdensgrandg gent., James Heden of ffitherd burges, James Woodlock of the same burges, Edmond Mocler of Bwollynattin gent., which Juro's being sworne in

(i) On 18th October, 1355, Andrew Hackett was elected sheriff of the County Cross of Tipperary. The following were his sureties, and were probably the principal landowners in the cross at the period:—John Mauncell knt., Richard de la Rokell knt., Andrew Hackett, Robert Woodlock, Thomas de Valle [Wall], Simon Cantwell, James Warner, Thomas Faunt, William Bryt, Thomas Don, Bernard de Valle [Wall], Thomas Waleys [Walsh], Walter Fitz Raymond, John Mauclek [Mockler], William Sause, John Everhard, Robert Haket, Mathew de Loundres [Landers], Walter Enyas [Ennis], Garret Comerford, Robert Burton, Adam Brittoll, and Thomas de Loundres of Ballyclohan.—Pat. Rot.

(j) State Papers, Eliz., *ad ann.*

open Court uppon the Holy Evangelist to present the meetes meeres and bounds of Dwgh Arra aforesaid have presented as followeth, vidzt. That the Countrey or Territory of Dugh Arra lyeth and is conteyned and meared with Portcrossy by the ryver of Synnane in the North West point with the cantred of Ownymulryan in the South West poynt with Upper Ormond all by South, Mollin Iogane in Lower Ormond by East, and by the smale Ryver from Mollin Iogane to Synnan aforesaid along on the North syde tending to Portcrossy aforesaid, and is one hundreth plowlandes uppon all which presentment we have by force of oure said comision founde oute the lymites and boundes of the said Countrey of Dugh Arra. And do lay annex unite and conjoyne the said Territory or Countrey of Dugh Arra to the said County of the Crosse of Tiperary and both so conjoined together to be called the County of the Crosse of Tiperary. And wee do likewyse by vertue of oure said comision order award and adjudg that the said Countrey or Dough Arra shalbe hencfoorth for ever called the Barony of Dugh Arra in the County of the Crosse of Tiperary. And that the Shieriff of the County of the Crosse of Tiperary for the tyme being shall and may exercise his offyce as Shierif by himself his offycers and ministers in the said Barrony of Dugh Arra and in every part and parcell thereof, and apoint a Bayliff under him in the same in as lardg and ample manner as he doth exercise or may exercise the same offyce of Shieriff in enny other Barrony part or member of the said County of the Crosse of Tipperary. To all intentes and purposes and for the better furtheraunce of his Highnes service wee have named appointed and sworne two high constables in the said Barrony of Dugh Arra. Dated at Cashell in the County of the Crosse of Tipperary the sixt day of September 1606 and in the fourth yeare of the raigne of oure soverayn Lord King James of England ffraunc and of Ireland and of Scotland the XLth.

H. Brouncker. Fra. Walshe.
Jo. Elyot. Dom. Sarsfelde *(k)*,

It does not appear that the Palatinate of Tipperary enjoyed the same measure of independence as did, for example, the counties palatine of Chester and Durham in England. There are entries in the Plea Rolls of assizes and gaol deliveries at Clonmel when the king's judges heard causes determinable by Ormond's charter *(l)*. The sheriff of the Liberty was regularly summoned by writ to return members to parliament *(m)*. [Yet there is some evidence that the Ormonds claimed and exercised a royal seignory. The Keatings "barons of Nicholastown," the Purcells "barons of Loughmoe," the Butlers "barons of Ardmayle," the Tobins "barons of Compsy," will be sought for in vain in the lists of those attending the "Commune Concilium" of the king; the true explanation of such honours seems to be that they were barons of the Palatinate, and as such bound to give counsel and aid at the Earls' Court in Clonmel *(n)*. More advantageous, however, than any seignorial privileges were the forfeitures which in cases of treason fell to the Ormonds as superior lords.] At the beginning of the fourteenth century the Butlers were of comparatively small territorial importance in Tipperary. Two

(k) Public Records, Ireland, 5th Report.
(l) For example—5 Ric. II., 6 Ed. II., etc.
(m) Pat. Rot., *passim*.
(n) Lynch (Feudal Dignities, Ireland.—London, 1830) maintains that such barons were ancient peers who after the reign of Edward III. had lost their parliamentary dignity, not being summoned for the reason they were not barons by tenure. This may be true of many, as for example, the Baron of Donhill, but certainly not in the cases above mentioned.

centuries later they had spread themselves in flourishing families from the Shannon to the Suir. The attainder of native Celts and old English freeholders in the county courts had doubtless much to do with this.

As palatinate lords the Ormonds had to answer for the delinquencies of their subjects. The following is from the Close Rolls, 48 Edw. III. (1374).

Memorandum that on Thursday the Feast of the Ascension, James le Botiller, Earl of Ormond, lord of the liberty of Tipperary, and Patrick de la Freigne, knight, seneschal of the liberty of Kilkenny, came to the Chancery in Kilkenny, and there before the governor and council (upon the complaints made between the counties Tipperary and Kilkenny) the said Earl delivered up Edmund fitzEdmund le Botiller, to Stephen Bishop of Meath, and Brother William Tany, Prior of St John of Jerusalem, Chancellor of Ireland, as security for restitution and amends to be made for transgressions of the Co. Tipperary people against those of County Kilkenny, according as the said Bishop and Chancellor shall judge. And the said Patrick delivered up Ralph Freigne as security etc. of the County Kilkenny people against those of Tipperary. The securities were released on the Earl and Freigne entering into bonds in £200 for their appearance. Subsequently the said Earl protests that he will not answer for the delinquencies of the nations of Tobins and Purcells of County Tipperary.

The history of Tipperary during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries has been already narrated. The numerous square towers scattered throughout the country are stern witnesses to the lawlessness of the period. The Ormonds quitting Ireland, delegated their palatinate authority to their several kinsmen. These kept large bodies of armed retainers, made war and peace with one another, plundering and degrading the freeholders, Celtic and old English alike, into pauperism. Though the names of seneschals and other officers are met with, the courts of "the liberties and regalities" were only a shadow. When Mooney, the Franciscan, visited Clonmel in the first years of the seventeenth century, a large house was pointed out to him. Beyond the fact that it was called "The Earl's Court," he could obtain no further information, for no one remembered to have seen justice administered there.

As the country became more peaceful, the palatinate jurisdiction was gradually restored. In 1621 however James I. in pursuance of his hostility to Walter, Earl of Ormond, had the liberties seized by "Quo Warranto." From the proceedings we gather a detailed description of their nature.

Walter Earl of Ormond and Ossory, Sir John Everard, knight, and Robert Rooth, esquire . . . . exercise and use divers liberties, privileges, franchises and jurisdictions following.

To have and to hold within the county of Tipperary, one *Curia Cancellariae* commonly called *a Chancery Courte* and to make appoint and constitute one *Cancellarius* or officer in the same court, commonly called a *Chancellor:* which chancellor under colour of such his office, makes and causes to be made all kinds of original writs and other processes in all actions as well real as personal and mixed, within the aforesaid county arising occurring or happening; and receives, converts and disposes the perquisites and profits accruing and arising therefrom to the proper use of the aforesaid Earl, John Everarde, and Robert Rooth, and the same chancellor under colour

aforesaid, in the aforesaid court, hears examines discusses and determines all suits, causes, complaints, bills, petitions and controversies, by whatever persons in that court before him brought proposed and produced, and does and executes all other things which belong to the office of Chancellor to be done and executed.

And also to have and to hold within the aforesaid county another Court of Pleas of the Crown of the said lord the new king, and to make appoint and constitute one other officer called a Seneschall and one other officer called a Justice to hold Pleas of the Crown which Seneschal and Justice hear treat of examine discuss and determine all and singular presentments and indictments against all persons whatsoever, for all treasons and misprisons of them, also for all other transgressions and malfeasances committed in the aforesaid county in that court presented or indicted, and in and upon any persons convicted or attainted of any such treasons or felonies and other offences, and still do impose and inflict all and all manner of punishments pecuniary and corporal, and punishments of life and limbs, to such delinquents respectively. And do and direct to be done all other things which belong to the office of any Justice of Pleas of the Crown to be done and executed.

And to have and to hold within the aforesaid county one other Court of Common Pleas held before the aforesaid Seneschal and Justice who hear examine discuss and determine all and singular suits complaints and actions, real personal and mixed, by whatsoever persons as well by writ as by bill without writ, brought produced and depending. And the same Seneschal and Justice take and receive notes and acknowledgments of all persons whatsoever for fines of any lands and tenements in the aforesaid County to be levied according to the course of Common Law of this Kingdom of Ireland.

And also, yearly to nominate and constitute in the same county one other officer, viz.: one Vicecomes commonly called a Sheriff for the custody of the said county who makes execution of all writs precepts mandates warrants and processes issuing and directed to the same Sheriff from the four courts, Dublin, from the Justices assigned to take the assizes in the County Tipperary as well as from the aforesaid Chancellor Justice and Seneschal in the same county. And he holds in the same county divers courts of Term, Leet and County Courts and converts and disposes the issues and profits of such courts to his proper use; and does and executes all other things which belong to the office of sheriff.

And moreover to have the power of granting charters of Pardon to whatsoever persons are suspected accused indicted convicted outlawed condemned or attained of any transgressions felonies and treasons and misprisions of felonies or treasons by them within the said county committed, and by their charters to pardon any such person all and singular such transgressions felonies treasons and misprisions, also all and singular convictions outlawries condemnations judgments attainders corporal punishments of death and limbs and executions of the same against any such person in the aforesaid Court of Pleas of the Crown for any offence above recited had or adjudicated. And further to do and execute within said County all other things whatsoever which appertain to any Earl of any County Palentine (*sic*) to be done or executed.

And also to appoint and constitute in said county divers other officers viz.: one or more Coroners to do all that appertains to the office of coroners to be done; and one Escheator and one Feodary to do all that appertains to the offices of Escheator and Feodary respectively to be done; and one Clerk of the Markets; and one Subvicecomes commonly called a subsheriffe to do, etc.

And moreover to seize and to the proper use of them, the earl, John Everarde and Robert Roothe, to convert and dispose all and singular goods chattels lands and tenements of all traitors felons convicted attainted or in anywise condemned, fugitives outlaws waives or persons put in exigent, felons of themselves, deodands, treasure-trove, escheats chattels or lands forfeited, customs fines amerciaments and other profits and royal rights, within the aforesaid County Tipperary from time to time arising happening or occurring (*o*).

(*o*) Public Records, Ireland, 5th Rep., p. 34.

Such were the royal rights—regalities as they were styled—exercised by the Earls of Ormond within the County Palatine of Tipperary. That they should be called in question and even suspended from time to time by those responsible for the king's government, was only to be expected. At a parliament held at Drogheda by the celebrated Sir Edward Ponyngs in 1494, Ormond's independence as well as that of the Irish parliament was brought to an end. An act was passed resuming the palatinate grant into the hands of the king. Five years later, however, at the parliament of Castledermot held before the Earl of Kildare and the Duke of York, another act was passed declaring that the previous one should not be prejudicial or detrimental to the Earl of Ormond. But this would seem not to have removed all doubts, for on 11th March, 1558, a new grant of the palatinate jurisdiction was made in which the previous ones were recited and confirmed *(p)*. Finally in 1563 the Earl of Desmond made an agreement with Elizabeth recognizing Ormond's right to the liberties of Tipperary according to the judgment of the two chief justices, Sir Robert Catlin and Sir James Dyer, to whom the queen had referred the decision of the case.

At this period the manor of Kilfeacle was in dispute between Ormond and Desmond, and consequently it was uncertain whether the dependant lands (comprising a considerable part of Clanwilliam barony) belonged to the palatinate or not. The other manors of Tipperary were Knockgraffon, Kilsheelan, Killenaule, Kiltinan, Nenagh, Roscrea, Templemore and Thurles. The following is a list of the freeholders of the time :—

The Names of the Gentlemen inhabitinge the Cout. of Tippary with the extent of their Lands by estimacon as followeth :— circa 1550

Lands houlden of the Maunors of Knockgraffen and Kilshielan.

James Tobin and his kinsmen, the comsie in the canthred of Clonemell *(q)*.	...150£
Richard Lount his lands	... 5£
William Vale his lands [Figlas] *(r)*.	... 40£

(p) Pat. Rot., Morrin, p. 387.

(q) The name Tobin is found in the records in Latin as De Sancto Albino, Anglo-Norman St. Aubyn. The family was settled in Compsy barony early in the thirteenth century. September 19th, 1242, Henry III. issued a mandate to Maurice Fitz Gerald, justiciary, to clear the pass of Cumsy between Fethard and the borders of Ossory by cutting the wood of Thomas de St. Albin. In 1334 John Tobin lord of Compsy "was treacherously slain in his own chapel by the sons of Walter Tobin whom he had trusted." Two years later "a duel was arranged between the kinsmen of John and the sons of Walter Tobin. Both parties pledged themselves to the Justiciary to fight; but the sons of Walter fearing the issue of their treachery, declined the contest."—Clyn.

(r) De Valles or Walls settled in the neighbourhood of Carrick from the English invasion. Garret Wall of Coolnamuck was one of the few of the old proprietors restored after the Cromwellian conquest. The family was finally uprooted by the Encumbered Estates Court.

Barnaby O'Nele *(s)*.	40£
John Nele his lands [Ballinacluna]	8£
Donnell O'Nele [Maynestown]	4£
Edmond Vale	8£
William Menydevle *(t)*.	40£
Richard Butler and his kinsmen *(u)*	67£
James Butler, his lands [Poulakerry ?]	67£
William fitz Richard's lands *(v)*	13£ 6s. 8d.

(s) A branch of the northern O'Neills called Ui Eoghan Fionn, settled at Ballyneale in the thirteenth century. Hugh O'Neale "Irish Papist" was transplanted to Connaught from Ballyneale in 1654.

(t) It is said that the Mandevilles were settled at Ballydine from the time of King John. The earliest reference to them in the Patent Rolls is 1343. "The King prohibits Maurice fitz Thomas Earl of Desmond from hearing the cause (in virtue of a brief *de recto*) Richard de Rokel Knt. *versus* Walter de Maundevill Knt., Thomas fitz Walter de Maundeville Knt. and Thomas fitz David Walsh in the matter of five messuages with their appurtenances in Rathronan and Ballybathan [Ballyvaughan]. Which brief was surreptiously obtained while the said holdings were in the King's hands." When the Desmonds purchased the manor of Kilsheelan from the De Grandisons in 1338 it would appear the Mandevilles settled there. An inquisition held at Carrick, 2nd April, 1608, before Sir Nicholas Walsh, described the manor of Kilsheelan in detail. "The manor house being an oulde and ruynous buylding and one water myll in the town of Kilsheelan, 3 messuages, 2 gardens and 1 acre great countrie measure in said town, Lysnehary 10 acres great countrie measure, Sheskin 10 acres, Ballyglissanbeg 5 acres. The chief rents payable to said manor are out of Ballyneale, Molagh, Ballinacloine, Ballyquirkin, Ballinamona and Killuan £4 per annum and suit of court to said manor from Edward Mandeville of Ballydyn for 1 burgage in his possesion in the town of Kilsheelan. 7s. 4d. per annum and suit of court from Richard Wall for 1 burgage in Kilsheelan. 12d. per annum and suit of court from William Butler for 1 burgage in Kilsheelan, 12d. per annum and suit of court from Edward Mandeville for Eustace land, 2s. per annum and suit of court for land of Monemihell, 2s. per annum and suit of court for Ballyglasheenmore, 12d. per annum and suit of court for Knogloghty," etc. How the Mandevilles retained portion of the estates through the Cromwellian period, appears from the following inquisition.

An inquisition taken before us Charles Blount and Henry Paris Esqrs at Balliglisheen within the said County 1 Sept., 1656, by the oaths of good and lawful men etc. who say that James Mandeville of Ballinrahy in said county Gent. is distracted and has been so for four and twenty yeares last past without enjoying any intervalls of understanding. It appearing unto them by the testimony of severall witnesses upon oath that he hath within the said time made severall attempts to burn his own house, to bury his own servant alive who was his keeper havinge forced another whom he found digging to make a grave for that purpose. That he often made washing balls of his own excrementa and washed his face therewith. That he hath sometimes stricken the Mayors of Cities and Corporations and other civill officers and comitted severall other Lunatick Acts as often as he got loose. That in all the time aforesaid he has not the use so much reason that would enable him any way to manage his Estate. They say that the said James Mandeville (as his Inheritance from his Ancestors but by what tenure they find not) held the Towns and lands of Ballidine, one colp; Butlerstown three quarters of a colp; Curraghdobbin thirteen acres of a colp; Cloghcorrigeen a quarter of a colp; Eustace Land one acre of a colp; Gerryers land half an acre of a colp; Rathnemuckie one acre of a colp; all the said greate countrey measure, together with severall Houses, Gardens Tenements and parcells of Land in Kilshylane. All the said Estate esteemed to be 1400 plantation acres worth by the year £200 sterling, which land they find to be in possession of John Mandeville by Authority of major Daniel Redman and Vincent Gookin Esqrs as Guardians to ye said James Mandeville. They find that Edmund Mandeville is the son and heyre of the said James Mandeville and is of the age of 45 years or thereabout.

At the Restoration, Ormond obtained a grant of a considerable portion, while the remainder in the next century was secured by the notorious John Scott, after Earl of Clonmel.

(u) In 1571 Pardon to Richard riagh Butler of Brittas (Brenoghmore and Tullaghea). He was son of William and grandson of Theobald.—Fiants, Eliz.

(v) Descended from the Cahir house. James Galdy, father of James Oge (*ob.* 1448), father of Pierce, father of Richard of Glen, father of William *supra*.

Edmond Butler's lands *(w)*	5£
Philip Wale, his lands [Newtown Annor]	5£
David Welsh [Rathronan]	50£
William Poer *(x)*	20£
Patrick Sherlock's lands *(y)*	10£
Edmund fitz Richard Butler	5£
Theobald Hackett, his lands	13£ 6s. 8d.
Walter Fitz Thomas	10£
John Corr [Tubberaheena]	10£
Geoffry White [Milerstown]	20£
John Stritch and Henry White [Lawlestown and Burgagery] ...	20£
John fitz Piers, his lands	6£ 13s. 4d.
John Monkclerke, his lands [Coolmoyne]	6£
Thomas Travers and his kinsmen [Mortellstown]	40£
Sir Theobald Butler, his lands *(z)*	350£
Piers English and his kinsmen [Rochestown]	40£
Thomas fitz Theobald [Butler] and his kinsmen [Knockgraffon]	30£
Robert Keating and his kinsmen [Loughloher]	30£
James Prendergast and his kinsmen [Newcastle] ...	150£
Morris English and his kinsmen [Rochestown]	20£
Edmund English and his kinsmen	30£
John Keating and his kinsmen [Nicholastown]	50£
Richard Keating and his kinsmen [Moorestown]	40£
The Bishop of Waterford [Donoughmore]	20£

Lands houlden of the Maunors of Nenaghe, Roscre, Templemore and Thurles. circa 1550

The White Knight and his lands there	100£
Walter Burke and his kinsmen *(aa)*	
John Bourke and his kinsmen	100£
Ouaght by the yeare	10£

(w) John Butler of Mullaghnony *viv.* 1583, father of Edmond, Walter and Thomas Butler.

(x) Of Powerstown; father of Richard, sheriff of Tipperary, and grandfather of Alexander Power who built the house of Tickencorr in the time of Jas. I.

(y) 1540, 20th August the priory of St. Catherines "by Waterford" was leased to James Sherlock, Priorstown, Blackrath, etc., part of the priory possessions passed on the death of James, 1558, to his third son Patrick. Patrick was a protégé of Ormond, and took an active part against the Desmonds, Ormond appealed to Cecil on his behalf (State Papers) and the lease was renewed. He married Margaret Blanchfield leaving a son John who married Ellice Butler.

(z) Third Baron of Cahir.

(aa) Cappagh. These were the junior lineal descendants of William fitz Adelm, and his last representatives in the district to which he gave his name, C'anwilliam 1567, Pardon to Walter fitz John de Burgo alias Bourke of Cappagh, Captain of Muskry (Clanwilliam).

Odowyre and his kinsmen *(bb)*	2£ 2s.
The Ryans, theire lands *(cc)*	150£
McBrien are his lands *(dd)*	150£
O'Carroll and his kinsmen in Ely *(ee)*	... 4£
O'Meagher and his kinsmen in Ykyrin *(ff)*	100£
Ormond and all the Kenedies *(gg)*	... 3£
O'Kahill, his lands [Ballycahill]	... 20£
John O'Forgertie and his kinsmen *(hh)*	... 40£
Walter Bourke and his kinsmen *(ii)*	... 40£
James Ashbole and his kinsmen [Drom]	... 50£
Thomas Purcell and his kinsmen *(jj)*	100£
Richard reagh Butler [Brittas]	... 20£
James fitz Richard Butler and his cosen	... 30£
Walter Archer, his lands [Archerstown] *(kk)* ...	... 40£
Edmond fitz Thomas Heding and his kinsmen's lands *(ll)*	... 40£
Thomas fitz John Butler and his cosen [Cabragh] ...	... 20£
Myles Cantwell, his lands [Thurles] *(mm)*	... 10£

(bb) O'Dwyers of Kilnemanagh. In 1578 on the recommendation of the President of Munster Philip O'Dwyer of Dundrum with his followers were pardoned (Fiants, Elizabeth). His son John O'Dwyer married Joan daughter of Walter Butler of Moyaliff, fourth son of James the ninth Earl of Ormond. John O'Dwyer dying in 1627, left Philip (who married Gyles McGrath daughter of the notorious Meiler Magrath, Archbishop of Cashel), and Donough, the Irish commander of Tipperary in the wars 1641–52.

(cc) "Owny Mulryan." 1576, 2nd April, a commission was issued to the Earl of Thomond, Nicholas Walsh, Walter Archer, Remund Everet and others to survey . . . . . Owny of Molloran, being doubtful to what shire it belongs, and to add it to existing county.

(dd) 1578, 8th Feb. O'Brien of Arra received a commission to execute martial law in his country.

(ee) 1558, 23rd Jan. William ower O'Kearowell granted the captaincy as well of those of his own nation as of all others dwelling in Ely—I.—Kearowell. In 1558 he surrendered all the manors, lands, rents and customs in the country of Ely, and was regranted the whole by the service of one knight's fee and a rent of £100; discharged from cesses, bonaght etc., but must answer hostings with 12 horsemen and 20 footmen. A prolonged dispute between Ormond and O'Carroll as to whether Ely belonged to the Liberty of Tipperary, was terminated in favour of O'Carroll.

(ff) In 1567 Lord Deputy Sydney wrote to Elizabeth: "Ikerwyn called O'Meagher's country all waste and uninhabited."

(gg) Lord Esmond writing to Lord Dorchester in 1630 states "both the Ormonds (Upper and Lower) pay a chief rent called the Mart Early (*Hibernice* the Earl's beef) which comes to about £160."

(hh) The great Tipperary clan of the O'Fogarthys who gave their name to the barony Eliogarthy, were reduced in the sixteenth century to a single parish, Inchifogarty, comprising the townlands of Dovea, Gortanagh and Pobble O'Fogarthy.

(ii) A junior branch of the Clanwilliam family, who held the "territory" of Ileagh down to the Cromwellian period.

(jj) The descendants of the Purcells, barons of Loughmoe, at this period were: Thomas, who with his horsemen and kerns was pardoned 1549. His son Thomas married Joan Fitz Patrick and was father of Richard, baron Loughmoe, who married Mary Plunkett. Richard took sides with the Irish in 1599, and was estimated by the English to bring 200 foot and 60 horse into the field. He received a pardon, however, in 1602.

(kk) He received a pardon in 1586. Again in 1602 together with Piers Archer. They were probably a Kilkenny family.

(ll) Moynard in barony of Eliogarty.

(mm) Pardon to Milo Cantwell of Thurles, Fine £3. 1572.

Piers Cantwell, his lands [Moycarky]	30£
Piers Butler's lands [Grallagh] *(nn)*	50£
The archbishop of Cashell [Camus]	10£

Lands houlden of the Maunor of Kildenale [Killenaule] in the Barony of Slievardaghe.

James Butler's lands [Ballyphilip]	60£
John Cantwell [Killins and Derrygare]	10£
Richard Cantwell [Clonhory]	15£
Richard Cantwell [Poynstown]	6£
Thomas Stoke [Coolquill]	20£
James Laffan and his cousen [Graystown]	30£
William fitz James Butler	3£
Thomas Butler and his kinsmen [Crohane]	8£
Richard Marvell [Query Mortellstown ?]	15£
William Fanning [Ballingarry]	50£
William Fanning [Farrenrory]	13£ 6s. 8d.
James Morris [Knockagh]	5£

Lands houlden of the Maunor of Kiltinane.

The Baron of Dunboyne, his lands [Kiltinan]	3£
John Butler, his lands [Ardmayle] *(oo)*	40£
Theobald Butler's lands [Derryluskan] *(pp)*	30£
Robert Saint John's lands [St. Johnstown]	40£
Richard Saint John's lands [Cooleagh]	10£
Richard Vale [Rathkenny]	13£ 6s. 8d.
Piers Oge Butler's lands	10£
William Bryth, his lands [Lismortagh] *(qq)*	6£
John Brithin, his lands [Milltown]	6£ 13s. 4d.
James Brithin, his lands	6£ 13s. 4d.
Edmond Mouncklercke [Mocklersland]	40£

(nn) Piers Butler of Grallagh, the second son of Edmund Butler, knt., was married to Elinor Grace and had issue.

(oo) The Butlers of Ardmayle were amongst the first families of the name settled in Tipperary. Theobald Butler, third son of Hervey Walter (and brother of the Ormond ancestor), married Margery, daughter of Richard de Burgo, justiciary of Ireland, receiving as her portion the manors of Ardmaile and Killmorarkill.

(pp) Theobald was the third son of James, second Lord Dunboyne.

(qq) The De Bretts were among the original Anglo-Norman grantees of Tipperary.

Edmond Comen and his kinsmen [Killbragh] *(rr)*	30£
James Comen, his lands	5£
Melaghlin O'Carran [Mobarnane] *(ss)*	10£
The Archbisshopp of Cashell	40£
Richard Sall, his lands [Meldrum]	10£
Patrick Hackett [Dualla] *(tt)*	10£
Piers Hackett [Ballyhenebry]	10£
John Hackett	8£
Edmond Hackett [Ballysheehan]	15£
Edmond Comen and his kinsmen [Tullaghmaine]	30£
Redmond Aylward [Query Everard? Knockelly]	30£
Richard Hackett	10£
Thomas Vyn [Slynestown]	15£
Robert Sawce [Sawcestown]	20£
Theobald Fitz Thomas Butler	8£
Thomas Fitz Theobald Butler	10£
John Bremingham, his land	5£
William Moncell [Ballycategan]	8£
Darby O'Carran [Mobarnane]	6£
O'Kearney, his land [Ballyduagh] *(uu)*	10£
John Kearney, his land	10£
Theobald Ashpole	10£
Andrew Hackett	10£
James Fleming, his land *(vv)*	10£

This rough valuation of the estates of Tipperary was made towards the end of Elizabeth's reign. It was made, it would seem, to aid the Crown lawyers in their efforts to suppress the Palatinate. For the official view of Ormond's privileges is well set forth in the words of the poet Spenser.

To have a County Palatine is, in effect, to have a privilege to spoil the enemies' borders adjoining. And surely so it is used at this day, as a privilege place of spoils and stealths; for the county of Tipperary, which is now the only County Palatine in

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(rr) The De Comyns were Anglo-Norman grantees.

(ss) The well-known seventeenth century writer, Thomas Carve, military chaplain, etc., belonged to this family.

(tt) The Hacketts figure prominently in the Patent Rolls in Tipperary history from the Norman invasion.

(uu) The O'Kearneys were hereditary custodians of the pastoral staff of Cashell traditionally said to date to the time of St. Patrick. The small portion still existing is in the museum of St. Patrick's College, Thurles. Like the Myers of Armagh, they were endowed with lands for the maintenance of their high office.

(vv) The foregoing was published in the Annuary for 1870 of the Irish Antiquarian Society. The localities, however, and notes are supplied mainly from the Fiants, Elizabeth.

Ireland, is by abuse of some bad ones made a receptacle to rob the rest of the counties about it, by means of whose privileges none will follow their stealths; so as it, being situate in the very lap of all the land, is made now a border; which how inconvenient it is let every man judge. And though that right noble man—that is, the lord of the liberty [Thomas tenth Earl of Ormond]—do pain himself all he may to yield equal justice unto all, yet can there not but great abuses lurk in so inward and absolute a privilege, the consideration whereof is to be respected carefully for the next succession (*ww*).

At the next succession, that of Walter, Earl of Ormond, the Palatinate was suppressed by Quo Warranto in 1621. The circumstances are detailed by an old retainer of the house.

The Duke of Buckingham looking with an envious eye on the splendour and greatness of that ancient and noble house of Ormond and more particularly for their Palatinate of Tipperary, and observing the Earl to be an easy man, told king James that he had now an opportunity to make his kingdom of Ireland secure and quiet, and free from those frequent rebellions which had disturbed the reigns of his predecessors, and were occasioned by the ancient and great families of that kingdom who had large territories of land, and numerous relations and dependencies, instancing in the Earls of Desmond, Tyrone and Tyrconnell, and adding that His Majesty had then an opportunity of so depressing the House of Ormond that it should never hereafter be in a condition of raising disturbance in the kingdom (*xx*).

When at the Restoration in 1660 the fortunes of the Ormonds returned at full flood, the Palatinate of Tipperary was set up once more, and with increased prestige. For the County Cross was now merged in it, and the Duke's authority acknowledged in every part of the county. The change was not unwelcome, for the Cross had so shrunk during the preceding century that it was scarce practicable to find a sufficient number of freeholders in it to serve as a jury upon any trial. The royal grant was confirmed in 1662 by Act of Parliament which recited that the barony of Owney and Arra, and divers other towns, villages and townlands scattered through the several baronies of the County Tipperary, and called the County of the Cross were made part and parcel of the said County.

In 1715 on the attainder of the second Duke of Ormond and the suppression of the Palatinate, the records of the several courts were removed to Dublin. Though the Chancery and Common Pleas records for the second period of the Palatinate (1662–1715) are tolerably complete, it is to be regretted that the Crown records so invaluable for Tipperary history during that momentous time, have almost entirely disappeared. From the Carte and Ormond collections, however, we obtain a few glimpses of the criminal jurisdiction.

(*ww*) A View of the State of Ireland.
(*xx*) Hist. MSS., Ormonde II., p. 348.

[ABSTRACT.]

Memorandum. That at a General sessions of Assize and Gaol Delivery for the Liberties held at Clonmel, Saturday 12 September, 15 Charles II. (1663) before Richard Earl of Arran, Seneschal of the Duke of Ormond, William Davys Knight, Justice of the Regalities and Thomas Longueville Master of the Rolls in virtue of a Commission from the said Duke, an inquisition on oath was taken before—

1. Thomas Sadleyer, Esq.
2. Thomas Batty of Abby Inislounaght.
3. John Harrison of Cloughjordan.
4. James McGrath of Killrussell.
5. Theobald Butler of Bansha.
6. Walter Butler of Latten.
7. Oliver Latham of Moeldrum.
8. William Baron of Ballynaird.
9. Mathew Jacob of Cnockelly, gent.
10. Nathan Tayler of Moane.
11. Bryan Kennedy of Breare.
12. John fflood of Kilmore.
13. Samuel Barkley of Ballenahye.
14. Robert Powell of Monemore.
15. James Boulster of Tipper.

Who being sworn upon the Holy Evangelists find that Robert Thornhill late of Grace Castle [Castlegrace] in foresaid county, gentleman, on the first day of July 1657 not having the honour or fear of Almighty God before his eyes, entered the parish church of All Saints of Shanrehin at Shanrehin in foresaid county and within the jurisdiction of this court, with force of arms, namely with swords, staves and axes, and then and there feloniously broke the roof of said church; and the timber of said roof worth five pounds sterling, being the goods and chattels of the Parishioners of Shanrehin, then and there by force of arms stole, took, brought away and converted to his own proper use against the peace of our Lord the King and the Lord of the Regalities and Liberties of the aforesaid County, against the form of the statute in such case made and provided, etc.

Memorandum. That at a sessions of Assize and Gaol Delivery, etc., held at Clonmel the twentieth day of March, 16 Chas. II. (1664) before John St. Leger, Deputy Seneschal, William Davys, Justice, and Thomas Longueville Master of the Rolls of the Liberties of Tipperary, the aforesaid Robert Thornhill was brought to the bar in custody of the Sheriff and being asked, denied he was in any way guilty and put himself upon his country, etc. The following jury was sworn—

Robert Cole of Ballymakey.
Thomas Batty of Abby Inislonaght.
Robert Jeffs of Killoskehane.
Peter Tobyn of Laffnolly.
Philip Lambert of Archertown.
John ffetherstone of Lisskelly.
Edmund Danill of Cahir.
William Sheldon of Castletown.
James Barker of Lissmaylin.
Phanuel Cooke of Lisnamrock.
John Pennyfather of Clonomilcony.
William Barnard of Carrick.

The sequel of these proceedings is curious. The jury returned a verdict of "Not Guilty," but the Court "upon the oath of several persons worthy of credit that Robert Thornhill is for a long time of evil fame," bound him to the peace *(yy)*.

But by far the greater part of the criminal business of the courts for many years was the prosecution and conviction of "Tories." At the Restoration in 1660, many of the old Tipperary gentlemen returned, some from Connaught, some from beyond the seas, in the hope of getting back their estates. Through Ormonde's influence several were restored. Among

(yy) Carte Papers, Bodleian Library, Vol. 68, No. 36.

them were the Butlers of Kilcash, the Purcells of Loughmoe, the baron of Cahir, the Butlers of Kilmoyler, the Keatings of Nicholastown, and the Walshes of Rathronan. The vast majority, however, sank into pauperism at home or entered military service abroad. But some, gathering around them bodies of desperate men, hid themselves in the bogs and fastnesses whence they made war on the Cromwellians settled on their lands. So insecure indeed were the planters, that many lived altogether within the shelter of the towns. For example—Charles Alcocke, the grantee of Powerstown, John Staples of Kiltinan, Edward Hutchinson of Knocklofty, Richard Moore of Banfoune, all lived and died in Clonmel. Every effort accordingly was made to capture and exterminate the "Tories" who terrorized the country. Rewards were offered; they were proclaimed at assizes, and loyal subjects exhorted to shoot them at discretion; harbourers of "Tories" were treated as "Tories" themselves. Yet for many years these outlawed gentlemen roamed the country, until at length they degenerated into mere highwaymen. For the country people everywhere pitied them and gave them shelter; and by the firesides of Tipperary down to our own day ballads were sung of "John O'Dwyer of the Glen" and "Ned of the Hills," and many another *(zz)*. From the correspondence with Ormond of James Kearney, Deputy Clerk of the Crown for the Palatinate, we obtain some particulars. On 28th March, 1666, he writes:—

I send here inclosed the information against the Tory Dullany and his own examination. The informant is bound over to prosecute. Captain Furlong is returned to Lismaylin, according my first letter, and hath a stranger in his company. I cannot find what stay he intends to make, and having received no directions in Sir George Lane's letter of the 24th what to do with him I durst not hitherto attempt to get him taken by any warrant, lest it may not suit with your Grace's pleasure, for when I heard your Grace inquire for him, I did not apprehend whether you intended to employ him against the Tories or secure him as a malefactor. Whatever your Grace resolves concerning him, I hope your commands shall overtake him and his comrade at Lismalyn.

The three fellows mentioned in my last letter, upon whom Lieutenant Cleare (*a*) and I relied for the service are so slow in answering our expectations (though they pretend to be busy about it) that in case they do not suddenly perform something of advantage to the country, I intend to advise Cleare to retract his engagement of procuring their pardon, whereby he and others may be at liberty to set upon themselves. For I humbly conceive that the reducing of one or two of these ringleaders to your Grace's mercy shall exact more effectual discoveries from them than what the rogues would willingly do when they have an engagement for their pardon; and Lieutenant Cleare is pretty confident (once he is at liberty) that wherever they lurk in the country, he shall have them. The Justices of the Peace have issued warrants for settling a watch in every parish in the county, which the constables are now executing. The punishment of the harbourers shall hereafter rid the country from this infection, and the people are

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(zz) Poets and Poetry of Munster, 1st Series.
(a) Thomas Cleare of Kilburry.

so frightened, by their apprehensions of being burned in their houses, that few or none have the public spirit to give public evidence against them. Therefore I humbly propose that your Grace will be pleased to advise my Lord of Arran (seneschal) where he finds private effectual evidence given by persons of credit, that his Lordship will continue the persons criminated in gaol till it be tried (when the storm is over) whether more clear proof can be found; for the restraint of such shall deter others from the like transgressions. I hope to have several of the suspected harbourers taken before the assizes, for I have private warrants against them (*b*).

Three days later Kearney writes again :—

I have on the 29th sent an express with your Grace's letter to Sheriff Sadler, and the same day did carry the other myself to Lieutenant Cleare, who promised as much as I can reasonably expect, and seem to be very real in it. The three fellows who have engaged to perform the service, do but juggle in the matter. They protest to Cleare they are still labouring to bring the rest of their confederates together, but I find (another way) they never intend it, but to make use of the promise of pardon given them in case they were surprised by any other, until they know your Grace's answer to an address they made by Walter Butler (the elder brother to this arch-tory Lawrence Butler) whom they employed to Dublin about six days ago; for the whole design is to try if they could procure a pardon without discovering their harbourers or bringing in the rest, which I am confident your Grace will never grant. At the first meeting they were very forward and seemingly real to perform what was desired of them, but afterwards (when they advised with some of their friends) they did decline. This Walter Butler hath a very great stroke in their council, and may do much on this occasion, if disposed. This consideration caused me on Thursday to send several ways to see when Lieutenant Cleare or I may meet them, and in case we see that they will not prosecute the matter with greater vigour and reality, we intend to withdraw the promise of pardon, and leave them to their other shifts, and Lieutenant Cleare is very hopeful afterwards to surprise them.

I long to receive some directions about Furlong, for he is much distrusted in these parts (though he may be honest for anything I know). Divers of the harbourers against whom I got warrants issued (being sensible of their own guilt) have outrun the constables, and some shun their houses leaving word they are gone about their lawful affairs elsewhere. I presume your Grace did or will give directions to my Lord of Arran what to do in such cases. I find that the rogues are growing numerous about Beallaghmore in Ossory, where John Dwyggin's son (by name James) doth guide them; there are two or three dangerous fellows from the County of Cork among them. I presume your Grace takes a course to reduce them that way *(c)*.

The Duke evidently knew more about Captain Furlong than his correspondent did, for he had already formed a plan for his capture. On 4th April Quarter-Master Bedborough writes to Sir George Lane.

I received his Grace my Lord Duke's order by the last post, and in obedience thereto went out last Sunday night, immediately after the receipt thereof, with a party of horse to take Captain Furlong and his companion at Lismalin, but they were gone from thence the day before, as I was informed by one Lieutenant Minchen [Humphrey Minchin of Crohane] an honest gentleman that lives hard by it. Notwithstanding I searched the town and finding none there, I ranged the country about it, though to no effect hitherto, but the said Mr. Minchen, who knows the person, has engaged to me to give me speedy notice of him upon his next coming to Lismalin or thereabouts,

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(b) Ormond Papers III., 213.
(c) Ibid., 214-5.

and I question not but in a short time I shall be able to answer my Lord's commands effectually. In the meantime I have ordered it so that my business can be little suspected in those parts or the person, I having had a perfect account of him from Mr. Minchen only *(d)*.

Furlong however proved too slim for the Duke, but at the following assizes in Clonmel a considerable batch of Tories was disposed of. Kearney writes from Clonmel to Ormond 25th July.

This day James Ryan, James Kennedy two Tories, and John Shea a Harbourer of them, were hanged here. To-morrow Edmund Tobin, a Tory, old Thomas Shea a Harbourer and Parker an eminent thief are to die.

The execution of Patrick Croke was suspended on appeal to the Duke, but Kearney requests his Grace not to pardon. "If so" he writes "there escapes as great a thief and as bad a member of his quality in a commonwealth as I know in Ireland" *(e)*.

Hangings notwithstanding, the Tories for over half a century kept the Cromwellians under the harrow. One of the most notable was Laurence Butler of Ballinure, a pauperized kinsman of Ormond himself. But Butler with his party of four desperadoes was entrapped at last, and Ormond writing from Clonmel 26th August, 1678, complaisantly acquaints the Lord Chancellor "My cousin Butler, the Tory, is at this instant on his trial so that three of the five will be despatched." More difficult however to capture was Power of Ballintotty. Indeed he could not be taken alive and it was only by the rifle of Captain Aungier he was finally removed. Power's brother Richard, now took the field and terrorized the district more even than the other had done. A proclamation was issued 12th October, 1683, offering £20 to whosoever should take him alive or kill him and bring his head to the sheriff. The only result we learn from a subsequent proclamation July 17th, 1685.

Whereas the said Richard Power and his complices have since the publishing of the said proclamation, committed many burglaries, robberies, and stealths, and divers other outrages, to the terror and annoyance of his Majesty's loyal and good subjects and the desturbance of the peace of the kingdom, etc.

A reward of £100 was offered, yet Power the next year was more active than ever. Clarendon, Lord Lieutenant, writes February 5th, 1686: "About ten days since complaints from Munster of Tories headed by young Power, brother to the late rebel. I have ordered small parties of horse and foot to watch them" *(f)*.

(d) Ibid. 216.
(e) Carte Papers, Bodleian, Vol. 35.
(f) Ormonde and Clarendon Correspondence.

We hear no more of the Powers, but another generation of Tories rose up. October 13th, 1712, the Grand Jury for the County Tipperary and Cross Tipperary at the assizes for the Palatinate held in Clonmel, presented Charles Carroll of Cloncleary, Michael Ro. Prendergast, Morris Boy Prendergast, both of Curraghnemony, and three others, to be Tories, robbers and rapparees in arms and out upon their keeping, and the Grand Jury desired that they might be proclaimed, and an entry was made on the affidavit by the Clerk of the Crown of the names of the Grand Jurors and of the Presentment having been openly read and confirmed by the Court. The Prendergasts were probably the grandsons of James Prendergast who appears in the Cromwellian Survey as owner of Curraghnemony in 1641; and the effect of the proclamation was that any loyal subject meeting them, might forthwith shoot them—that is, if they did not shoot him first.

The war of 1690–1 added several new contingents to the Tories, who plagued the Cromwellian and Williamite occupiers more than ever. In 1697 the Act 7 William III., chap. 21 was passed, which enacted that all losses caused and damage done by Tories, Rapparees, etc., should be charged on the inhabitants of the barony in which they were committed according to the religious denomination of the offenders. The procedure was for the person aggrieved to sue any inhabitant in the same county or barony (the latter if the damage was under £10) to execution for the amount of the damage done him, and on obtaining a judgment, the latter was reimbursed by a rate levied under the Act 10 & 11, Chas. I., chap. 13.

Among the Palatinate Records is a whole series of documents relating to the proceedings under the Act for injuries done by Tories.

The Palatinate Records on the civil side are well preserved *(g)*. Among them we find some evidences of the exercise of the royal prerogative by the Duke of Ormond. On 10th October, 1664, Christopher Perkins, of Meldrum, gentleman, was pardoned for the homicide of Philip O'Laghy; 21st November, 1701, Edward Moore, gentleman, for the homicide of Hugh Massy, Esq.; 22nd December, 1711, John Mandeville and James St. John for the homicide of James Slattery *(h)*. The following patents of fairs also are enrolled:—

Place.	*Grantee.*	*Market.*	*Fairs.*
Nenagh, 10 Aug. 1701	Nehemiah Donnellan	every Monday	two—18–9 May. 24–5 Aug. Rent 6s.8d.
Templemore 30 Sept. 1701	John Cardin	every Wednesday	two—21–2 June. 10–1 October. Rent 6s.8d.

(g) Calendars of the Fines and Recoveries, and Chancery Pleadings have been printed.—5th and 6th Reports of the Deputy Keeper of the Records of Ireland.

(h) The two latter cases were duels.

Place.	*Grantee.*	*Market.*	*Fairs.*
Fethard 10 Sept. 1705	Epaphroditus Marsh Mathew Jacob	——	two—27–8 August. 9–10 April. Rent 6s.8d.
Cloughjordan 3 June 1706	James Harrison	every Wednesday	three—30 April, 1 May. 31 July, 1 Aug. 20–1 November. Rent 6s.8d.
Ballinacourty [1707]	John Dawson	every Saturday	two—11 November, Easter Tuesday.
Carrick 5 Dec. 1711	Ann, Countess of Tyrone	every Tuesday and Saturday	three—Pentecost Monday and Tuesday. 4th August. Wednesday and Thursday after Michaelmas.

The precise relations of the municipality of Clonmel with the Palatinate are not easy to determine. The basis of the municipality was unquestionably the manor. But when in the closing years of the fourteenth century the Ormonds as Palatine lords vested the government of the town in an officer called the Sovereign, and subsequently by patent created a town court with jurisdiction concurrent with the court baron belonging to the manor, the arrangement could not make for the harmony of the town. The more so as the rival, not to say hostile houses of Ormond and Desmond were the respective lords of Palatinate and manor. Hence in 1563 Desmond in his statement to Queen Elizabeth was driven to maintain that Clonmel formed no part of Ormond's liberties. The controversy was only ended by the ruin of the Desmonds and Ormond becoming lord of the manor.

In 1662 at the re-establishment of the Palatinate, a kindred question was raised between the corporation and Ormond. Whether it was brought to an issue is uncertain. On 14th October, 1663, Robert Lovelace, Mayor of Clonmel, wrote to Ormond's law adviser, John Walsh :—

Your brother, deputed to keep his Grace's courts under you, hath notified his intent to keep a court leet (*i*) within the precincts of the corporation of Clonmel. I find it convenient to mind you of your promises the last year, viz., that what you did then should not be drawn into precedent for the future. A customary manor hath been held out of a manor, but a leet out of a leet was never yet reported That we have a leet by prescription and charter I am confident is not your doubt, and if you have it by prescription (which we have diligently enquired after, and cannot find it) we only desire you to make it appear. It is neither our interest nor desires to dispute any things with his Grace, whom we acknowledge the patron of our liberties ; I only desire the privileges of this town, whilst our charter remains, may inviolably be preserved. Your knowledge is such in the law, and the continued respect you have always manifested towards this

(i) A manor court with criminal jurisdiction.

Corporation assures me you will be so far from intrenching on our rights, that you will lend a cheerful assistance towards the maintaining of them, and send your prohibition to your brother to desist from any further proceeding therein, whereby you will infinitely oblige the Corporation, and particularly Sir, etc. (*j*).

Walsh in his reply, Dublin, October 26th, discusses not only the question of the town courts, but also that of the burgagery lands.

Mr. Mayor—Your letter I received wherein you desire that I should prohibit my deputy seneschal from keeping a Court Leet within the precinct of Clonmel in the behalf of and by the authority of his Grace my Lord Duke of Ormond, offering for a reason that you keep a Leet by prescription and charter, and that if his Grace claims his by prescription, you desire it may be proved. I have often heard and read that the lord of a manor may prescribe in a Court Leet to be held within the precinct of his manor, but certainly this is the first time that I heard a corporation to make title to a Leet by prescription unless it were in relation to a manor.

You are pleased to say that a customary manor hath been held out of a manor, but a Leet out of a Leet was never yet reported. I must acknowledge my ignorance so far that I cannot understand this part of your letter, therefore shall leave the construction of it to such as you please further to advise with, and shall state the case as it is. It will clearly appear to be thus. My Lord Duke of Ormond and his ancestors and those whose estates they had, are and were lords of the manor of Clonmel, and by good title kept their Courts Leet and Baron there. The burgesses held all their burgagery lands as of that manor, as all those of Kilkenny hold of the Castle of Kilkenny, those of Callan from the Manor of Callan, those of Gowran from the Manor of Gowran, and those of Knocktopher, Inistioge and Old Ross, being all burgageries, held of the same manors, all pay their chiefries as Clonmel does, and the courts kept in the towns without contradiction, and yet all these have Leets of their own. Clonmel obtained a charter by which they are to keep a court Leet, and so have the corporations before mentioned. Must it therefore follow that the Lord's Leet shall vanish?

I doubt he that is of this opinion may as well make you believe that a Court Baron neither can be kept there, notwithstanding that it is an incident inseparable to every manor. And to say that you cannot inform yourselves of any Court Leet to have been held there at any time, no more I believe do you hear of a Court Baron to be held. Must it therefore follow there shall be no such Court? It is true that a non-user may in some cases destroy a prescription, but not a grant or incident. Upon the whole matter I must crave your pardon in not subscribing to your request, which so much and so apparently might tend to his Grace's prejudice in his right interest, and may render me guilty of breaking the trust reposed in me, being ready in any other justifiable way to manifest myself, etc. (*k*).

The desire of Ormond's representative to re-establish the courts baron and leet would seem to have arisen from the financial burthen which the Palatinate imposed upon the Duke. It does not appear that the perquisites of the courts were at any time sufficient to maintain the Chancellor, Justice, Attorney-General and other officials *(l)*. In an earlier period when turbulence

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(j) Ormonde Papers III., 92.

(k) Ibid., p. 245, but wrongly placed among the papers of 1666.

(l) You will soon receive the Table of Fees established in the County Palatine Courts here (in England) which will I hope be of some use unto you to form and regulate that of Tipperary, which as it is now, occasions a great change unto my Lord far above the profits of it.—Duchess of Ormond to George Mathew, May 7th, 1672.

led to forfeitures, and all forfeited estates fell to the lord of the liberty, the Ormonds had built themselves up on the ruins of the Burkes, Berminghams, Englishes, Keatings and others of the older Tipperary families, but now the "Lordship of the Liberties and Regalities" was a mere empty honour.

In 1715, after an existence of nearly four hundred years, the Palatinate of Tipperary came to an end. Loyalty to the Crown, which had been so long the beacon to the Ormonds, became at last the rock on which they were wrecked. The second Duke adhered to the Stuarts and fell with them. The Act 2, George I., Chapter 8, "An Act for extinguishing the Regalities and Liberties of the County of Tipperary and Cross Tipperary commonly called the County Palatine of Tipperary; and for vesting in His Majesty the estate of James Butler, commonly called James Duke of Ormond and for giving a Reward of ten thousand pounds to any person who shall seize or secure him, in case he shall attempt to land in this kingdom," extinguished the liberties granted by Charles II. and his predecessors, and vested all honors, manors, etc., of the Duke of Ormond in the king without office or inquisition *(m)*.

(m) The following is a list of the Palatinate officials during the period 1662-1715:—

Seneschal, Chief Justice and Chancellor—1662 Earl of Arran, 1678 Edward Herbert, 1683 Sir John Meade, 1704 Francis Bernard, 1705 Francis Bernard.

Second Justice and Master of Rolls.—1662, William Davys, 1686 Sir Richard Reeves, 1692 Standish Hartstonge, 1705 Robert Blennerhassett, 1713 John Jenkins.

Attorney-General—1662 Godwin Swift, 1671 Standish Harstong, 1680 William Worth, 1682 Henry Turner.

Clerk of Market—1662 William Hamilton, 1680 Robert Lane, 1685 Oliver Latham, 1699 Robert White, 1703 Benjamin Portlock.

Clerk of Crown and Peace—1670 William Ekins, 1684 Andrew Ram and James Dobins, 1693 William Ekins and John Waring.

The above list is only approximate as to dates.

CHAPTER XXII.

CENSUS OF 1659.

THE following census of the barony of Iffa and Offa (at present divided into two baronies, East and West), for 1659 is taken from a MS. abstract in the Royal Irish Academy, which was made in 1864 by Mr. W. H. Hardinge from the original returns. An account of the census will be found in Transactions, Vol. XXIV.

Apart from its interest as portion of the earliest census of Ireland, it supplies some important particulars as to the Cromwellian proceedings in the district. First, it is quite clear that unlike the plantations of Elizabeth and James I., no attempt was made in Tipperary at least, to put down bodies of English settlers in detail. The barony of Iffa and Offa was allotted to the Adventurers, as they were styled—merchants, petty tradesmen and townsfolk. Now these of all people in the world were least willing to lie in the bear's nest while the bear was only half killed. Nor was the settlement of the baronies allotted to the soldiers—Eliogarty, for example—more thorough. Prendergast's conjecture that the private soldiers never planted in any considerable numbers proves to have been correct.

It will be observed also that although the lands had been set out for some three or four years, only about a dozen Cromwellian proprietors had taken up residence. On the other hand, Richard Keating of Nicholastown, James Tobin of Garnavilla, John Fitzgerald of Shanrahan, and others who had been transplanted and allotted lands in Connaught, were back again in the neighbourhood of their old habitations. Stories used to be told how the Cromwellian grantee fascinated by the daughter of the old proprietor married her; or again, how the old proprietor lived as a pauper dependant in the house he had once owned *(n)*. The census supplies an historical basis for such traditions.

(n) Two generations of the Daltons, former owners of Bessborough, lived with the Ponsonbys there.

The census for Iffa and Offa East is illustrated by the Hearth Money returns for the year 1664, which furnish the names of each person who had a "hearth, firing place or stove" in his house *(o)*.

The Fiants of Elizabeth which belong to a period over sixty years earlier, have been drawn on where available. But as the inhabitants of Iffa and Offa East were generally loyal to Elizabeth, the number of pardons for that district is fewer than for other parts of the county.

PARISH OF CARRICK *(p)*.

Townlands.	*Tituladoes.*	*English.*	*Irish.*
Monodihy ...	...	5	10
Bealladuny ...	John Neale, Gent. ...	2	26

NEWTOWNLENNAN *(q)*.

Townlands.	*Tituladoes.*	*English.*	*Irish.*
Richardstown ...	...	—	25
Ballyneganagh ...	...	6	18
Cregg ...	...	—	10
Newtownlennan ...	...	2	34
Maynstown ...	...	—	27
Ballynory ...	...	—	47

(o) For which the writer is indebted to Thomas Laffan, M.D.

(p) In the H.M. returns where there is more than one hearth, the number is indicated in brackets. *Carrick*—Daniel Connelly, Daniel Maher, Donough Flynn, David Magher, John Prendergast [thirteen obliterations], Henry Davies, John Bryan, John the hatter, James Mortimer, James Linch (2, an oven and a kiln), John Faker (2), James Neale junior (3), John Potter, John McGrath junior, John Carew (2), John Corrigan, Ignatius Briver, John O'Fyne, James Paton, John Fline, John Fitzmurry, John McGrath junior, John Cudihy, James Comerford, James Meagher, John Slane, John Pill, James Neale jun., Giles Daniell, John Brenoge, James Canane, Corn. Bryan, Kenedy Quin (2), Michael Samott (3), Morish Mahony, Morish Whelahan, Marcus Henrahan, Michael Lynch, Philip Brenagh, Peter Cahoe (3), Peter Linch, Peter Cullnane, Phillip Brenagh, Peter Brenagh, Peter Milward (3), Paul Dugin, Richard Dixon (3), Richard White, Richard Dowly, Richard Conway, Robert McTeige, Richard Brenagh, Robert Butler, Thomas Shephard (3), Thomas Reyly, Teig Hickey, Thomas Gaule, Thomas Kerwicke, Thomas McGrath, Thomas Stasie, Thomas Neale (3), Thomas McDanniell, Thomas Mortimer, William Headin (3), William Barnard (4), Walter Wallice (3), Walter Neale (2), Walter Cleare, William Hennard (2), Walter Deveran (3), Walter Andren, Walter Callure, William Kennedy (3). Walter Pollane, James Hartrey, William Clayton (2), Katherine Sutton (5), William Hackett, Teige Kealy, Thomas Kealy, James English (2 and a forge), William Ryan, William McEdmund, Walter Butler, Donnough Dwyre, Thomas Welsh, Phillip Kennedy, Edmund Wedner, David Woodlock, Edmd. McCleare.

(q) Richardstown—Bryan Hogane (2), William Shea, Dermot Costello, Dermot Neale, William McDavid, John Duigin, Thomas Cantwell, William Donoghow, two waste houses. *Mainstown*—Pierce Neale (2), John Connolly, Morrish Linchey, William McJohn, John Neale, Thomas Neale, Teige Carrow, three waste houses. *Butlerstown*—Edmund Mandeville (2), Edmund Laffan, Bennen Helane, John Power, Dermot Funell, Morish McThomas, Teig Micane, Phillip Dempsey, three waste houses.

KILLMURRY *(r)*.

Townlands.	*Tituladoes.*	*English.*	*Irish.*
Ballyneale ...	John Spillman, Gent. ...	2	52
Lissodobr ...	...	—	22
Mollagh ...	...	—	22
Figglash ...	...	4	49
Ballyneclony ...	...	—	43
Ardcollum ...	...	—	15
Ballinoreran ...	...	—	15
Curraghdobbin ...	John Hogan, Gent. ...	—	31
Mueretybegg ...	...	—	7
Mueretymore ...	...	2	1
Garryduff ...	...	—	31
Ballydyne ...	John Mandeville, Gent. ...	6	14
Ballinurry ...	...	—	8

KILSHEELAN *(s)*.

Townlands.	*Tituladoes.*	*English.*	*Irish.*
Maganstown ...	...	—	5
Mynerstown ...	...	2	7

(r) Ballyneale—John Shaw (5), John Carroll, William Sexton. *Lisdobur*—Lewis Davy (2), Brian Meane, William Mahoony, Daniel Sexton, John Welch, Thomas McWalter, Philip Kennedy, James Daton, Philip Meane, William Neale. *Mologh*—James Blanchfield (2), Patrick Quean, Donogh Kelly, Edmond Clenane, William Dergan, Ellice Carrew. *Figlassy*—John Neale (2), John Shea, David Neale, Nicholas McDavid, William Hogan, James McJohn, John Quine, Dermot Morrish, Teig Dowley, Richard McWilliam, waste four. *Ballynecloony*—Pierce Daton (2), Richard Hanyne, Philip Hanyn, James Welsh, Thomas Shea, Ellen Mahoony, William Webstere, Richard Hogan, three waste. *Ardcollum*—Thomas Quoan (2), waste house. *Ballynoran*—John Butler (2), Thomas Browder, William Leahy, Morris McEdmund, waste house. *Ballynemony*—Nicholas Roche (2), John Twohy, Thomas McGrath, John Phelane, two waste. *Curraghdobbin*—Thomas Mandeville (2), Morris Power, Lewis Walsh, William Gonigh, Peter Wall, John Morris, two waste. *Muerety*—Walter Elmer (2), John Phelan, James Dwyer, Nicholas Knaron, John Mahoony, David Hennessy, John Butler, Mologh Phelan, Morris Guise, three waste. *Contagh*—Thomas McGrath (2), John Murphy, Francis Thomas, Darby Murphy, Edmund Bourke, William Kenna, three waste. *Ballythomas*—Murtagh Doran, Edmund Tobin, Thomas Davin, Moris Shulavan, Thomas McEdmund, John Burke, three waste. *Ballydine*—James Mandeville (2), James Morrish, David Cowny, John Cowny, Michael McTeig, Richard Birne (a forge), Edmund Hogan, John Carbry, William Hogan, Morris Walsh, one waste.

(s) Maganstown—James Dwan, David Seaton, Philip Seaton, one waste. *Kilsheelan*—William Mulloony, Thomas Leamy, William Burke, George Clarke (2), John Wall, James Meagher, three waste. *Ballyneraha*—John Mandeville (5), John Cooke (2), Richard Cormac, Connor Carroll, Rowland Cooke, Edmund Kennedy, Cormack McDonnell, David Ryan, John Gow, Darby Quidehy, Edmond Mire, James Melode, Edmond Hogan, Thomas Shea, Richard Moloony, Mrs. Mandeville (2), four waste. *Poulckerry*—Thomas Webb (2), James Dalton, David Hogan, Pierce Neale, Noany Hally, two waste. *Newtown Anner*—Michael White (4), Edmund O'Moloony, John foley, Thomas Walsh, Daniel O'foley, Neal O'Daniel, Darby Cleare, Ellen Breen, two waste. *Ballinamore*—Dermot McGrath, John Daniell, Richard O'Mullryan, James O'Daniell, Edmund Hogan, Donough Hogan, one waste. *Seskin*—Philim O'Neale (2), Pierse Conway, William Trehy, William Loghnane, William Rea, Turlogh Daniell, David Connell (a forge), Mclaghlin Forin, three waste. *Ballyglasheen*—Mrs. Valentine Blunt (5), James Heelan (2), Donogh Dwyre, William Connell, John Kennedy, Philip Dempsy, Pierse Dempsy, William Godfrey, John Maher, Richard McJohn, Ellen Kelly, two waste.

Townlands.	*Tituladoes.*	*English.*	*Irish.*
Ballynerahy ...	James White, Gent ...	—	34
Part of Ballyneal ...	John Elmer, Gent ...	3	9
Poulecherry ...	...	—	23
Newtownanner ...	...	1	18
Ballanamore ...	...	—	12
Ballyglasheen ...	...	—	18
Seskin ...	John Ankettle ...	2	4

KILCASH *(t)*.

Townlands.	*Tituladoes.*	*English.*	*Irish.*
Kilcash ...	...	4	77
Mylodstown ...	...	—	21
Killnorassey ...	James Comerford, Gent, Lady Travers Butler	5	40

TEMPLETNEY *(u)*.

Townlands.	*Tituladoes.*	*English.*	*Irish.*
Graigeclohy ...	Daniel Gwin, Gent ...	2	14
Ballylin ...	James Butler, Gent ...	—	23
Ballyboe ...	Michael Gwin, Gent ...	2	31

(t) Milodstown—Thomas Clarke (2), Richard Thompson, Edmund Hanye, Dermod McGrath, James Clancy, William Quinlan, two waste. *Kilnoryse*—Donough McWilliam, James McJohn, James Comerford, Richard Harrell, two waste. *Clonghcorrigeen*—Francis Neale (2), Paul Roughan, John Hogan, Catherine Wall, Ellice Brittan, Ellen Quirke, Margaret Wall, William Cooney, Thomas Butler, three waste.

(u) Templeheny—Michael Gwin (2), John Bawn, Hugh Bee, Connor McDonough, Josneagh Egane, William McTeige, Edmund Duggin, Richard McTibbott, John Bevane, John Gregan, Thomas Crottie, Darby Skehane (a forge), two waste. *Ballyboe*—Edmond Bacon, Loughlin Quigley, Thomas Friscan, Roger Murphy, Hugh Quin, William Loghlin, Thomas Anglasny, Margaret Butler, Edmond White, John McThomas, Edward Mandeville, Catherine McRichard, John McOwen, Teig McJohn, Owen Walsh, four waste. *Killorney*—Oliver Walsh (2), Richard Morrissy, Edmond O'Shehan, Morris Currin, Margaret Ultagh, Edmond Wall, John Healy, James Dempsey, Theobald Butler, Thomas Fennessy, Walter Welsh, William Connolly, John Crehane, Derby Clansy, Jane Neale, Pierce Connor, David Helane, Teige Moloughny, Connor McRyan, James White, [44 names obliterated], Stephen Cooke, James Roe, James Walsh, Thomas McJohn, Michael Spillane, Owen Quigley, Murtogh Mahony, Donough Morrissy, Daniel Mahony, Elizabeth Brenoge, Teig Maher, Thomas Shea, More Dungane, Donough Egane, Pierce Dalton Donough Clovane, William Mongan, Augustus Kehoe, Teig Trohy, John Evistin, Edmund Helane, Thomas Mahoney, Jeffry Walsh, William Grady, Giles Kelly, Patrick Henden, Thomas Royly, Dermot Boggy, Thomas Massan, Richard Lunty, Terlogh Dulane, Daniel Dwine, John Magher (a forge), David Stoake, five waste. *Coolonan*—James Walsh (2), William Connell, Edmund Brittan, Donogh Grady, William Welsh, John O'Fennessy, two waste. *Lisnetnbrid*—John Butler (2), Pierse Butler, Pierse Cantwell, Donogh Cleare, Pierse Butler, John O'Mahone, Philip Phelane, James Poore, William McDonnell, Andrew Bushell, Catherine McPhilip, Thomas Healy (a forge), William Kelly, Robert Poore, John Connell, William Roe, William Morrissy, Constance Duevane, Edmund Mulcahey, William McBryan, James Stapleton (2), Ellen McJohn, six waste. *Templny*—Darby Quin, Mary Welsh, David Lyne, Elizabeth Quin, Jeffry Walsh.

Townlands.		*Tituladoes.*		*English.*	*Irish.*
Killurney	...		...	4	43
Ballyboe	...		...	—	5
Cooleowneen	...		...	5	9
Lisnedobred	...		...	—	2
Templetney	...		...	—	5

GRANGEMOCKLER *(v)*.

Townlands.		*Tituladoes.*		*Irish.*
Beallanamoe	...		...	10

KILLELUAN *(w)*.

Townlands.		*Tituladoes.*		*Irish.*
Priorstown	...		...	7
Killefernagh	...		...	7

KILLGRANT *(x)*.

Townlands.		*Tituladoes.*		*English.*	*Irish.*
Glanleemy	...		...	—	15
Powerstown	...		...	—	15
Redmondstown	...		...	—	19
Milerstown	...	Richard Elly, Gent	...	3	9
Little Lawlestown	...		...	—	3
Ballinvohyr	...		...	—	17
Rathkyvan	...		...	—	23

(v) Breancrmore—William Lunny, Richard Dan, John Hine, Dermod Dolohanty, John McDarby, John McPhilip, James Morris, Phillip Meagher, Morris Reily (2), two waste houses, the mill of Kelleagh. *Tulaghea*—Pierse Butler (2), John Daniell, John Croake, Richard Daw, Morris McEdmund, Robert Patrick, William Kervicke, three waste.

(w) Priorstown—Owen Hogan, Daniel Higgin, John Flahertie, Danil Givey, two waste. *Butlerstown*—Mr. Thomas Mandeville (2), Peter Wall, Simon Forestall. *Kilolane*—John McDermot, John McTeig, one waste.

(x) Glenleamy—John Murphy (2), Pierce Richard, John Maxy, William Bough, Connor Bane, Teig Meagher, three waste. *Powerstown*—Teig Murphy (2), Edmond Connor, John Mackey, Joane Cones, two waste. *Redmondstown*—Edmond Phillip (2), Darby Meagher (a forge), William Kearne, David Hennessy, James Welsh, David Dorney, John Rissord, Thomas Welsh, Thomas McRichard, three waste. *Ballivoher*—Donough Edmund, John Meagher, Thomas Meagher, John Currane, three waste, [five obliterations]. *Rathkivan*—John O'Neale (2), one waste. *Ballinmony*—John Mullraine (2), John Meagher, James Deraley, John Moholohane, two waste.

RATHRONANE *(y)*.

Townlands.	*Tituladoes.*	*Irish.*
Rathronan ..	...	26
Croughtamory ...	...	2
Ballynemony ...	...	44
Orchardstown ...	...	28
Lawlestown more ...	...	6

LISRONAGH *(z)*.

Townlands.	*Tituladoes.*	*English.*	*Irish.*
Court Lisronagh ...	...	—	31
Monemehill ...	...	—	4
Cahirclough ...	...	—	9
Killmore ...	...	—	21
Garranvile ...	...	—	29
Lissronagh ...	John Shawe, Gent. ...	1	37

DONOUGHMORE *(aa)*.

Townlands.	*Tituladoes.*	*Irish.*
Ballingarrane ...	...	9
Tubberhaney ...	...	16
Garryroe ...	...	16

(y) Rathronan—Henry Thompson (2), Daniel Ryan, Daniel Deane, Logh Shellane (a forge), Loghlin Hicklane, John Dwire, Darby Raghter, Donough Meagher, Thomas Bourke, Thomas Heale, John McRichard, two waste. *Orchardstown*—Richard Kelly, Darby Meagher, John McDonogh, Edmd Kelly, two waste. *Lawlestown*—Walter Dowgan, John Neale, two waste.

(z) Lisronagh—Teig Carrol (2), Edmond Heffernan, William Cassin, Darby Carroll, William Gowe (2), Daniel Cleary, Ellen Hornet, William Curran, William Burke, Theobald Burke, Richard Howett, David Hogan, Daniel Carroll, David Hoghy, Teig McEdmond, Daniel Helane, John Doughey, Redmond Howett, Margaret Lonergan, John Neale. *Monemehill*—Henry Francis (2), Pierce Daw, Teig McJohn, two waste. *Cahirclough*—William Dwyre (2), Edmond Helane, William Helane, Morris Murphy, James Wodloke, Teig Neale, Thomas Keating, Darby Hogan, Thomas Dwyre, Joane Daniell, John Dorny, four waste. *Killmore*—David Welsh (2), Philip Connell, Bryan Daniell, William McTeig, John Hogan, Constance Hogan, Edmond Hackett (2), John David, Owen McRichard, John McRichard, Thomas Butler, Connor Mulryan, Daniel Heffernan, Richard Power, four waste. *Garranmorhy*—William Edmond (2), Walter Welsh, James Keyley, Thomas Brenane, William Richard, William Clensey, Morris Dowell, John Rowe, Philip Rowe, John Allen, John Mullryan, Donogh Meaghan, Constance Daniell, four waste.

(aa) Ballygarrane—Philip English, gent., John O'Fahy, Bennet White, Edmond Brennock, Donogh Heine. *Garryroe*—Brian O'Lonergan, Edmund fitz Maurice and Kenedy ni Davy Lonergan, Francis Hurley, Donal O'Hogan.—Fiants Elizabeth.

NEWCHAPPLE *(bb)*.

Townlands.	*Tituladoes.*	*English.*	*Irish.*
Knockenanama ...	Edward Batty, Gent. ...	1	36
Chancellorstown ...	...	—	9
Ballytarsney ...	...	—	17
Ballyvelish ...	...	—	14
Newchapple ...	...	—	27
Ballyhimkin ...	...	—	20
Mollenony ...	...	—	45

BALLYCLEARAHAN *(cc)*.

Townlands.	*Tituladoes.*	*Irish.*
Ballyclearahan ...	...	85

ABBY MISLONAGHTY *(dd)*.

Townlands.	*Tituladoes.*	*English.*	*Irish.*
Morestown ...	Godfrey Greene, Esq. ...	3	92
Kilballynemony ...	...	—	46
Glandbane ...	...	—	12
Ballyorley ...	...	—	5
Abbey Newtoun ...	Edward Batty, Gent. ...	4	152
Gortmore and Pat. Chapple	...	—	11
Garrytemple ...	...	—	35
Monksgrange ...	...	—	53

(bb) Knockenanama—Pardon to Pierse Butler and More ny Brean his wife, 1599. *Ballytarsney*—Nicholas Hackett, gent., Richard Hackett, kern, Connor O'Meagher, Thomas Butler, gent., Richard fitz John O'Maher, yeoman, John Kearney fitz William, Walter fitz Redmond Hackett, yeoman. *Mollaghnoney*—Edmond, Walter and Thomas Butler, gentlemen.—Ibid.

(cc) Ballyclearahan—James Ballaughe Butler, Richard fitz Edmd Tobin, Morough McCahill, kerns, Patrick Purcell, Gibbon Blanchfield, horsemen, Edmond and Jeffry Mockler, James and Nicholas McCodie, yeomen.—Fiants, Elizabeth.

(dd) Moortown—Richard Keating, gent., John Keating fitz Richard Duf, and David Burke, yeomen, Thomas and William Brenagh, husbandmen. *Kilballynemona*—Morish and Derby Buren, Robt. reogh, Garret fitz Edmund Prendergast, Garret Fennell, Dermot O'Donnell, Mlaughlin and Dermot McDonogh, Philip Keating, gent., Piers Hackett and Ellice Bourke his wife. *Monksgrange*—Terence McShane O'Donnell, Conor fitz John Daniel, yeomen, William McDonough, Thomas O'Kennedie, Thomas Burke fitz Richard, Edmond Burke fitz Edward.—Ibid.

DERRYGRATH *(ee)*.

Townlands.	*Tituladoes.*	*English.*	*Irish.*
Derrygrath ...	...	—	13
Killmalloge ...	...	—	31
Ballindoney ...	...	—	32
Ballythomas ...	Paule Keating, Gent. ...	—	10
Nichollstown ...	Richard Keating, Gent. ...	2	72
Garryroe ...	William Keating, Gent. ...	—	23

CAHYR *(ff)*.

Townlands.	*Tituladoes.*	*English.*	*Irish.*
Cahyr	Thomas Thompson, Gent.	23	121
Cahir Abby ...	James Thompson, Gent. ...	3	59
Loughlohery ...	...	4	52
Bally McAdam ...	...	—	25
Kelleen Butler ...	...	—	15
Grangemore ...	...	—	21
Suttonrath ...	...	—	9
Killemlagh ...	...	—	10
Cnockagh ...	...	—	27

(ee) Ballindoncy—Morris Phelane, husbandman, Richard roe Keating, gent., Mahon O'Hogan. *Ballythomas*—William Bourke, Loghlin O'Mulrian, Morish English, Donagh McQuin, yeomen, David McHenry Bourke. *Nicholastown*—John Keating, Richard Keating, gent., Edmund Keating, yeoman, William Keating, John Bourke, yeoman, Robert Keating, yeoman, Richard Butler, gent. *Garryroe*—Edmund fitz Maurice Lonergan, farmer, Richard Burke Dermot, Francis Hurley, David Hurley, Daniel O'Hogan, Kennedy McDavid Lonergan, Brian O'Lonergan, John Daniel, John McSheehy, Edmond and Barnaby Karney fitz Philip.

(ff) Cahir and Mortlestowne parishes—Edmund Daniel (3 and a kiln), Thomas White (2), Richard Goulding, Mathew Evans, Walter Poore, Leonard Creagh (2), Thomas Carroll, Thomas Cooke, Constance Daniell, Walter Nory, William Murphy, James Murphy, Patrick Shurthall, Thomas Meagher, Nicholas Butler, Nicholas Morony, Thomas Kearney, Daniel Hickey (a forge), Edmund Tobin, Thomas Cohane, Philip McWilliam, Connor Duffe, Daniel Hickey (a forge), John Pendergrass, James McWilliam, Thomas McAdam, Thomas Roe (2), Thomas Tobin, Piers White, William Hogan, John Browne, Philip Mullany, Edmund McAdam (six illegible), William Roe, Thomas Powell (four illegible), John Riddle, Garret Mageon, John Milode, William McEward, Walter Morrisshy, Philip Meagher, Phillip Corane, Thomas Dee, Edmund O'Quirke, Roger Keneghane, Daniel Meagher (a forge), William McQuin, Andrew Laid (3 and an oven), Phillip Keatinge, Patrick Tobin, David Hickey, six waste. *Cahir Abbey*—Jeffry Mockler (2), John Scolane, Piers Butler, Teig Gow (a forge), James Walsh, David McShane, William McTeig, Daniel Clavane, Thomas Scolane, John McKelly, David Bourke, James Bath, Millany Lorkane, Roger Lonergan, Richard McShane, Richard Toben, Joane Luby, two waste. *Ballybradoc*—Edmund Keating (3), John Carroll, Teig Maher, William Heany, John Dowdy, Manus Lahy, Evans David, William Meagher, Murtogh Phelane, Richard Hennessy, two waste. *Kilcommonbeg*—John ffennell (5), Richard Valkine, Brian Daniell, Edmund Daniell, William Boy, Morish Daton, David Hickey, John McMahon, John McTeig, John Cahasy, Conor Dugan (a forge), one waste. *Clonmore*—Darby Leagh, Darby Doorane, David Hogan, David McWilliam.—H.M. Returns.

Townlands.	*Tituladoes.*	*English.*	*Irish.*
Ballynenonagh	... ...	—	7
Ballyholly	... ...	—	6
Garran Ivelly	James & Thomas Tobyn, Gents.	—	36
Cloghstany	... ...	—	17
Scart Killcoman	... ...	—	28
Keadragh	... Francis Bigg, Esq. ...	8	33

ROCHESTOWN *(gg)*.

Townlands.	*Tituladoes.*	*English.*	*Irish.*
Rochestown	... ...	4	26
Richestown	... ...	—	4
Ardfinnan	Capt. William Palmer, Gent.	3	103
Cloghnicody	... ...	2	23

NEDDANS *(hh)*.

Townlands.	*Tituladoes.*	*Irish.*
Neddans	William Hogan & John Hogan, Gents.	25
Cloghardin	... ...	14
Ballyneety	... ...	8
Lack Mᶜ Korsh	... ...	8
Rathogally	... ...	13
Cloghcully	... ...	17
Mollagh	... ...	13
Garrynehashy	... ...	28
Burgessland	... ...	8

(gg) Rochestown—William English fitz Eustace, gent., John English, John Wall, Redmond English, Edmond Keating, Teig Etermen McGillepatrick, Edmund English fitz John, horsemen, Edmund English, gent., and Ellen Morris, his wife, John Piers and James his sons. *Ardfinnan*—James and David Gall, horsemen, David Agherane, Brian O'Byrne, Edmund Brenagh, James Butler fitz Theobald, William fitz James Brenagh, John Butler, gent., James Tobin, John O'Donil, David Hickey fitz Thomas, Piers Forstall, Thomas O'Comyn, Edward Blake. *Clonacody*—Edmund Butler fitz Theobald, Derby Meagher, Philip McTeig O'Meagher.—Fiants, Elizabeth.

(hh) Neddans—Teig Duff McDonogh, James Ronane, vicar, Edmund and Jeffry Prendergast, yeomen. *Lackmackorish*—Richard Prendergast fitz Maurice, gent. *Rathogally*—Thomas Prendergast, Robert Prendergast, husbandmen, John Prendergast, Thomas fitz John, Robert fitz John, kerns, Robert fitz Thomas, yeoman. *Cloghcully*—Patrick English, kern, Laurence Brennagh, horseboy, Derby McDonil, David fitz Morris, yeomen, Edmund Butler fitz Theobald, Thomas Fennessy, William Kelly. *Mollough*—Walter Prendergast, yeoman, David fitz Edmund O'Donnell, William Flaghie, John fitz Morris McDermodie, David McShane and John McRorie McGrath.—Ibid.

TULLAMEOLAN *(ii)*.

Townlands.	*Tituladoes.*	*English.*	*Irish.*
Knockeen ...	...	—	26
Tullaghmeolan ...	...	—	8
Ballymorris ...	...	—	10
Ballybeg ...	...	—	15
Carrig Heartry ...	...	—	22
Old grage ...	...	—	4
Knocklofty ...	...	2	30

NEWCASTLE *(jj)*.

Townlands.	*Tituladoes.*	*English.*	*Irish.*
Newcastle ...	...	8	65
Kilnecarragy ...	...	—	25
Croane ...	...	3	12
Clasgany ...	...	—	34
Garryduff ...	...	—	13
Curraghetoneen ...	...	—	5
Boulisallagh ...	...	—	13

(ii) Knockeen—Donel reogh O'Keanedy, husbandman, William Hykey, weaver, William M'Evarde, husbandman, Morris fitz Robert Prendergast, yeoman. *Tullaghmelan*—William Wall, horseman, Edmund Prendergast, clerk, Donagh O'Glissan. *Ballymorris*—Daniel McPhilip McRorie McGrath, gent., Brien Kennedy, Teig O'Brien, Turlogh O'Kennedy, William Cleary, Ulick Burke, fitz William fitz Thomas and Honor Kennedy his wife, Edmund fitz Philip Prendergast, John Birne, Conor O'Meagher, Thomas fitz John fitz Geoffry, William and John fitz Thomas McGrath. *Ballybeg*—Gerald Prendergast fitz Philip, Edmund and Jeffry fitz James Prendergast, yeomen, Catherine, Margaret and Grany, daughters of Donald O'Trohie, physician, James Fennell, physician, Symon Cantwell. *Graig.*—David McEdmond Galdie Burke, gent., Patrick fitz David, Gillepatrick O'Dowle, Edmund O'Rian, Edmund O'Farrell, Conor Tenors, yeoman, Richard Grace, gent., Thomas Butler, Rorie O'Brien, yeoman, Richard Hackett fitz Philip. *Knocklofty*—Thomas Keating, John and Manus McHugh O'Donnell, Dermot McCon O'Daniell, Edmund Prendergast, Morris fitz Robert Prendergast, yeomen, Rorie McDonil O'Meagher, goldsmith, James Butler alias Goldie, gentleman, Dermot McQuin O'Donil, Donogh O'Donell, James English fitz Walter, William reogh O'Mehollaghan, James Keating fitz Richard, yeoman.—Ibid.

(jj) Newcastle—Geffry Prendergast, gent., John fitz James Prendergast, James fitz Thomas Prendergast, yeomen, Philip and Hugh O'Meagher, carpenters, Morris Prendergast, carpenter, Owen McDonogh McGrath, Morris Brenagh, Morris Byrne, husbandmen, William Gorman, William Keating, James Prendergast, gent., Owen and Morris Aherne, Geoffry brack Prindergass, John McDonel Aherne, Maurice M'Redmond Condon, William McMorris Tobin, Teig McDonel Jenowan, Thomas Morcho, kerns. *Kilnecarriga*—Richard fitz Morris Prendergast, yeoman, Edmund Prendergast, gent. *Croane*—Thomas fitz Robert Prendergast, horseman, Garrot Prendergast, Walter Prendergast, husbandmen. *Clasgany*—William Birran fitz Richard, husbandman. *Garryduff*—Thomas leith Prendergast, Thomas O'Keating, husbandmen, Morris Kinagh Prendergast, William fitz Thomas Butler, Theobald Butler, sheriff, Thos. McGilleniff O'Dwyer, yeoman, Derby O'Dwan, harper, William Burke, gent., Thomas Berran fitz Richard. *Curraghcloney*—Donogh ap O'Hallinan, yeoman, Connor O'Cullinan. *Ballysallagh*—James fitz Geoffry Prendergast, William O'Carran, Edmond Keating, farmers, John fitz Robert Prendergast, Morris Carragh Prendergast, husbandmen.—Ibid.

BALLYBECAN *(kk)*

Townlands.	*Tituladoes.*	*English.*	*Irish.*
Gormandstown	Anthony Chearneley, Gent.	—	63
Tullagh	... ...	2	28
Killdonogh	... ...	4	25
Garryroe	Garrot Prendergast & Edmond his son	—	27
Ballygonnan	... ...	—	10
Frehans	... ...	—	19
Kilmeen	... ...	—	13
Ballyreety	... ...	—	11
Killfrehane	... ...	—	31
Carhew	... ...	—	10
Killardemer	... ...	—	34

TUBRID *(ll)*.

Townlands.	*Tituladoes.*	*Irish.*
Kilroe	... ...	32
Burgess	... ...	30
Kilcoran	... ...	17
Whitechurch	... ...	12

(kk) Gormanstown—Thomas Keating, James Keating, Kenedy O'Lonergan, husbandmen. *Tullagh*—Nicholas Daton, James fitz William oge Butler, David Fanning, Thomas O'Cashen, Donal McEa buy, Edward Kelly fitz Barnaby, John Keating, Turlough O'Haleghan, Thomas O'Haleghan, Edward Keating, Edward Prendergast. *Kildonogh*—Theobald McWalter, Brian O'Donel, Edmond fitz James Prendergast, horseman, Geffry and Robert fitz James, kerns, James Nevill Prendergast, Thomas Prendergast. *Garryroe*—Richard Burke Dermot, Francis and David Hurlie, Donal O'Hogan, Kenedy McDavie Lonergan, Brian O'Lonergan, Edward fitz Maurice Lonergan. *Frehans*—Thomas Prendergast fitz Robert, gent., Thomas Wall, John O'Kenedy, Conor McGranell, Alstrum Bourke fitz Richard, Walter Prendergast, gent., Felix O'Mulryan and Simon Lonergan, kerns, Thomas O'Morrssey and David Healie, horsemen, Jeffry Prendergast, yeoman. *Killmecn*—Thomas roth fitz James Prendergast, gent., Edmund Prendergast, husbandman. *Ballyhcslie*—David and William Bourke fitz Thomas.—Ibid.

(ll) Burgess—John McGrath McEneas, gent., Rory McEa McGrath, Hugh McRorie McGrath, John fitz Thomas Lonergan, yeoman. *Kilcoran*—Donogh O'Dowdy, husbandman, Mahon O'Dea, husbandman. *Whitechurch*—Richard fitz Maurice Prendergast, Manus McShihie, yeomen, William O'Corban, husbandman, Redmund and William English, kerns, Walter fitz Henry. *Rehill*—Teig O'Heffernan, Walter Neale, James O'Haghir, James Helane, Patrick O'Haghir, Hugh Keogh, John Bathe, Owen Clancy, yeomen, John fitz William Burke, Edmond O'Donull, John McDonoghow, Darby O'Meagher, James Hickey, Philip Braghan, William McOwen, husbandmen. *Roosca*—Redmond Comyn, Thomas fitz Theobald Purcell, William Butler, Edmund McShihie. *Ballydrenan*—David Oge Lonergan, horseman, John fitz William Lonergan, husbandman, Donogh O'Fennesy, smith. *Tubrid*—Philip Oge Lonergan, yeoman, William Greehan, Daniel O'Reilly, husbandmen, Donogh Moel McGrath. *Ballylomasna*—Owen McGrath, John McOwen McGrath, gents, John McTomie, Flan McOwen and Rorie McThomas, farmers. *Drumloman*—William McDonnell, Teig O'Lonergan, horseman, William McShane McGrath, William McThomas, Donogh O'Kennedy, Donogh O'Loughnan, John Loughnan, husbandmen. *Ballingarran*—Daniel O'Heyn, William Lonergan, husbandmen, Philip English, Owen J. Connerie.—Ibid.

Townlands.	*Tituladoes.*	*English.*	*Irish.*
Reahill ...	...	5	55
Whitechurch ...	...	—	21
Reahill ...	George Mathews, Esq. ...	6	45
Ruscath ...	Thomas Aylmer, Gent. ...	10	39
	Nicholas and Robert Ovington, Gents.		
	James Glissane, Gent.		
Ballydrenan ...	...	—	29
Tubbrib ...	...	—	43
Ballylomasney ...	...	—	23
Drumloman ...	...	—	6
Knockanecanboy ...	...	—	2
Boullingarrane ...	...	—	19
Currloure ...	...	—	27

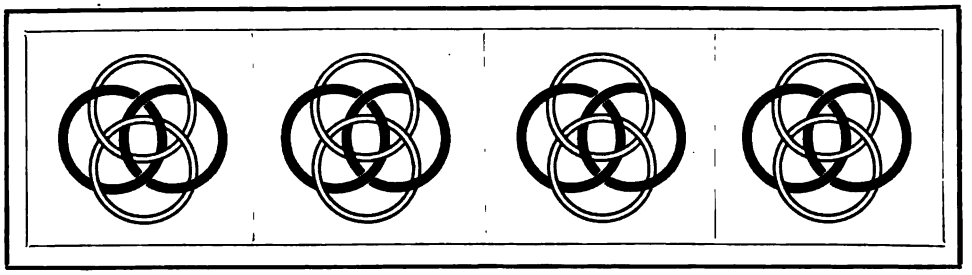
SHANREHAN *(mm)*.

Townlands.	*Tituladoes.*	*English.*	*Irish.*
Shanrehan ...	John Fitzgerald, Gent. ...	9	40
Clogheen markett	Thomas Downeing, Gent.	4	78
Flemingstown ...	...	—	11
Killatin ...	...	2	24
Cospoch ...	...	—	44
Teriglin ...	...	—	19
Cosporth other part	...	—	17
Grange Silligane ...	...	4	4
Curragh Keale ...	...	—	12
Carrigmore ...	...	—	21
Scartachane ...	...	—	27
Ballysheehane ...	...	—	4
Castlegrace ...	Coll. John Squibb, Gent. ...	13	83
	Math. Bowen, Gent.		

(mm) Shauraghan—Richard Keating, gent., Richard more Tobyn. *Carrigvisteale*—Donogh MacShane oge Barehie, gent. *Coolcnatallagh*—Patrick English, Donnell reagh O'Kenna. *Clogheen*—John O'Hylane, shoemaker. *Ballyloy*—Maurice fitz Edmond fitz Gibbon, gent., Thomas O'Hogan. *Castlegracc*—William O'Mighan, yeoman, William McTeig O'Gorman, Dermot O'Ryan, John O'Hickey, carpenters, Owen Corban and John Butler, butchers, Philip McEdmond O'Lonergan and William McGrath, tailors, Dermot Ahearne, weaver, Gillpatrick O'Hickey, smith, Richard English, Garret McThomas McGrath, John O'Sheelly, Mathew Flyn, husbandmen, Dermot O'Donnell, John English, yeomen, Donogh Molony, goldsmith. *Carrigaunroe*—Patrick English. *Garryduff*—Derby O'Dwan, harper.

Some of the townlands enumerated in Shanrahan parish belong at present to County Cork.

Townlands.	*Tituladoes.*	*English.*	*Irish.*
Ballyboy	... ...	2	50
Garryduff	... ...	—	4
Cullenagh	... ...	—	11
Coolegarranroe	... ...	—	70
Carrigvisteel	... ...	—	30
Gortessell	... ...	—	18
Currcleagh	... ...	9	17
Ballynemony	... ...	12	2
Bally William	... ...	—	23
Lierfon	... ...	6	21
Cooleprevane	... ...	2	24
Glancony	... ...	—	32
Dromroe	... ...	—	16
Cooledery	... ...	—	31
Dangen	... ...	—	23
Lisfunsen	... ...	—	59
Skeheenrenky	... ...	—	28
Coolroe	... ...	—	30
Killtankeen	... ...	—	4



CHAPTER XXIII.

CLONMEL NOTABLES—STEPHEN WHITE.

STEPHEN WHITE, one of the greatest scholars of an age distinguished for its learning, was born in Clonmel in 1574. It is uncertain to which he belonged of the three prominent families of the name that then flourished in the town. To judge, however, from his Christian name which is found only in one branch, it would seem that he was the son of Pierce or Peter White, and therefore brother of James White, Vicar Apostolic of Waterford, and of Thomas White *infra.* This agrees with the conjecture of a contemporary and acquaintance of White's, Lynch, author of "Cambrensis Eversus."

Through the connivance of Miler M'Grath, Protestant commendatory Bishop of Waterford, a school was kept in Clonmel by one Derby McThomas. It is probable White received his first education there. McThomas was a firm Catholic, hostile to the Queen's religion, and reported to be in close touch with Darby McGrath, the Catholic bishop of Cork, who haunted the neighbourhood. When White was in his eleventh year, an event occurred in Clonmel which must have made on him a life-long impression. John Holing who relates the arrest of Father Maurice Kinrechtan in the house of Victor White, and his execution at the Main Guard in 1585, states that he obtained the particulars from three eye-witnesses, two of whom were natives of the town. It is safe to assume that one of those who gave the account to Holing at Salamanca, was Stephen White.

Rev. E. Hogan, the Jesuit biographer of White, conjectured that the Stephen White, the third of the scholars named in the Foundation Charter of Trinity College, Dublin, was probably Stephen of Clonmel. He asks:

"What Stephen White could this be other than our future polyhistor and antiquarian"? The answer is supplied by an entry in the Patent Rolls.

1604, 13 December. Presentation of Stephen White professor of theology to the treasurership of Trinity, Waterford, to admit him and assign him a stall in choir and a voice in the chapter (*nn*).

There is no evidence, therefore, that White was among the few Catholics who entered Trinity College at its opening in 1592, beyond the fact that at a subsequent period he was on intimate literary relations with Archbishop Ussher. Some years earlier, Thomas White of Clonmel, had opened the Irish College, Salamanca, and thither Stephen White, about sixteen years old, was smuggled through some ship of Waterford trading with Corunna. The Irish Jesuits being in charge of the college, White was doubtless attracted to that order; and having taken his degree of Bachelor of Arts in the University, he entered the Society of Jesus 13th October, 1596, at Villagarcia. His subsequent academic career is described by Father Hogan.

"In 1600 he was in his third year of theology at Salamanca; in 1602 he was teaching Humanities as 'Lector de Artes' in the seminary of Salamanca for one year. After his brilliant course of studies he taught a three years' course of mental philosophy at Salamanca from 1603 to 1606."

At Salamanca it would seem he obtained his Doctorate of Divinity, and his reputation was now such that the following year he was appointed to the chair of scholastic theology in the university of Ingolstadt. The opinion which the Jesuit authorities had formed of him may be judged from the fact that he was associated with Adam Tanner, a theologian of European fame, and the scarcely less noted James Gretser, theologian and antiquary. Mederer, the annalist of Ingolstadt University, has the following reference to him.

Stephen White, an Irishman, called to this University from the Irish Seminary at Salamanca where he professed philosophy. Having succeeded James Keller appointed to Ebersby (and subsequently Ratisbon), he solemnly inaugurated his lectures on scholastic theology 7 day of January 1606. . . . . After a lapse of three years Stephen White the Irishman bade farewell to our University and the chair of theology.

White, according to Father Hogan, simply exchanged chairs with Sebastian Heiss, professor of theology in the university of Dilingen. At Dilingen he spent in multiform labours the next fourteen years. Though he

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(nn) Pat. Rot., Jas. I.

had left Ireland for a quarter of a century, and though his duties rendered it improbable he should ever see it again, the spies thought they had discovered him returning. A report in Trinity College Library has—

A note of divers Younge gentlemen, pentioners, souldiers and schollers beyonde the seas.

Thomas Archer Nicholas Bourke Steven White	[Added]	lately returned from sev'all Domns beyonde the seas wheere they remayned 3 or 4 yeares (*oo*).

All the abbeys of Germany—about fifty—sent their more promising religious to Dilingen for a university course. These numbering one hundred and fifty, lived together in one house or "convict." At the head of the house was placed Father Ambrose Wadding, S.J., of Waterford. The two Irishmen were thus brought together, and when Wadding died his fellow-countryman stood by his bedside. The career of White at Dilingen is summarised by Father Hogan.

In 1612 he was first professor of scholastic theology and Father Mundbrot was the second; he was also librarian of the university and confessor of the religious of the various orders who lived together in one college; and he presided over cases of conscience in that college. In 1613 he was professor of scripture and on 6 January made the profession of Four Vows. In 1614–1622 he was professor of scholastic theology.

During his period at Dilingen his reputation continued to increase. His countryman Rothe enthusiastically says: "Need I refer to Stephen White, almost the first theologian of the century. Amid his unwearied labour at Dilingen, he is the wonder of Germany" *(pp)*.

In 1622 or 1623 he left the German for the Province of Champagne. Of the seven following years four were spent at Pont-a-Mousson and three at Metz. At length after an absence of nearly forty years, White was recalled in 1629 to a professorship in the university which his order was projecting in Dublin. But the sunshine of toleration was very brief. The large house and church in Back Lane, which were to be the nucleus of the university, were raided by the Mayor of Dublin and the Protestant Primate, St. Stephen's Day, 1629; and Boyle, Earl of Cork, who as Lord Justice was responsible for the raid, wrote complaisantly to Lord Dorchester.

(oo) E. 3, 8.
(pp) Vindiciæ Hiberniæ.

The Jesuits' house owned and claimed by the Dowager Countess of Kildare is a new erected and goodly fabric, the chapel whereof which her ladyship calls her hall (though neither chimney, table nor window that any may look out of) is 75 feet long and 27 broad. It is seated round about; with an altar with ascents, a curious pulpit and organs, and four places for confession neatly contrived; galleried above round about with rails and turned ballasters; coloured; a compass roof; a cloister with many other chambers above, all things most fair and graceful, like the banquetting house at Whitehall; and ways out of their house to the town walls, turrets and flankers at their command.

On the 19th of the following month, February, on the petition of the Board of Trinity College, the whole was granted them; they providing a lecture in the chapel every Tuesday. By the time therefore White reached Ireland, the university was a thing of the past, and he who had professed half the nobility of Germany, Austria and Hungary, whose reputation was European, spent the remaining seventeen years of his life for the most part teaching a few boys by stealth.

Father Hogan is of opinion that White passed several of his closing years in his native diocese—Clonmel or Waterford. This is confirmed by his intimacy with Comerford the then bishop of the diocese. When the war of 1641 broke out White was in Dublin, and with several of his companions made his way to Galway. He was still alive there in January, 1646, when the last mention of him occurs in the archives of the order. The time of his death is unknown. Like his contemporary and diocesan Geoffry Keating, he passed out of life unnoticed amid the din of arms and the clamours of contending factions. And only within the last fifty years has he taken his rightful place among the men whose learning has shed lustre on their race.

A great professor makes little appeal to posthumous honours. His influence is not traceable beyond his own generation, and to others he is a mere *umbra nominis.* If White had not engaged in certain by-labours, he should hardly be known in his own country. But he was a patriot in the true sense of the term. He loved Ireland and was jealous of her good name, and when Camden and Leslie, Dempster and Hector Boetius obscured her history and darkened her character, White from the libraries of the Rhine and Switzerland nobly vindicated her. "The sole purpose of my writing is to defend the injured reputation of the old Irish with whom I, and my fathers for four hundred years, have shared a common fatherland" *(qq).* And the intervals he could spare from his labours as a

(qq) Solum mihi mens est defendere læsam injuste innocentiam innocentum revera Ibernorum priscorum, quibus cum mihi et majoribus meis est patria communis ab annis circiter 440.—Apologia p. 50.

theological professor, he devoted to research in the libraries of Dilingen, Reichenau, Ratisbon, Kaiserheim, Schaffhausen, Biburg and Metz. As early as 1615 he prepared a reply to Camden's edition of Giraldus Cambrensis published at Frankfort in 1602. This was his

Apologia Pro Hibernia adversus Cambri Calumnias.

A more ambitious work which occupied him for many years was—

Gesta Dei per Ibernos, Scotos Verteres, Iberniæ Sanctorum Insulæ Indigenas, vitæ sanctitudine, literarum optimarum fama rerum præclare in bellis et in pace gestarum, quondam ubique domi forisque claras.

This was followed by a historico-polemical one, entitled—

Scoto Caledonica Cornix Deplumanda ab avibus orbis etc.,

And another of a similar character—

Commentarii et Defensio Venerabilis Bedæ Anglo Saxonis antiqui contra novos Anglo Saxones aliquot et alios bona fide errantes catholicos domesticos exterosque etc.

His only other historical work of which there is mention, was—

De Sanctis et Antiquitate Iberniæ.

The Apologia was published in Dublin, only in 1849. Like all White's works it is full of old world learning. Its limitations are best described in the words of the editor Rev. M. Kelly, "It could not be expected that a person writing in a foreign land without access to native original documents (few of which had yet been printed) could avoid falling into several errors. He had no work of Ussher, Colgan or Ware to guide him. He wrote several years before Ward had even commenced to collect materials for the ecclesiastical history of Ireland; yet due abatement being made for these disadvantages, his work will be found as free from errors as most of those written on new subjects. To some of his arguments the research of subsequent writers has been able to add very little." The reasons why the Apologia (as probably others of White's works) was not published in his lifetime are quaintly given by the Bollandist De Buck. His superiors apparently considered it too political. White tore to shreds the titles made out by Cambrensis for the conquest of Ireland; he also demonstrated that the great Celtic missionaries of Europe were Irish not Scotch. To publish these things in the seventeenth century was treason.

The work upon which he laboured for quarter of a century "The Acts of God through the Instrumentality of the Irish," is now lost. "The Saints and Antiquity of Ireland" which the Irish Confederates in 1646 wanted published as "highly necessary for the advantage and honour of the kingdom" has also disappeared. Two of his works still remain in manuscript in the Burgundian Library, Brussels, (XXI. Nos. 7658-61). These are "The Scotch Jack-daw Plucked," and "A Vindication of Venerable Bede," and are

now included in one volume of 800 pages folio under the title "The Claims of the Ancient Scots," etc. As is indicated by the titles, much of them is occupied with long forgotten controversy.

The following is a list of the theological treatises ascribed to Stephen White *(rr)*.—

Dissertatio de genuina humanæ libertatis natura atque indole.

Dissertatio qua divina rationis auctoribas contra pseudominciam loci 2, Cor. X. 5 modeste vindicatur.

Vita Johannis Jezlin.

Schediasma in quo Augustini Lutheri supra lapsorumque sententia a Manichæsismi calumnia pro pace inter protestantes facilius concilianda vindicatur.

Schediasma in quo argumenta quibus vir celebris Johannes Christianus Loers . . . . . corpora etiam angelicis vindicatum ivit, ad rationis trutinam modeste exiguntur.

One of the strongest claims which White has to the gratitude of his country is that he was the first to demonstrate the great part which Ireland played in the history of Europe from the seventh to the tenth century. The mine which in our times was worked with such results by Johann Kaspar Zeuss, was opened in the early seventeenth century by Stephen White. "He it was" writes Dr. Reeves "who opened that rich mine of Irish literature on the continent, which has ever since yielded such valuable returns, and still continues unexhausted, and by his disinterested exertions less enterprising labourers at or nearer home, not only were made acquainted with the treasures preserved in foreign libraries, but from time to time received at his hands the substantial produce of his diligence in the form of accurate copies of Irish manuscripts, accompanied by critical emendations and historical inquiries, amply sufficient to superadd to his credit of a painstaking scribe the distinction of a sound thinker and erudite scholar."

But it was the fortune of White to build up the reputation of others rather than his own. "Literary collectors" continues Reeves "are often narrow minded and the creatures of jealousy and suspicion; but from such weakness this good and generous man was perfectly free. Coupled with an insatiable thirst for knowledge regarding the history of his country, the cravings of which made such an impression on Colgan's mind that he thrice alludes to it, there was a total freedom from selfishness. He sought the honour of his country not of himself; and was satisfied that the fruits of his labours, if only made to redound to the credit of loved Ireland, should pass into other hands, and under their names be employed in their

(rr) Bibliotheca Historico-philologico-theologica-Bremen, 1719-25.

several projects and at their discretion. Thus in the monastery of Keyersheym in Switzerland, he copied the life of St. Colman for Hugh Ward; in the monastery of St. Magnus, at Ratisbon, he found the life of St. Erhard, and sent a transcript of it to Ussher; to this prelate also, so opposed to him in matters of polemical controversy, he made acceptable contributions regarding St. Brigit and St. Columba. For Colgan he copied a life of St. Patrick from an ancient manuscript at Biburg in Bavaria; from Ratisbon he sent the life of St. Brigit; from Dilingen he sent him the text for the Life of St. Columba. To his untiring generosity Fleming also was indebted for two contributions for his *Collectanea Sacra.*" To these particulars furnished by Reeves it may be added that Rader the ecclesiastical annalist of Bavaria acknowledged his indebtedness to White whom he styles "the omniscient historian" (Polyhistor). Herman Crombach obtained from White valuable materials for his Life of St. Ursula, while Rosweyde, the Bollandist received no fewer than eight catalogues of Irish saints with brief biographies of them. The following extract from a letter of White to Colgan, dated Dublin, 31st January, 1641, affords a glimpse into the character and aims of this great and generous man.

It was not, you observe, from want of good will or courtesy that I did not answer your three letters, which were most welcome, coming from one who is most dear to me and to our whole nation. I congratulate our country on finding one so gifted by God as you, to win, to extend and to proclaim her glory. Have courage, continue as you began, go on cheerfully; for God is the reward exceeding great of your labour, which the sweet love of country will much lighten; all else shall be added unto you, your memory shall live for ever in benediction among all the good men of our race as long as it survives.

I am with you in spirit, I would I were with you in body also, in order that putting our heads and shoulders together we might, both of us, with joyful and untiring labour, advance the glory of God and the honour of our most beloved Ireland. Meanwhile since we cannot be and work together, let us though separated, labour as best we can, having this noble end in view. For my own part I keep working as well as I can, though not with as much success as I should wish on account of my age and the want of a good library.

In truth day by day for the last twenty nine years there has grown in me the wish and the ever increasing longing, according as time places and opportunities offered, to draw out of the rare and far away depths of antiquity and place in the light of day the "Acts of God through the instrumentality of the Irish."

You ask me to forward to you at least an abstract of my collections. As far as I can remember there was hardly anything of these which I did not give to two of our countrymen, Franciscans, one of whom was Father Patrick Fleming who I believe, obtained the martyr's crown in Bohemia, and who with his companion spent many days and weeks in the same town without me, at Metz, in 1627 or 1628. They were all copied and the copy taken by him to Louvain.

Next you ask for the list of the lives of our saints that I had seen in the library of Mr. James Ussher, Archbishop Primate of the Protestants of Ireland. Well, I was invited by him and three times I spent many hours with him. He received me with the greatest affability and treated me with candour and unaffectedness and we parted with the greatest politeness. Further, he invited me not only to dine (which I quietly

declined) but to everything in his house—even his most select library which is indeed a very valuable one. There I saw the catalogue and manuscript Latin lives of our Irish Saints. Elsewhere I saw many other catalogues and manuscript lives but you will be surprised to hear, not another life unless of saints mentioned in your alphabetical list.

Finally you want me to copy or get copied a list of the dioceses, churches, old sanctuaries etc. of Ireland. I have done my best in order that the catalogue of the two Dioceses of Waterford and Lismore (in the latter of which I was born) which the Most Rev. Patrick Comerford, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, sends to you, should be correct in certain particulars about which that Bishop, a very dear and intimate friend, consulted me.

I wish to remind you again of a matter which I regard of great importance, as affording a very speedy way of discrediting our Scotch opponents Dempster and others. This is to immediately urge every writer known to you, at home or abroad, present or absent, secular or regular, Dominicans, Augustinians, etc., never to allow anything to be printed whether on a grammatical, philosophical, theological, historical or other subject by an Irishman, without putting in the title-page "By the Rev. Father N. N. an Irishman or Old Scot." The constant iteration of *Scotus Vetus* will not only annoy our opponents (though it really ought not) but it will awaken in foreign readers a curiosity to inquire about the Old Scots and the more recent Albanian Scots, and who seeks shall find. Foreigners will thereby discover the vast injustice done to us by modern Scotchmen, Dempster and others.

White and his fellow-workers, the Franciscan annalists, set the ideal before them "the glory of God and the honour of Erinn." And truly no one pursued it with more devotion and single mindedness than he. So utterly free from personal, petty or unworthy motive; so unsparing of self; so ready to undertake herculean labours and let others have the benefit of them; so eager to extend the helping hand to every one, foreigner or native, Protestant or Catholic, who worked for Ireland, Stephen White stands out in moral dignity no less than in intellectual eminence.

And this man who helped to make the reputation of a dozen litterateurs, who carried on in foreign universities the tradition of the great Irish medieval scholars, was throughout a large part of his life in delicate health. In the yearly catalogues of his order he is described as "in middling health" (vires mediocres) or sometimes as "very delicate" (valde infirmus).

We in part may share the enthusiastic admiration with which his contemporaries regarded him *(ss)*.

THOMAS WHITE.

During the half century following the suppression of the monasteries in 1539, education in Ireland was non-existent. In a few remote convents which had escaped the general wreck, there were feeble flickerings of learning.

(ss) Authorities for the most part; Dr. Reeves in Proceedings R.I.A. Vol. VIII. 1861; De Buck L'Archæologie Irlandaise au convent de St. Antoine a Louvain, Paris 1869; and more especially Rev. E. Hogan, Waterford Archæological Journal III. 12-13.

But except some ecclesiastics who had been abroad, or the sons of burghers in Dublin or Waterford the country was absolutely illiterate *(tt)*. This was recognized on all hands. In the first parliament of Elizabeth it was proposed to build in every county a free school, the master being an Englishman nominated by the Lord Lieutenant. Various educational projects figure in the official correspondence of the period. The Act 28 Hen. VIII. required every one in possession of an ecclesiastical living to keep "a school for to learn English, if any children of his parish come to him to learn the same." Yet no children came and no schools were kept. The Act 12 Elizabeth established a free school in every diocese, with an English master. But the Irish would have nothing to do with these schools. And they were allowed to have no others. In the secret instructions given to the papal representative in 1560 was one, "He must try and establish grammar schools, supplying them with Catholic masters, and thus remedy the great ignorance of the natives; he must admonish parents to send their children to these schools that thus they may be trained in letters and morality and at the same time acquire a sound knowledge of the saving truths of faith." In accordance with these instructions as would appear, schools were started in Kilkenny, Waterford, Limerick and Galway. But government soon suppressed these schools and so all educational progress was arrested.

At this juncture Irish boys, especially aspirants to the priesthood, began to make their way abroad. Some were to be found in Paris, in Antwerp, in Lisbon and indeed in every educational centre. As exiles for conscience sake, they gained the sympathy of foreigners; schools were everywhere open to them and they lived on the alms of the charitable. Yet many suffered untold hardships. Speaking no language but their own, rude in aspect and character, they often shared the lot of the tramp and the outcast. The first who touched with pity for these homeless Irish boys, obtained for them shelter and support, was Father Thomas White.

Thomas White would seem to have been an elder brother of Stephen White. He was born in 1556 or 1558, and his various relationships are set out by Rev. E. Hogan, from Jesuit documents. His brother, sovereign of Clonmel, was deposed from office in 1606 as a recusant. Another brother James White was Vicar Apostolic of Waterford. He was uncle of Peter White, S.J., and his near kinsmen were Patrick and Nicholas White who were heavily fined for not attending Protestant service. Other relatives were Thomas Lombard, Cistercian, and Andrew Wyse, Grand Prior of Capua, of the order of the Knights of Malta.

(tt) Here of course account is not taken of folk knowledge—the great body of traditional law, medicine and poetry existing among the Celtic population.

He like several of his kinsmen, probably received his early education at Waterford from Peter White "the lucky schoolmaster of Munster." His theological training was doubtless obtained abroad, in Valladolid probably, where we find him in 1582. During his time there, he was much exercised by the misery of his countrymen. The circumstances are related by his contemporary John Coppinger.

> Was it not great charitie of Father Thomas White, naturall of Clonmell, seeing so manie poor scholars of his nation in great miserie at Valladolid, having no means to continue their studie nor language to begge, having given over his private commoditie, did recollect and reduce them to one place which he maintained by his industrie and begging (*uu*).

This was the embryonic form of the historic Irish College of Salamanca. Its actual foundation is described by Juvencius. The Irish, he says, frequented the streets (viatim obibatur urbem) of the town living on charity. White gathered them together and brought them in a body to Philip II. at the Royal Villa of St. Laurence. The king received them with kind and encouraging words, and gave them a large sum of money. White did not rest satisfied but brought them again and presented a petition to the king praying his majesty to endow a house for them. Philip granted the prayer and sent them to Salamanca, where he founded a college for them. This was styled "The Royal College of the Irish Nobles" (El. Real Colegio de Nobles Irelandeses), and was entrusted to the Jesuits. On August 2nd, 1592, Philip himself wrote to the authorities of the university of Salamanca to bespeak a good reception for the Irish.

> They have left their own country and all they possessed in it for the service of Our Lord God, and for the preservation of the Catholic faith, and as they undertake to go back to preach in that country and to suffer martyrdom should needs be, they should get in the university the reception they have a right to expect. I am satisfied you will do this and become benefactors to them so that with your own contribution and that of the city (to the authorities of which I am also writing) they may be able to pursue their studies without anxiety or disturbance (*vv*).

A year later White himself entered the Jesuit order, retaining as Vice Rector practical control of the college of which he was also spiritual director. On the death of Fr. John Holing, White in 1594 was entrusted with the charge of the new college of Lisbon. No other man, probably, could have surmounted the financial difficulties of the infant institutions. But these were not his only troubles. Irishmen brought into exile with them their provincial

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(uu) Mnemosyniam to the Catholics of Ireland, 1608.
(vv) Lombard, De Regno, Hib., 137.

jealousies, and the prehistoric feuds of north and south were fought out in foreign fields. On 22nd May, 1602, O'Donnell, Earl of Tyrconnell, and Father Florence Conroy as representing Ulster and Connaught, petitioned the king of Spain.

> The superior of this college is an Irish Father of the Society of Jesus born in one of the provinces which are subject to the Queen, and consequently schismatical, who bears no affection towards Connaughtmen or Ulstermen, who are professed Catholics and have for so many years defended in arms the Catholic faith. Accordingly he receives no student of the aforesaid provinces.
>
> The scholars [he receives] are commonly rich merchants is sons, who might learn at their parents is charges and if it were not for saving, they would send them to study to England at Oxford. But our countrymen are most Catholic and hath within their heart and bowels the obedience of holy Church; and from the very cradle do hate the Queen is wicked sect and preach against it.
>
> For all which and other reasons I beseech your Majesty both in O'Neill's and mine own behalf to command that the half of such scholars as shall be kept in the aforesaid seminary of Salamanca, be of Ulster or Connaught, and for the carrying out of this arrangement it will be necessary to remove from the administration of the college the religious who at present directs it whose name is Thomas White, and to appoint a Spanish rector as president, who will punctually obey the orders he shall receive; because it is certain the Father referred to will always be ready with plausible excuses to reject those scholars, and even should he be forced to receive them he will treat them in a way that would be unendurable.

Certain Irish gentlemen at the court of Philip sent a counter petition. They did not deal with the specific charges against White, but pleaded the general issue as to the Catholicity of Munster and Leinster provinces compared with the others. Among other things they state—

> If the students of our provinces were educated outside the pale of the church, many of them could live comfortably at home free from persecution and need not spend hard days and worse nights in strange lands. But to avoid pressure in matters of religion they prefer exile from their country rather than from Heaven Therefore they come to Spain and not to England where the infernal fires of heresy are more intense than even in their own land. They leave their native land and come to Spain, to the best place for acquiring learning and virtue—Salamanca, and put themselves under the direction of the Society of Jesus. All this prepares them on their return not only to suffer themselves but to sustain others.

Each side claimed to be the special supporters of King Philip, and the uncompromising foes of Queen Elizabeth. But though the chancellor of the university, the Bishop of Salamanca, and the Provincial of the Jesuits intervened in behalf of Father White and denied in detail the charges made against his administration of the college, the northerns won their case and Spanish superiors were appointed.

This arrangement however was not found to work. On 24th March, 1608, the king revoked his former order. Five years later Father White took charge of the Irish College of Santiago. In 1617-8 he was again rector of

Salamanca, and subsequently took an active part in the affairs of the Irish College of Seville. Much of his life was spent in journeys on foot through Spain soliciting alms from noblemen, church dignitaries and cathedral chapters in behalf of the colleges he had founded. He died in his own college of Santiago 28th May, 1622. A graphic account of his life and its close survives from the pen of a colleague, De Castro.

To-day Sunday at seven in the morning, Our Lord called to the reward of his labours and merits Father Thomas White. He died of fever at the age of sixty-four and in the thirty fourth year of membership of the Society. During that time he laboured apostolically in the service of God and of the Catholic faith which through means of the colleges he founded in Spain, has been preserved in Ireland. His life and virtues are well known in the Society and cannot be done justice to in a short letter. His thoughts and desires were for the glory of God and the good of the colleges for which he unceasingly toiled. On the road and in the outdoor duties in which he was almost constantly engaged, he was singularly recollected, never omitting his practice of prayer and spiritual meditation. He was always resigned to the will of God from Whom, as he said before his death, he never asked anything earnestly which he did not obtain. God always blessed his plans and projects by moving the wills of chapters, prelates and princes with whom he was brought in contact, to help him with their subscriptions. For they knew him to be a man of great zeal and rare virtue. He practiced great mortification and in spite of his years kept the hair shirt and the discipline which he took daily.

He was most simple in dress and manner; his usual food every day was a little bread and cheese which he ate along the road. He gave great edification to the lay people he met, and was a living model of sanctity to his students. Through his efforts different religious orders were filled with excellent subjects, and his native country with holy priests and bishops who acknowledge that under God they owe everything to Thomas White. In his last illness he gave great proofs of sanctity of life, and though death came unexpectedly while still organizing this college of Santiago, he made most perfect acts of resignation to the will of God, and bewailed his not having served Him more fervently. He received Communion three times in the fifteen days of his illness and Extreme Unction in good time. As we ended the commendation of his soul to God, he peacefully breathed his last, his countenance retaining all the appearance of life. All this gives us a special pledge of Heaven, but we are prostrated with grief for the loss of the colleges in this father and protector of his country, and his death has created a profound sensation in this city where it is bewailed with tears.

A successor of White in Salamanca in our own day, Dr. Walter McDonald, wrote "Father White was a native of Clonmel, and that town may well be proud of having given birth to the saviour of the Catholic faith in Ireland. Such a man is in every way deserving of a national monument, and I hope to see the day the Church of Ireland will, in gratitude to his memory, raise one in the capital of the kingdom and another in his native town."

Many years ago the present writer had Thomas White's portrait copied from the original in the Irish College, Salamanca. It was painted apparently about his fiftieth year and shows him to have been a man of medium size, long features, large nose, well set eyes with high cheek bones and

square forehead. The hands are long and tapering, the right resting on the breast, the left holding the discipline. In the upper left corner is the monogram of the Jesuits I.H.S. An inscription in Spanish reads VEN. P. THOMAS VITUS DE LA COMPANIA DE JESUS NATURAL DE CLONMELIA, IRLANDA, VARON APOSTOLICO Y PRIMER JESUITA DE LOS SEMINARIOS IRLANDESES EN ESPANA MURIO SANTAMENTE EN SANTIAGO DE GALICIA EN 28 DE MAYO DE 1622 *(ww)*.

GEOFFRY BARON.

Leaning against the outer wall of the north aisle of the ancient church of St. Mary's, Clonmel, will be observed a huge sepulchral slab of Kilkenny limestone. It is inscribed with a floriated cross in shallow relief while a Latin inscription in black letter carried round the edge contains the names of Geoffry Baron and his wife Ellen White. The grandson of these was Geoffry, the subject of our memoir.

Geoffry Baron, born 1607, was the eldest of four sons born to Laurence Baron and Mary Wadding, his wife, sister of the celebrated Father Luke Wadding. Laurence Baron lived in St. Mary's Street, and was the most prosperous merchant in Clonmel during the first quarter of the seventeenth century. At his death in 1622 he bequeathed to his son Geoffry some seventeen mortgages amounting to £1,304, besides various lands and houses. As Geoffry was under age he became the king's ward; the Patent Rolls record :—

7 July 21 James I. (1623) Grant of the wardship of Geoffry Baron, son and heir of Lawrence Baron of Clonmel, to Richard Daniel in consideration of a fine of £100 Irish.

When he had reached his nineteenth year he bethought himself of writing to his uncle, Father Wadding, and giving a full account of the family circumstances.

Dublin December 2 1626.

Right R[d] and deerly respected uncull,

S[r]. my cheefe request vnto yow now is that yow will be pleased to admitt the excuse of my yong and ignorant years, hitherto deeply vexed in woorldly trobles since my deere father's death (whose soule I desire the Immortell to receive vnto His protection) for the remissivenes of my bounden dutie vnto yow, which I would at leastwise by my missive letters before now signifie vnto your Reverence, had not then too many trobles which his untimely death brought uppon my greene head caused me to be forgettfull of my self and my dutie towards yow. Now trusting uppon your mildnes for graunt of this request, I will, with what providence I may, prevent all further faults

(ww) The Venerable Father Thomas White of the Society of Jesus, a native of Clonmel in Ireland, Missionary Apostolic and First Jesuit of the Irish seminarists in Spain. He died a holy death in Santiago de Galicia the 28th of May, 1622.

and relate vnto you the whole state of my now affairs, which thus yow may understand; It hath pleased God, 7 January 1622, uppon a suddaine to call my father to him, leaving behind him Katherin White (daughter to Tho: White and Bess Lynch of Waterford) his wife with a daughter called Bess, begotten on hir, now of the adge of 6 years ½, and my three brethern, namely Bartholomue, Luke and Michell Barron, the yongest being then but 7 years ould, and I the eldest of them but 15 years of adge, with my sister, your neece Katherin Butler aboute the adge of 17 years, who is yett unmarried; he left vnto his said wife a joynture of 33 li per annum with 200 li, which I was to pay hir after my father's death, and did soe; he left to his aforesaid daughter Bess 200 li, which I must give hir when she is mariadable, with ten pounds per ann. for hir mayntenance; he left each of my three brethern 100 li, which I am to pay when they are able to manage it; he left me the rest of his estate, and left me in nineteene hundred pounds indebted besides what I have heere mensioned, which I am dayly laboring to pay, and shortly with the will of God will rid myself of all; he left my charge and the charge of all his children and goods uppon John White FitzLaurence, his owne uncull by the mother (who to this house doth faithfully performe the same) and to Mr. Wadding of Waterford. Since the death of my father it hath pleased God to call my brother Luke vnto him who was ever since his birth sickly, and ended his life on the 27th of September 1625 with an ague, being then aboute the adge of 13 years (whose soule I desire God to protect). I have since my father's death keapt my brother Bartholomue to schoole, who profitted well, and the last summer sent him (with advise) to Temulagie to goe in his course of philosophie under Fa: Owen Field, where unknowen to any of his friends, he has taken the habitt of your holly Fa; St. Francis the 27th of October last, whome I desire God to His honor and glorie make a good frier. I keepe my brother Michaell to schoole and am my selfe thus vexed with woorldly trobles, in which there is nothing could more ease mee, then your long longd-for presence; which if by your comming to your countrie your occupations will not permitt me to injoy, at least wise write vnto mee, how otherwise I may attayne it, and in execution of your will therein I shall shew my selfe your most dutifull servant and nephew.

Wadding doubtless was pleased at the conduct of his nephew *in loco parentis*; and when a few years later Geoffry Baron went to London to study law in the Inns of Court, still more favourable accounts were received. Thomas Strange wrote from London, 10th May, 1630, to Wadding: "Your nephew, Geoffrey Baron is here studying the laws; he will make an excellent lawyer, and is a young man of great promise and virtue. He is liked by everyone, and in character very like his mother who is in glory, which is as much as to say he is the essence of goodness. He and I live together." On September 10th, the following year, Strange again wrote "For the life of you, steal a few minutes once a month to write to your nephew Geoffrey Baron at London, a most worthy gentleman and of an honourable behaviour, a fine Christian and of whom much is expected. Your Reverence may deem yourself honoured to have him for nephew. Letters for him directed to his very good friend Mathews [of Louvain] will go safely by the Flanders courier." But it does not appear that Wadding, one of the busiest men of his day, ever found time for mere social correspondence.

A few years later, 1634, Strafford, to obtain constitutional sanction for his despotic measures, resolved on calling a parliament. A parliament

for similar purposes had been summoned twenty-one years before, and the Catholics therefore with bitter experience looked forward with much misgiving to this. Of the new parliament half the members were nominated by the lord deputy himself who issued together with the writs, a hundred letters of recommendation. At the opening it was announced that two sessions should be held, one for the benefit of the king, the other for the people. In the confidence of obtaining various acts of toleration known as the "graces," the Catholic party cheerfully voted six subsidies in the first session. When however in the second session faith was broken with them, and they saw that the machinery of the Court of Wards, was to be made more effective for proselytizing the Catholic nobility and gentry, they offered a strenuous opposition. Their leader was Geoffry Baron, member for Clonmel, who two years previous having been admitted to practice, had already won a reputation at the bar. Strafford uncertain whether he could carry through his measure was at his wits end. But he overcame the difficulty by a characteristic *coup*. Writing to Secretary Coke, 16th December, 1634, he states:—

The Popish party have been ill to please this session but after I had sent on 27 of last month an answer to their graces, they lost all temper and brake forth into such a froward sulleness as was strange, and had it continued two days I would have sought his majesty's judgment. The burgesses that served for the new Boroughs they questioned as not having the right to sit there. I was extreme loath so many good laws should be lost which might be of excellent use in the future reducement of this kingdom to civility. So necessity put me upon a bold Adventure to try our strength, and if we carried it not, then instantly to adjourn.

Now there being one Barron a young man, a kind of petty chapman's son who by peddling left him some two hundred pounds a year, of all others the most mutinous and bold; this fellow having informed some untruth to the House had been roundly called to account by the Master of the Rolls, but as then there being more of that Party in the House, there was no good to be done, yet I advised that the first motion they stirred the next morning should be the questioning for his expulsion, to the intent we might be able to judge whether they were still the major part which if they proved to be, nothing was to be propounded further before I had adjourned the House, that so we might have time to advertize all [our party] and receive our directions thence. But in case by the better take-heed of the Protestants they [Protestants] were able to carry that then were they sure of all the rest, to sit close, to incourage their own party, and put on the laws with all possible delegence. Accordingly they did so and the House divided and it was carried for Barron's expulsion sixteen voices. Ever since we have plied them with warm clothes. The Protestants got through several laws especially that of uses and wills the beneficient operation whereof I am most confident the crown will find hereafter in the Court of Wards *(xx)*.

(xx) Strafford was delighted with his work. He wrote to Laud that the new law will gain six wardships for the one formerly, that it would "breed the best houses up in Religion [Protestant] as they fall." If Ormond had not been so brought up "he would have been as mere Irish and Papist as the best of them."—Strafford's Letters, *passim*.

The reference to this episode in the Journal of the Commons is instructive. "It is ordered upon question, that Mr. Geoffry Barron shall be expelled this House for his misinformation yesterday made to this House, and his justification of the same." But the Journal does not state in what the "misinformation" consisted. Baron was further committed in custody to Dublin Castle where he was detained for eight days. When he left, it is hardly to be expected that his faith in public treaties or constitutional methods, was strengthened.

On the outbreak of the war of 1641 he was one of the first to take up arms. A few days after Clonmel was occupied by the Irish, he accompanied Richard Butler of Kilcash, Ormond's brother, to Waterford. In the negotiations for the surrender of that city and the delivering over of the city ordinance to the Catholic Confederates, Baron and Nicholas Wyse, his father-in-law, took a leading part. The motives which actuated him and his companions in arms, he set forth in a letter to his uncle, Luke Wadding.

> The King grants large favours and graces to our country at the instance of our Committee in England. But the State there who are all Puritans and have swallowed great hopes of our estates, deny us the benefit of them and incense the Parliament in England against the King for his indulgence to us, which made them suspect his religion, and offer him, his Queen and children abuses beyond the patience of a marble statue. Moved at the wrongs done him, and so much occasioned by his goodness to us, and sensible of our own danger, we have, God knows how ill fitted, put ourselves in arms for the defence of the Catholic religion, our King and his prerogatives and for the lawful liberties of our oppressed country.

One of the first steps of the Confederate Parliament in Kilkenny, March 1642, was to accredit agents to foreign courts for help in arms and money. Geoffry Baron, Mathew O'Hartegan, S.J., and Colonel Michael Wall were sent to France, and by different routes so as to escape the Parliament cruisers. All three arrived safely, and Baron kept Wadding fully acquainted with their proceedings. Baron arrived at Nantes in May, whence on the 13th he wrote complaining bitterly that Spain, which gloried so much in being Catholic and wished to be regarded as the principal column of the church, had refused all help. They wanted powder, muskets and money for six months after which they would maintain themselves. Powder and muskets they expected from France, money from his Holiness. As the King of France was in Narbonne, Baron and O'Hartegan set out thither. From Beziers he wrote 9th June, that they found Cardinal Richelieu in failing health and influence; the papal nucio was their best friend but things were in such confusion that they had accomplished nothing definite. Besides disappointment Baron was in ill health, "I brook not my health well here, and am now the fifth day troubled with a continued headache, and

a distemper of all my body." A week later he had better news; the moneys forwarded by Cardinal Barberini had arrived and he purposed leaving at once for Ireland, O'Hartegan to continue the embassy at Paris, and further help to be sent with Colonel Wall. From Beziers he set out for La Rochelle by advice of the nuncio, to buy shipping for Ireland. But there was such fear of the English men-of-war that no one would charter a ship, and Baron was unequal to the purchasing of ships outright. From La Rochelle he went to Bordeaux but met a similar disappointment. There was nothing left but to spend portion of the money which had been destined for arms and powder, in the purchase of a ship. To obtain the nuncio's sanction he returned to Paris July 18th. Meanwhile he was sorely distressed by the difficulties his countrymen were in for want of munitions of war. "I fear our delay will not be profitable to our country, nor dare I as yet inform you what I suspect, for the occasion of our loss of time." The nuncio, in whom he had placed implicit trust, seems now to have failed him. On 1st August, 1642, he wrote to Wadding.

I cannot sufficiently admire what makes the Lord Nuncio (a man appearing in words of an eminent zeal to our cause) so slow in giving what he has direction for. It is now the beginning of the fourth month that we wait on him, and it is almost a fortnight that he resides at Paris and yet is nothing done. To Colonel Preston who came privately hither from the Low Countries on Monday last he speaks of some 800 muskets, so as if no more were to be had in a place where Father Hartegan and I have conversed with three who can in four and twenty hours, out of their own hands fit 10,000 muskets and bandeloros. There is certainly some mystery in the man's carriage, which we understand not, and which to conceal notwithstanding, he send me expressly from Beziers to Burdeaux and Rochell to see how I could freight a ship to carry with me what he would buy for 20,000 crowns which, he said, he had to be disposed of. Yet will he now give the employment to Colonel Preston, who came so late, and knows so little of this passage that he thinks, he will be content with anything. I hold my credit and theirs with whom I came, much disparaged in that waiting so long on him he takes an employment out of my hands, which he had formerly given me, and in which I took so great pains, to be given to another. So that notwithstanding I writ over to the Lords who sent us, that I was going to them with so much assistance, yet now is it to be sent to other Lords who have not sent hither, and I am to return with empty hands to receive an ill-welcome from those whose care it was to send my fellows and me. Yet I should be the sooner reconciled if I did see my country were not defrauded of any part of that was meant for it in so narrow a straight as now it stands.

Baron adds an observation the wisdom of which was proved by subsequent events.

I hear our cleargy in a National Synod (which they call Congregation) held the 10th of May and some days after, amongst other things decreed solemn embassies to his Holiness and some other princes, which as their affairs stand, relishes of little experience in them, their present condition requiring privacy more than state.

A week later in forwarding to Wadding news from Ireland, Baron with characteristic sagacity anticipated the provincial bickering which eventually brought disaster upon the country.

The Confederates have chosen twenty four, indifferently taken out of the several provinces of the kingdom to be of the Council of State, by whose wisdom and providence the whole affairs of the kingdom shall in nature of a free state be governed, till the present tumults be accorded. Other inferior Councils are also made in the several provinces and counties, from which appeal lies to the great Council. The great and lesser Councils are of happy use and from them I expect all our country's goodness. But the Provincial Councils I like not.

On 11th August, Baron set out for Nantes on his return to Ireland. From Nantes he wrote that his suspicions of the nuncio were completely removed, and that he (the nuncio) gave a fairly good account of the money.

Colonel Preston and I go together. Owen Roe O'Neale we hear is landed in Ireland. Betwixt what we have from your way, what Colonel Collen carries of his own, what the Irish merchants here have to transport, and some 200 proper Irish gentlemen who are come hither to go with us, of whom none goes without arms, at least for himself, we hope at the worst, to keep the enemy at a stand, till further help overtake us to root them clean out. We are to go perchance three or five sails, whereof none goes without some powder.

On same date O'Hartegan wrote to Wadding.

His grace, the nuncio, liked so well of the gentleman's [Baron's] rare qualities, that he thought it was most necessary to send him back for to acquaint the peers of many things, and to keep due correspondency and intelligence with both this Court and that of Rome, wherein our people were and are most neglectful. He is incomparable and apt for the purpose. I write to the Lord Mountgarrett and others to see him established Secretary of the State, a better office than to be a General in one of the provinces. I hope each one of the Council will consent to it.

Unfortunately the Council did not entertain the proposal, Sir Richard Bellings being appointed Secretary. It is probable that Baron who by birth and training was Anglo-Irish, but whose views and sympathies were with the old Irish, might have reconciled the conflicting factions in the Council.

October 10th, O'Hartigan wrote to say that Baron and his fellows after a close pursuit by the Earl of Warwick's cruisers had reached Ireland safely. The General Assembly at Kilkenny, on October 28th, ordered "that Mr. Baron shall bring into this house in writing the proposition and messages from foreign parts into this kingdom to him committed by the Pope's nuncio and others." Baron's account of his mission to France was so satisfactory that it was resolved to send him thither again, and a commission as regular ambassador, dated November 28th, was given him jointly with O'Hartegan. He was furnished with letters to Cardinal Richelieu, the Queen Regent of France, the

papal nuncio and others. A day or two after Christmas, 1642, he set out probably from Waterford for La Rochelle. This time, however, he was not so fortunate as on the previous occasion. For on February 21st the Confederate Council wrote to Hugh Burke, their ambassador in Flanders.

We are advertised that the Captain of the Teresia at Donkerke hath taken a vessell whearein Mr. Geoffry Baron one of our agents for France was imbarqued, and that besides takeing the booty hee detains him prisoner. Wee pray you take notice of this and sollicite restitution and reparation.

On same date they wrote to O'Hartegan to have representations made by the French Government for the restoration of the vessel and cargo, O'Hartegan to obtain full particulars and proceed accordingly. Baron eventually reached Paris towards the end of April. Here he spent almost four months of fruitless negotiation. Richelieu was dead, and Cardinal Mazarine had succeeded. Wadding wrote bespeaking for Baron and Hartegan a good reception, but the Cardinal was too busy. "The letters you sent for the Cardinal Mazarini were delivered; but the Cardinal's excessive employments did not give him leave to read them while we were by. I hope they will do him good" *(yy)*. Besides the French were just then sending into England 100,000 crowns, 3,000 muskets, and 1,000 cases of pistols to the aid of King Charles. Some money was promised and the Cardinal pledged his word to Baron. There were, however, so many excuses and delays that the latter wrote expressing his wish to return. This was granted.

Sir,—Wee have in conformitye to your owne desires given way to your retourne, the rather that Father Hartegan and you have with your joynt endeavours soe settled our affairs in the Court that they may be managed by one man resideing constantly there, and that wee desire much to be satisfied of some things which by letter cannot be soe fully made knowne vnto us. The want the kingdom is in of powder gives us a great impediment to the service and may prove fatall vnto us if not prevented. Wee therefore pray you that if it may possibly be, some marchants may be invited to bringe in powder that we may be furnished for our moneys or commodityes or by any other meane. Wee have sent you 100 pistoles towardes your iourney.

From his return from France in September 1643, onwards Baron took an active part in the affairs of the Confederate Assembly. As one of the commissioners of revenue he had regularly to audit the public accounts; he was engaged besides in some special duties. During the siege of Duncannon Fort by Preston, 20th January to 19th March, 1645, he was present as representing the Supreme Council. The diary of the siege which he kept was forwarded to Rome, where it was translated into Latin and published.

(yy) Baron to Wadding, Paris, 21st August, 1643.

He also acted as one of the representatives of the Confederates in the negotiations carried on with the Earl of Glamorgan in behalf of the king. Meanwhile complaints were being made that O'Hartegan was mismanaging the Irish business at the French Court. The Supreme Council who were then in session at Clonmel, wrote 25th March, 1645, to Bellings who had been sent on a mission to Rome.

Wee will send Mr. Baron to meet you in the St. Francis, shortly bound thither and to prevent the further inconvenience to be drawne uppon us by this quite altred Fr. Hartegan.

But pressing engagements delayed Baron who reached France only in the beginning of October. At La Rochelle he met Rinuccini, the papal nuncio, on his way to Ireland. Rinuccini wrote to Cardinal Pamphili, October 5th.

The evening before my arrival Mr. Geoffry Barron, Treasurer of the kingdom, reached this city in four days from Ireland, on his way to Paris by order of the Supreme Council to attend, as I hear, for some time to the affairs of the Confederates. This gentleman has a fine appearance, very polished manners and tells me he is related to Fr. Luke Wadding. Nothing has been concluded about a peace; the truce only was tacitly continued and no more will be done before my arrival. In proof of this he brought me a letter from the Earl of Glamorgan an Englishman and a most excellent Catholic, who has been sent to Ireland by the king with some secret instructions, to see if he can facilitate an agreement between him [the king] and the Irish.

Baron's stay at the French Court on this occasion was extended to nineteen months. The objects of the mission and its results appear from the following.

Mr. Geoffry Barron landed at Waterford on Friday the 11th of March [1647] and came to Kilkenny the next day. And being indisposed two or three days he came not into the Assembly till the 16th at which time being asked for an account of his negociation he answered that for the most part, it consisted in the letters he had brought with him, and made some scruple to communicate them to any other than a sworn council because the matter required secrecy. At length a committee was appointed to peruse the letters and Sir Lucas Dillon the chairman reported from that committee That it was requisite the letters should be read in the Assembly which was done accordingly.

The first was a letter of the 30th January from Dr. Tirrell (one of the Irish agents in Paris) That the Rupture of the late Peace did at first seem to both the Courts in France to trench far upon the public faith of the kingdom, but when some slight objections raised by the King and Queen of France and Cardinal Mazarine, were solidly refuted and full informations given them, the rejection of the peace was confirmed. But when they heard of the return of the Irish forces from Dublin they suspected their weakness and division. He advises them to unite and attack the city, that the Queen and Prince of Wales are coming to Ireland, and therefore not to agree upon slight terms for when they come, the Irish will have their wills.

The second was a letter of 26 September from the King of France. Being well informed of the inclinations of the kingdom he will take particular care of their interests.

The third and fourth from Cardinal Mazarine that the settlement of his majesty of England would much rejoice the King of France.

The fifth from Colonel Fitzwilliams. If they provide a good reception for the Queen and Prince of Wales more of their demands will be granted. The Queen denies having any power to treat with the Irish but will seek it. The French will send ships for 2000 Irish. If the Irish aid Antrim in Scotland, the Scots must look to Scotland and without them the Parliament cannot hurt the Irish. Supplicates them to leave one church open in Dublin for the king's religion lest the Parliamentarians take advantage of it to incense the English against the King, Queen and Prince. That the Pope has sent the Irish 40,000 pistoles and Cardinal Mazarine will send 6000 more.

These letters being read Mr. Barron said his embassy was on two points. First to excuse the not sending 3000 men to the King of France according to Promise, which he had done to content and the second was to solicit aids from the Queen which at first she promised, sufficient to bring the war to the wished period but at the second audience she was quite off from it, being so persuaded by her Protestant counsellors. And that Cardinal Mazarine sent them 12,000 livres which is all he could procure (*zz*).

If Mazarine was not liberal in finance, compliments he showered in abundance. "I accompany Mr. Barron," he wrote, "who returns to you with these lines to witness the satisfaction he hath left here of his conduct." Baron's return found the Confederates torn asunder by factionism. In the angry conflict between the Anglo-Irish or southern party and the old Irish or northern, he consistently took the side of the old Irish. Religious motives largely swayed him. "Barron," writes Bellings, "was noted for his particular zeal for the nuncio and his ways, though otherwise he showed himself an upright and disinterested man in the cause of his country. He was wont to think anything justifiable which might be acted or spoken in decrying a peace already condemned by ecclesiastical censures and which was so accursed that those that did defend, adhere or approve the justice of it, were delivered over to Satan." But religion apart, Baron was a trained diplomatist, and he knew that in King Charles and Ormond he had to deal with men practised in sham negotiations, whose good faith was limited by the exigencies of English politics. Hence when in the winter of 1649 Ormond appeared before Waterford, Baron offered a strenuous and successful opposition to the admission of him or his Anglo-Irish into the city. At the siege by Ireton shortly after, he actively supported O'Farrell and the Ulster garrison against the members of the corporation who urged a speedy surrender. On the fall of Waterford he made his way to Limerick, and of the close of his career there ample details have reached us. The "Diary of the Parliamentary Forces" reports on the surrender of Limerick to Ireton, 27th October, 1651.

At a Councell of war at Limerick was this day debated how those excepted persons should be disposed of. Of them five were voted to suffer, Hugh O'Neill, Sir

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(*zz*) Cox, Hib. Angl., p. 192.

Geoffry Galway, Sir Richard Everhard (one of the rebels Supreame Councell from the beginning of the rebellion, and holding out notwithstanding the favour shewed him by his Ex. the Lord Lt. during his lordship's residence here) Jeffry Barron (a principall instrument in the holding out of Waterford against us and acting here accordingly, and professing his malignity against us to the uttermost) and Dr. Higgins (a phisitian a dangerous person, acting in rebellion, their powder maker and money coyner) *(a)*.

Ludlow's Memoirs give a more circumstantial account.

The Bishop of Emly and major General Purcell with Wolf the priest were taken in the pest house where they had hid themselves. Jeffrey Barron and Sir Geoffrey Galway surrendered themselves. They were tried by a Councill of War and Jeffrey Barron having the same question put to him with the rest [what he had to say for himself] answered that it was not just to exclude him from mercy, because he had been engaged in the same cause as we pretended to fight for—the liberty and religion of his country. The deputy [Ireton] replied that Ireland being a conquered country, the English nation might with justice assert their right of conquest; that they had been treated by the late government far beyond their merits or the rules of reason, notwithstanding which they had barbarously murdered all the English that fell into their hands, and robbed them of their goods which they had gained by their industry, and taken away the lands which they had purchased with their money; that touching this point of religion there was a wide difference also between us, we only contending to preserve our natural right therein without imposing our opinions upon other men, whereas they would not he contented unless they might have power to compell all others to submit to their inquisition on pain of death. The Council of War looking upon what he had to say for himself to be hereby fully refuted, adjudged him to die as they did the mayor also, and the sentence was executed accordingly.

The argument of Ireton represents the average views of the "founders of English liberty." Few however will join with the Council of War in regarding it as an answer to Baron. Ireton had a more effective weight to balance the argument—the sword. The contemporary history known as "The Aphorismicall Discovery" gives a characteristic account of Baron's end.

Master Baron of Clonmell, a very understandinge gentleman, adjudged to the gallowes desired respitt of execution till his return from his lodginge, which being admitted with a guarde, where he broke open his trunkes and findinge there a newe suite of white taffitie with all the addresses suitable as if to be presently maried, adorninge himself therewith roade gallantly (as accustomed) with the guarde towards the place of execution, behaved himself iconde [jocund] in his behaviour and soe careless of both execution and behoulders that it was strange. Beinge questioned for the change of cloathes answered that if to marye a creature he did noelesse and now that he was of belife that his soule departinge at this instante from his bodie did straight enjoye the pleasures of heaven in the consumation

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(a) Hugh O'Neill the governor of Limerick, was reprieved though he narrowly escaped "owing to the blood he had shed at Clonmel." Sir Richard Everard also was pardoned because of his age.

of that eternall nuptiall felicitie and to bestowe this laste liverie upon the relicte companion of his said soule was the leaste of his dutie to so tender a servante. In finishinge this pious and devoute speeche he was hanged.

In striking contrast to this ecstatic state, is the commonplace will which Baron made the day before his execution.

In the name of God, Amen. I Geoffry Baron of Clonmel esquire now neere death make my last will and testament in manner following. I bequeath my soule to God. I appoint my cousin german Thomas Baron fitz Richard of Clonmel, my executor. I leave and bequeath to said Thomas, all my lands which [came to me by] inheritance, to have and to hold to him and his heires male of his boddie for ever, the remainder to the heires male of the boddie of my grand father Geoffry Baron, the remainder to my cousen and servant Geoffry Baron fitz Nicholas. I appoint my debits repaid as I have instructed my servant, and desire my executor my soul may be prayd for, and such legacies as I have informed my said servant be payd. In witness whereof to my last will and testament I hereunto put my hande and seale the eight day of November, 1651.

R. Everard. Geoffry Baron.
Richard Everard.

Cousen Thomas I have no greater inheritance to leave you then my blessing which I freely impart to you, your wiffe and children. What I have left that you may in a more settled time have ryght to in my behalfe is as neere as I can now remember, Parkene-gubbons, St. James parke and two or three stangs John Bray held from me, one hundred pounds yet due to me of the rent charge I have uppon the lands of Freehans with an arrear of about ten yeares. The mortgage I have of Cullenagh for three hundred and three score pounds as I take it, one hundred fifty pounds debt due to me beyond the mortgage as will appear by the papers of Phillip McGrath and his heyres. I have past Mr. Patrick Goegh an estate on Cullinagh for two hundred and three score pounds of which there is yett behinde and unpaid to me five and forty pounds sterling. I appoint you my executor and desire you when you gett anything by me to have care to discharge my debt as my man shall informe you of my interests. God bless you. Pray for me your loveinge kinsman.

G. Baron.

Lymerick the 8th of Novr 1651 *(b)*.

Thus at the age of forty-four perished Geoffry Baron. In a country which preserves so many memories, a strange obscurity has covered his career. Yet he was, in the make and mould of him, an heroic figure. The passion for a creed or a cause, which ennobles a man, was his. The sacrifice which gives up talents, fortune, life itself for an ideal, he freely made, and in him a character clean, candid, unselfish, left wanting no element of greatness. As the Irish Confederation is better studied, and the work and aims of the men who formed it, better understood, the name of Geoffry Baron will rank with those of Luke Wadding, Lord Mountgarret, Roger O'Moore, and Owen Roe O'Neill *(c)*.

(b) Waterford Wills, P.R.O. A seal is appended showing three fishes.

(c) Authorities—Franciscan MSS., Dublin, Strafford's Letters, Gilbert, History of Confederation, Cox, Hibernia Anglicana, Wills P.R.O., etc.

BONAVENTURE BARON.

Bartholomew Baron, brother of the preceding, was born in 1610. He lost both parents at an early age, his mother, Mary Wadding, dying when he was only six. In after years in his cell at St. Isidore's, Rome, her memory haunted him, and as he called up the vision of the old home in St. Mary's Street, Clonmel, his thoughts poured forth in graceful verse.

Chara parens, quam præcipite te pollice solvit,
Impatiens fatis parcere Parca tuis!
Nil natura tibi; minimum fortuna negavit;
Ambabus gemina freta parente parens.
Purpureas succensa genas, trabeata capillos;
Messuit arcana frons tua menlis opes.
Virginibus viduis, genialibus aucta corollis,
Audis illustri sanguine, prole, thoro;
Et fugis? et fas est; patrio quota pignora cœlo
Digna, peregrina ne remorentur humo *(d)*.

During the early years of the seventeenth century a school was kept in the town by a person named Sall, and there Baron received his first education. He subsequently went to Waterford where the citizens maintained "a publique schoolmaster, one fflahie." Though Flahie fled from the Protestant Commissioners in 1615, and though order was taken "to suppress him from the exercise of teaching of youth, for he traynes upp scholers to become seminarie priests beyonde the seas," *(e)* yet he continued his pedagogy, and with him young Baron began the classics. In the summer of 1626 having "profitted well" in his studies, he was sent by his brother Geoffry to the Franciscan house of Timoleague, Co. Cork, for a course of philosophy under Father Eugene Field. A few months later he entered the Franciscan order. Geoffry Baron writes to Luke Wadding 2nd December, 1626: "Unknowen to any of his friends, he has taken the habitt of your holly Father St. Francis the 27th of October last, whome I desire God to his honour and glorie make a good frier." Shortly before Baron's departure for Rome, 1629, the Lord

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(d) The original is exquisitely preserved in a version by Sir Samuel Ferguson :—

Dear mother mine, with what a thumb of haste
Impelled, fate's scissors have your threads unlaced!
You Nature nothing, Fortune nought denied,
Parent well parented on either side,
Still ruddy-cheeked, still robed with tresses wrought,
Round grave brow garnered with the wealth of thought,
Crowned with all chaplets of a genial life,
Maid's, widow's, happy mother, happy wife,
Most honoured! and you leave us. Be it so.
Heaven's pledge from alien earth should early go.

(e) Brit. Mus. Addit., No. 19836.

Deputy Falkland visited Clonmel. According to the custom of the time an address in fulsome Latin hexameters was presented. Baron, to whom was delegated the composition and reading of the address, so impressed Boyle, Earl of Cork, who accompanied Falkland, that the "Great Earl" proposed to engage him, probably in the capacity of agent or secretary. But learning that Baron was a Catholic and a friar to boot, the negotiation soon ended. In the middle of March, 1629, Baron set out by way of Waterford and Brittany for Rome where his uncle, Luke Wadding, was now Guardian of St. Isidore's. As illustrating the uncertainties of the voyage in those days, Thomas Strange of Waterford, who gave him letters for Wadding, writes two and a half years later to know if Bartholomew had reached Rome or where exactly he was.

Under Wadding's direction at St. Isidore's, Baron set to work with passionate and unflagging energy. Ordained about 1636, he exchanged the name "Bartholomew" for the Franciscan "Bonaventure" under which he afterwards became celebrated. Though his duties as professor of theology brought him over a wide field of study, his enormous capacity enabled him to accumulate all sorts of out-of-the-way learning. "We cannot but wonder," writes one biographer, "how one man could have written so much, so learnedly, and on such a variety of topics, before he had passed what Dante calls the mid-term of life. And yet such is the fact; for we have it on the authority of Father Wadding himself, that his nephew had actually written in Latin, singularly remarkable for its elegance, some five or six volumes, while he was yet considerably under thirty-three years of age. The titles of some of these will show how versatile was the genius of this eminent man, and with what facility he could turn from the profounder pursuits of studies, philsophical and theological, to the cultivation of the muses, and indeed of almost every department of light literature." From the publication of his "Panegyrics" in Rome, 1643, onward for more than forty years, works from his pen issued from the presses of Rome, Paris, Lyons, Florence, Wurtzburg and Cologne. One of his books contains a medallion portrait set in an architectural design. Round the twisted Renaissance columns a scroll is carried, and inscribed thereon is a list of topics on which he wrote—"Panegyrics, Poems, Eulogies, Preludes, Boetius, Portents, Rhetoric, Plots (Stratagemata), *Quodlibets*, Canticle of Canticles, Office of St. Francis, Logic, Physics, Metaphysics, Ethics, Theology." Baron was perhaps the last representative of the old school which professed to teach *de omni re scibili*, and in this age of specialism one can only consult his writings on Portents and the Miracles of Nature, with amused curiosity.

Much however of his philosophical and theological work is of a solid and permanent character. As the volumes of his Vindication of Duns Scotus and his Course of Theology came out they were welcomed enthusiastically. They were universally read in his own day, and may still be studied with profit. When the edition of Boetius' Consolation of Theology appeared, John Caramuel, the greatest scholar of the time, declared that the critical studies of Baron's edition of Boetius lacked neither the genius nor style of Boetius himself *(In eis nec Boetii ingenium nec calamum desiderantur).*

The only events which mark the life of a man of letters are his publications. For more than sixty years Baron's duties as professor and his labours as writer carried him along in a tranquil current. Rarely, indeed, the calm of the cell in St. Isidore's was disturbed. But in 1652 came the news of the hanging of his brother Geoffry in Limerick. Five years later he stood by the dying bed of Wadding. When in 1668 there was question of filling the vacant archbishopric of Cashel, his name was put forward. His own account of the affair is characteristic: "A civibus postulatus et antistibus; sed non respondi, et cessi similiter oneri et honori. Illi impar, hoc indignus" *(f)*. A more congenial honour and one which he freely accepted was that of "theologian and historian" to the Grand Duke of Tuscany. This came to him in 1676, but he lived to enjoy it for two decades. The last years however of his life were clouded. A creeping paralysis gradually deprived him of the use of his limbs and finally of sight itself. In one of his latest writings he makes a touching allusion to his state of health.

Bowed with the weight of years, broken by toil, my eyes are growing dim, my hearing impaired, my teeth gone, my legs refuse to bear me up. It is time to lay down the pen worn by so many volumes *(g)*.

Baron died 18th March, 1696, in his 86th year. He is buried in St. Isidore's in the second chapel on the right from the entrance, close to the grave of Luke Wadding. The inscription on the sepulchral slab reads—

(f) It is hard to convey the sparkle of the original in a translation. "Though nominated by the lay folk and the bishops I did not rise to the occasion, and so ceased to be troubled with similar loads and lauds. Unequal to the one, unworthy of the other."

(g) Senio pronus, laboribus fractus, jam enim caligant occuli aures obturantur, dentes molire rennunt, crura fatiscunt. Fas sit abstergere calamum tot voluminibus tritum.

D. O. M.
Memoria P. F.
Bonaven^ra Baronis } Hyberni
Lectoris } Clonmel
Pluries Emeriti
Authoris
XXII Tomorum
Quippe
Oratoris Poetæ
Philosophi Historici
Principum Aliquot Theologi
Qui dudum
Scotiæ Custos
Deinde
Croatiæ Commissarius
Denique
Recusata Hujus Cœnobii Præfectura
(Ne Addam Infulas Episcopales)
Mortalitate Succubuit
Octogenario Major
F. Io. De Burgo Aedis Præfectus
Monumentum Merenti Erexit
An. CIↃ, DCXC
Ipse Baro Expiravit An. M.D.CXCVI
Mensis Martii 18
Noctis { Hora 4
Quiescat In Pace.
Amen.

To the Most Excellent and High God
A Memory of Father, the Friar } An Irishman
Bonaventure Baron, } of Clonmel
Several Times
Emeritus Lecturer,
Author
of 22 volumes,
To wit,
An Orator, a Poet,
A Philosopher, an Historian,
Theologian of sundry Princes,
Once
Guardian of Ireland,
Then
Commissary of Croatia,
Having rejected the Prefecture of this Monastery
(Not to add Episcopal Mitres),
He yielded to Mortality,
More than an Octogenarian.
Friar John De Burgo, Prefect of the House,
As unto one of Merit erected [this] Monument,
in the year 1690
Baron himself expired in the year 1696,
On the 18th day of the Month of March,
At the 4th hour of Night
May he Rest in Peace.
Amen.

There are three portraits of Bonaventure Baron extant—two in oils at the Franciscan houses, Clonmel, and Merchants' Quay, Dublin, respectively; the third, a copperplate, is prefixed to some of his works. The earliest, painted when he was about thirty-six, represents him as a professor seated at the rostrum. It is a half figure and a side view. Poised on the knee is a book on which the left hand rests, the right is raised, the index finger pointing upwards. The head is large, with intense prominent eyes, the nose and mouth disproportionately small, but the general effect is rather pleasing. This however cannot be said of the other two portraits which represent him when he had passed his fiftieth year. Though the face shows much more strength and character, the massive temples scarcely relieve the plainness, almost vulgarity of the other features. In the engraving, indeed, there is a suggestion of strabismus. A slight resemblance to his uncle Luke Wadding may be detected, but we miss the dome-like forehead, the large well-set eyes, the delicacy and distinction of the great annalist.

The position which Baron held in the estimation of his contemporaries is described by Michaele in his Bibliographia Critica. "A man amongst the most distinguished in human and divine learning, surpassed by few in genius and eloquence. He was (as Caramuel puts it) a *Bonaventure* in theology, a *Baronius* in history. At once an elegant poet and a consummate writer of prose, an orator ready and powerful, a profound philosopher, a close observer of the secrets of nature. He held the office of theologian and historian to the Grand Duke of Tuscany. He wrote excellently and exhaustively the annals of the Order of the Most Holy Trinity for Redeeming Slaves. The products of his manifold genius, fill nearly twenty volumes—volumes which do not burthen the shelves but adorn and enrich our best libraries."

The works of Baron which obtained most notice are—

1. Orationes Panegyricæ Sacro-Prophanæ. Romæ, 1643.
2. Metra Miscellanea. Romæ, 1649.
   Another edition appeared at Cologne, 1651.
3. Prolusiones Logicæ et Philosophicæ.
4. Harpocrates Quinque Ludius, sive Diatriba Silentii.
5. Centuria Epistolarum Selectarum.
6. De Obsidione et Expugnatione Arcis Dunkanon in Hybernia *(h)*.
7. Boetius Absolutus sive De Consolatione Theologiæ.
8. Declamationes, Stratagemata, Portenta Naturæ et Artis Miracula.
9. Varia Opuscula Selectissima.

(h) A translation of this tract will be found in Meehan's Irish Franciscan Monasteries.

10. Scotus Doctor Subtilis contra Adversantes Quosque, Defensus et Quæstionum Novitate Amplificatus.

This, which is one of the most important of Baron's works, was published at Lyons in 1668, two volumes folio.

11. Annalium Ordinis SS. Trinitatis Redemptionis Captivorum Tomus Primus, Romæ, 1684 *(i)*.

12. Theologia Universa, six volumes. Paris, 1676.

The work of Baron to which we should now look with most interest was an unpublished autobiography written in extreme old age. It reached Dublin with the St. Isidore's MSS. in 1872, and the Franciscan Fathers with characteristic, open-handed generosity placed it at the disposal of Rev. C. P. Meehan when engaged on his "Irish Franciscan Monasteries." It was not returned, and the Rev. Fr. O'Reilly, the present curator of the MSS., has never seen it.

SAMUEL FOLEY.

Samuel Foley was grandson of Richard Foley, an iron-master of Stourbridge. His father Samuel had been a captain in Jerome Sankey's cavalry regiment, and on the close of the war, 1652, took up residence in Clonmel in the house of Nicholas White Fitz Henry *(j)*. This was situated in Boate Street on the site of the present Provincial Bank, and there three sons were born to him. The oldest of these was Samuel, born 25th November, 1655. As the "Civill Establishment" set up by

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(i) A book of Baron's appears to have been put on the Index 20th June, 1690, the title was Opuscula Prosa et Metro Argumenta etiam Varia Nostri Bonaventuræ.

(j) The following reference to Foley *pere* may be read in conjunction with the incidents related by Temple and Borlase. It is found in the Carte Papers (LX., 234).

The humble petition of Margaret Comerford Widdowe

In most lamentable maner complayneth that one Captaine Samuell Folie now residinge in Clonmell, Colonell Mathew Jacob of Knockelly, Cornet James Barker of Lismalinge and Quarter-master Thomas Oliver of Kellheaheen all in the County of Tipperary, came betwixt the howres of eight and ten of the clocke in the forenoone of the 24 day of November 1651 with a stronge partye of horsse whereof the said Folie was cheefe in command to the town and lands of Garran in the Barony of Kells in the County of Kilkenny And callinge for Garrott Comerford your Oratrix husband, caryed him to the open street and stript him of all his cloathes and afterwards mudered him, being a protected man and never in arms. And after comitting that vnhuman murder entred your Oratrix house which they ymediately plundered and then murdered Margaret Comerford alias Tobin the said Garrots mother beinge a poore blinde beddered old woman above an hundred and ten years of adge and your Oratrix son John Comerford a poore criple and two seruants whom they afterwards burnt in the house. And besides murdered in the town 16 harmlesse house keepers, they burnt and destroyed thirtie six tenements in the said towne. And therewith not satisfyed took from your Oratrix fower score Cowes and garrans and soe left her destitute both of corne catle or other substance to mentayne her selfe and fower poore orphans.

Prays that they may be dealt with according to justice and that your Grace may relieve her.

[*At foot.*] Ordered that Lord Santry consider petition and certify what is to be done. Dublin Castle 14 March, 1662.

the Cromwellians, included a "Mr. Edward Bainebrigge, Schoolmaster," and "Mrs. Spenser, Schoolmrs.," it is probable that from them Foley received his early education. On 8th June, 1672, he was admitted a Fellow-Commoner in Trinity College, Dublin, and five years later, 11th June, 1677, was elected to a Fellowship. Promotion followed rapidly, for about 1686 he was appointed chancellor of St. Patrick's, Dublin, and in 1691 he graduated Doctor of Divinity. During the period when James II. resided in Dublin he seems to have fled to England, as his name occurs in the list of those attainted unless they return before the 1st October, 1689. On the deprivation of Thomas Hackett, Protestant Bishop of Down and Connor, Foley was selected to fill the vacancy. He was consecrated in Christ Church, Dublin, 2nd September, 1694, by the Archbishop of Tuam, assisted by the bishops of Meath, Derry, Killala and Achonry. He died of fever at Lisburn 22nd May, 1695.. Dr. John Sterne in a funeral oration observes—"If we number his days by his wisdom, we may properly enough say that he lived many more years in the world than nature gave him. He duly considered how swiftly time runs on and his improvement of it was in speed answerable to its motion. He lived fast in the best sense, so fast that he very early came to the end both of a deserving clergyman and a good Christian, a bishopric and heaven." He left by his will dated 4th April, 1695, £40 to the poor of the parish of St. Werburgh's, the interest to buy bread. "He was," writes Harris, "a handsome man in his person, of a sweet affable temper, and a religious life and conversation." He published:—

1. A Sermon Preached at Christ Church, Dublin, February 19, 1681, at the Consecration of William Bishop of Kildare, William Bishop of Kilmore, and Richard Bishop of Killala. 1 Tim. 3, 1.

2. A Visitation Sermon Preached at St. Patrick's, Dublin, 9 April, 1682. Tim. 4, 16.

3. An Account of the Giant's Causeway (Philosophical Transactions, 1694).

4. An Exhortation to the Inhabitants of Down and Connor, Concerning the Religious Education of their Children in general and particularly in order to their being Confirmed. 1695.

LAURENCE STERNE.

A century ago Rev. Dr. Bell, headmaster of the Clonmel Endowed School, used suggest to a pupil and protégé of his, William Phelan, that the boy's birth-place would afterwards be pointed out with pride by the people

of Clonmel, just as Laurence Sterne's was. In the lapse however of the century, the birth-places of both one and the other have been utterly forgotten. A tradition recorded by Mr. William Clarke of the *Clonmel Chronicle*, states that Sterne was born in a house in Mary's Street, a few doors from O'Connell Street corner, right side going towards the church. Sterne's mother was a native of the town, and at the date of his birth, 24th November, 1713, her family the Tuttles (or Tothalls) occupied a prominent position. That year Thomas Tothall was mayor of the town.

The life of this strange writer and still stranger clergyman, belongs to English literary history.

ROBERT MARSHALL.

Robert Marshall, the son of John Marshall, of Clonmel, and Catherine his wife, was born about 1690. John would appear to have been an attorney who accumulated a considerable fortune, and purchased houses and lands from the Ormond trustees; he lived in the house in Boate Street previously occupied by Samuel Foley, and there committed suicide 22nd April, 1717 *(k)*. Robert received his early education at the Clonmel Free School, whence probably he passed to Trinity College, Dublin. Having read his terms he was called to the bar in 1723. As politics, or rather factionism, was in those days the surest road to success at the bar, Marshall became early identified with the Hamerton as opposed to the Moore party in Clonmel. In 1725 on the death of Robert Fitzgerald, Recorder of the town, he had himself nominated for the office, in opposition to Thomas Marlay, Solicitor-General, the champion of the Moore interest. After a fierce contest Stephen Moore, mayor, declared Marlay elected, but Marshall on petition to the Privy Council unseated him. This was the foundation of Marshall's career. Two years later at the general election consequent on the accession of George II., he and Robert Hamerton contested Clonmel against the Moores. The Moores were returned, but Marshall and Hamerton petitioning the House of Commons unseated them and became members of parliament during the life-time of the king. With parliamentary influence success at the bar rapidly followed. Marshall was briefed in all the leading cases. He was appointed third sergeant-at-law 18th April, 1738; second 31st March, 1741. Nor was he, like

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(k) See *Waterford Archæological Journal*, No. 32, p 85. By deeds 2nd and 3rd November, 1720, Robert Marshall conveyed to John Bagwell the late dwelling-house, back-yard, coach-house and stables, with the little yard and turret joining the Quay and Gateway under the house. Bagwell carried on business there, and on his death in 1752 the place passed to Riall, his son-in-law, who founded the bank. On the collapse of the Riall's Bank, 1820, the premises were sold to the Provincial Bank.

most of his class in those days, exalted by humbling himself. The Benchers had become at the time a close or rotten corporation "reduced to the mere mismanagement of existing income or the concealed embezzlement of established assessments." In the movement for reform Marshall took a leading part.

November 1736. Ordered. That Mr. Parkinson or Mr. Marshall on the part of the Utter Bar, have liberty to inspect the books (*l*).

The greatest Irish law-suit of the eighteenth century was the trial in ejectment between James Annesley, Esq., and Richard Earl of Anglesea. The point at issue was the legitimacy of Annesley, and on it depended the Anglesea estates and peerage. Marshall was leading counsel for Annesley, and succeeded in obtaining a verdict for his client.

By patent dated 20th February, 1754, Marshall was elevated to the bench as Justice of Common Pleas. Though no profound decisions are credited to him, he maintained amid judicial partiality and venality, a character upright and untainted. The Irish legal historian of the period is loud in his praise. "The selection of that gentleman was extremely judicious. He had an active persevering mind, a warm intrepid temper, and a judgment sufficiently severe to distinguish between hollow professions and practical inclinations to tyranny. Such a person was well calculated to depress a guilty group [his fellow-judges], not more by personal courage, than undisguised contempt" *(m)*. This is perhaps as great a tribute as can be paid to any Irish judge of the eighteenth century. In 1764 Marshall was in failing health, as leave of absence for six months in England was granted him 16th November "without forfeiture, damage or prejudice to his patent, notwithstanding the statute of absentees." Towards the end of the year 1767, he retired from the bench to his seaside residence at Seapoint where he spent the remainder of his life. He died 19th November, 1772.

Marshall was as successful in his matrimonial as in his legal career. He was married twice; first to Arabella, sister of Sir Nicholas Osborne, fifth baronet; secondly to a Miss Wooley, a granddaughter of Sir Abraham Yarner, who was said to have been possessed of a fortune of £30,000—a colossal marriage portion in those days.

Perhaps his chief claim to remembrance is that he and Bishop Berkeley were joint residuary legatees to Vanessa. But Marshall bore Swift no great

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(l) History of King's Inns.—Duhig, p. 297.
(m) Duhigg, p. 198.

affection, and Swift blamed him for the publication of the poem of Cadenus and Vanessa. Yet when the great Dean passed away the project of a national memorial had no more energetic supporter than Marshall.

WILLIAM JOHN DUANE.

He was born in Clonmel in 1780. Like so many of his countrymen, he emigrated to America at an early age, and like them he had in the struggle for livelihood, to follow a variety of occupations. For a considerable time he worked as a journeyman printer; he next appears as a paper dealer, and finally in 1815 adopted the profession of the law. He soon rose to a leading position; became one of the pioneer educationists of America, appointed trustee and director of Girard College. Entering political life he represented Philadelphia in the State Legislature, and eventually obtained the secretaryship of the United States Treasury. But being a man of strong views and purpose he came into collision with President Jackson. In consequence of declining to remove the deposits from the United States Bank, he was retired from the secretaryship. His later years were largely devoted to literature, the "Law of Nations Investigated" being perhaps the best known of his works.

Duane died 27th September, 1865, in his eighty-fifth year.

WILLIAM PHELAN.

William Phelan was born 29th of April, 1789, in Clonmel. His father who was a wool-comber, destining him for the priesthood, sent him to study Latin under one Michael Ryan the principal, if not the only, Catholic schoolmaster in the town. Here he made so rapid progress that in 1803 he stood a *concursus* in Waterford for entrance into Maynooth. Though successful, the Catholic authorities did not nominate him to a place in the college, whether by reason of his youth or other disqualification has not been explained. Phelan now entered the Clonmel Endowed School conducted at this time by the Rev. Richard Carey. Here in the words of a biographer "a new world dawned upon young Phelan's vision—the philosophy and the poetry of the Greeks were no longer sealed volumes; his ambition was kindled and the pathway to fame seemed to lie open before him." In 1806 he entered Trinity College, Dublin, as a sizar and there registered himself as a Protestant. His scanty allowance as sizar was supplemented by his old master, Carey, and his college tutor, Rev. C. W. Wall. Amongst others who

befriended him were the famous William C. Plunkett, and Dr. afterwards Archbishop Magee. At first Phelan aspired to the bar but subsequently turned his thoughts towards the Established Church. His college career was brilliant; he carried off premiums in almost every branch of study, winning a scholarship, a degree and a gold medal. In 1814 he was appointed second master of Londonderry Endowed School, and the following year took orders in the Established Church. In 1816 the first of his publications appeared, a pamphlet in denunciation of Bible Societies. But his consuming ambition would not allow him to rest, though his health was already enfeebled. Three times he contested a fellowship in Trinity, the third occasion in 1817, he was successful, mainly, it was said, through the influence of Magee. In 1818 he was elected Donnellan lecturer. Forming the acquaintance of a Miss Margaret Phibbs, he petitioned the crown for a dispensation from the statute forbidding fellows to marry. Unsuccessful in this, he resigned his fellowship and married in 1823. Dr. Doyle being now at the height of his fame, Phelan entered the lists against him in 1824 with his "Case of the Church of Ireland stated in a Letter to the Marquess Wellesley, in reply to J.K.L." This was published under the pseudonym "Declan," and was one of the few replies which the bishop thought worthy of his notice. Archbishop McHale also complimented Phelan's work. "In point of purity of language and pretension to theological learning, Declan's is unquestionably the most creditable production by which the Bishop has been combated." The "Case of the Church of Ireland" earned for its author the rectories of Killyman and Ardtrea worth £2,000 a year. A mitre was now at no great distance off, and though in broken health Phelan, under the stimulus partly of habit partly of ambition, worked harder than ever. The results appeared in 1827 in the "History of the Policy of the Church of Rome in Ireland," a powerful piece of special pleading. This work in its apparent breadth of research, its passion and absoluteness of expression, attracted great attention and for many years was quoted as an authority. But it exhausted its author, and Phelan's feverish and untranquil life came to an end 13th June, 1830. Two years after, his "Remains" in two volumes, were published by Bishop Jebb.

RICHARD DOWLING.

Richard Dowling was born in Clonmel on June 3rd, 1846. He was educated partly in Clonmel and partly at St. Muncheon's College, Limerick. When he was about eighteen years of age he went to Waterford and entered the office of his uncle, William Downey, a shipbroker. In Waterford he

commenced his journalistic career, contributing sketches and poems and stories to *The Waterford News*, *The Waterford Chronicle*, and *The Waterford Citizen*. He was for a short time during his residence in Waterford a contributor to A. M. Sullivan's *Nation*. When A. M. Sullivan in 1870 started his halfpenny *Daily Summary* he invited Richard Dowling to become its editor. *The Daily Summary* ceased soon after the close of the Franco-German war, and Dowling remained at *The Nation* office taking editorial charge of *Zozimus* when A. M. Sullivan retired from the editorship. For some years *Zozimus* achieved a certain amount of success. After its publication was given up Dowling started and edited a sixpenny weekly—*Ireland's Eye*. In 1875 he left Ireland and settled in London.

During the time of his sojourn in Dublin he wrote several stories, short and long. He contributed a serial novel (never published in book form) to *The Weekly News*, and the London firm of John Camden Hotten got out a small volume of his humorous essays with the title of "Babies and Ladders." In London, Dowling joined the staff of *The Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, contributing to it a series of humorous sketches under the title of "Andrew O'Rourke's Ramblings," and he started a humorous weekly paper called *Yorick* which had a brief existence. In 1878, Tinsley Brothers published his first, and possibly his best, novel, "The Mystery of Killard." This was followed by "The Weird Sisters," "Under St. Paul's," "The Sport of Fate," "The Duke's Sweetheart," "Sweet Inisfail," "A Sapphire Ring," "The Husband's Secret," each of them issued in three-volume form by Tinsley Brothers. He wrote *Tinsley's Annual* for three years in succession.

He produced many three-volume novels subsequently, amongst them being "An Isle of Surrey," "Tempest Driven," "Fatal Bonds," "Miracle Gold," "A Baffling Quest," "Below Bridge." The last novel of his published during his lifetime was "Old Corcoran's Money," the scene of which is laid in Clonmel and its neighbourhood. After his death a short novel, "A Lance in Ambush," appeared.

Richard Dowling wrote innumerable short stories, many of which were from time to time collected and issued in book form. He was also the author of two volumes of admirable essays whimsically entitled "Ignorant Essays" and "Indolent Essays." He died at his residence, Foulser Road, Upper Tooting, London, on Thursday, July 8th, 1898, and he was buried at the Catholic cemetery at Mortlake *(n)*.

(n) For the above sketch I am indebted to a kinsman of Dowling, the well-known *littérateur*, Edmund Downey ("F. M. Allen.")

ADDENDA.

CHAPTER VIII.

The latest volumes of the Ormonde Manuscripts *(o)* afford some additional particulars as to Clonmel topgraphy in the time of Charles II. When in 1662 the Act of Settlement was on the anvil, the Cromwellians in Clonmel as elsewhere were in anxious suspense at the prospect of being dispossessed. For by the Act the towns were to be granted to those who had fought for the king in Ireland before 1649, that is to say Protestant royalists. Now these were only one degree less to be dreaded than Irish Catholics. If, however, Ormond the chief of them, elected Clonmel in satisfaction of his claims, the Cromwellians anticipated little disturbance. On 22nd March, 1662, the mayor, bailiffs and others wrote to George Mathew, Ormond's agent and half-brother.

Worthy Sir: Pursuant to the discourse some of us had with you yesterday, and to what some weeks since was requested by ourselues and many others in our congratulatory address to his Grace the Duke of Ormond, we do hereby entreat the fulfilling of your courteous promise by furthering what you can our pressing desires of holding from that noble family. Although we haue not acquainted many with our writing to you at this time, yet dare we promise you that nothing can be more welcome than its success to all the inhabitants of this place, as their late unanimous and cheerful subscribing the address above mentioned doth sufficiently evince. Sir, we have nothing to add but that your careful endeavours in this business (besides our town in general) shall particularly oblige your very humble servants.

Charles Blount, Tho. Stanley, Rob. Knight, Ri. Hamerton, Sam. Ladyman, Charles Alcocke.

Three years later, by a special clause in the Act of Explanation, Clonmel was granted to Ormond. In the transmission of the rentals and other documents to John Walsh, Ormond's law-agent, complaints were made that Elyas Prendergast, who seems to have acted as receiver, had withheld some. The latter wrote indignantly, November 7th, 1666, to Walsh.

(o) Historical Manuscripts' Commission.

I thank God I never yet betrayed my trust to any persons that ever intrusted me, upon any reward; nor never will, if the Turk did intrust me unless it were against my conscience, but this world is for ever injuring and backbiting, but I leaue all in the hands of God.

He appended an inventory of the documents delivered to David Walsh.

1. The seven years leases, in number, 88.
2. The rent rolls of Clonmel 6 May '59.
3. An abstract of the survey of the burgagery 1659.
4. A copy of the rent roll of the town of Clonmel, 28th of June 1660, with three warrants thereunto annexed, signed by Mr. Thomas Batty, mayor, Robert Lovelace, and Richard Parrett, bailiffs then.
5. A list of the quantity of acres in the Birg, with the names of such inhabitants as had then paid towards the defending the title.
6. A warrant signed by the general meeting at Clonmel, the 20th of April, 1660, by the then mayor, bailiffs, free burgesses and commons of the said town then.
7. The authority given by the mayor, bailiffs etc. bearing date 25th of April, 1659, authorizing and enabling Colonel Sankey, John Booker, Tho. Batty Esquires, to compound them in the Exchequer for the cabins and gardens.
8. The certificate of Richard Denison to Captain John Harrison of his proportion in the suburbs, dated the 20th May 1661.
9. Three several certificates signed by John Cooley surveyor.
10. An acquittance signed by George Derby for the receipt of 55s. ster.

From this it appears that during the Commonwealth the town still remained the property of the state, leases *ad interim* for seven years being granted to the new settlers pending the final allotment.

After the Restoration the Fort of Clonmel was allowed to get out of repair. During the French scare of 1666 Orrery reported that no guns were mounted, nor even platforms on which to place them. Seven years later Davys, Ormond's chancellor in the Palatinate, spoke of dismantling the citadel. The Cromwellian inhabitants, fearful lest as in 1641 the Irish should seize the town, strongly protested. On 9th August, 1673, Charles Alcocke wrote to Mathew:—

According to the commands I received lately from your Honour at Thomastown, I have acquainted the mayor of this town with what Sir Wm. Davis lately intimated to your Honour concerning the dismantling of the citadel of this town, which the mayor apprehends to be a matter of that moment, that he desires your Honour or Sir William Davis will please to intimate your sense or desire in the matter under your hands, that so he may advise with his brethren of this corporation in order to give your Honour a full and satisfactory answer, which will be much an obligation to them.

The protest was unavailing. In the negotiations for the establishing of the woollen industry, Nelthorpe cast his eyes on the Fort as the most suitable premises for the factory. A correspondent wrote to Ormond: "Nelthorpe

desired me to write to your Grace that the town being your Grace's own there might be some great house for a work-house, and a place for a fulling mill without much charge. His proposals will be very full, he tells me they are now laying out £500 upon tools for their purpose, and then will go several good families over." Two months later, December 22nd, 1674, Nelthorpe wrote to Ormond :—

At Clonmel Mr. Hill tells me he cannot find any place so convenient as your Grace's fort, which is walled in, with the little house and other conveniences therein, for which your Grace receives but £10 per ann. with the addition of ten acres of land. I would not anyways be burthensome to your Grace and give you what your Grace pleases for the fort, with as much other land as Mr. Hill desires to it. And I request a lease thereof for as long a time as your Grace usually lets leases, for its probable I may improve it by erecting some buildings.

Nelthorpe would appear to have merely exploited the woollen industry, for on 17th March, 1677, he thanks Mathew for his readiness to patronise the manufacture, and begs he would continue his patronage to Mr. Nicholas White who had bought it. Nelthorpe concludes by requesting a transfer of the lease to White, and assures Mathew that "the manufactory may own its preservation to his, Mathew's assistance and protection" *(p)*.

CHAPTER X.

The famous war correspondent, W. H. Russell, represented *The Times* at the trials in Clonmel of Smith O'Brien and the other insurrectionary leaders in 1848. His reminiscences of the episode deserve to be recorded.

On the 20th September, 1848, I left Dublin for Clonmel. The State Trials of the chiefs of the confederates in "the Rising" which subsided in the Widow Cormack's cabbage garden, were to open the next day. *The Times* had sent over as my senior Mr. Nicholls of the Chancery bar, a precise, stiff, dry but kind-hearted man, whose

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(p) Besides the question of the Fort, the corporation was in dispute with Ormond over the range of houses in the centre of High Street, and also the Alms House adjoining the church. On 25th September, 1677, Mathew wrote:—

Mr. Robinson will deliver your grace the model of the new prison at Clonmel with his opinion of the charge and his sense as to the removal of the houses in the middle of the street, which are your Graces property, and would have been decreed so by law if you had not directed the stopping of the suit.

Ormond wrote to Mathew, February 17th, 1679:—

I wish that now at the turn there may be an end put to the suit betwixt the town of Clonmel and me; that is that the arrear may be forgiven them, the almshouses restored to its proper use, and the £9 or £10 a year given them. For I do not desire at this time to appear hard in my own interest upon a Corporation that is poor and will be clamorous.

short visit to Ireland filled him with anger—now against the people, now against the priests, anon against the Government (he was not quite sure which were to blame) for the misery he beheld. We had comfortable lodgings in the house of a respectable cutler named Holmes in Dublin-street and Delane [editor of *The Times*] who had been on a visit to Bernal Osborne at Newtown Anner, came into Clonmel to see us on his way to London. He was impressed with the gravity of the situation. "It's useless talking of the loyalty or disloyalty of the people! They are all against us! They do not like our laws, our ways, or anything that is ours! But the government and landowners, supported by the police and the army, can always deal with insurrection, and the Jury to-morrow will be quite safe." It was a very remarkable scene next morning. We made our way with difficulty through a dense crowd to the courthouse, which was guarded by a large body of police with fixed bayonets. Horse, foot and artillery were close at hand in readiness to support them. We passed between a line of police to our places reserved by the High Sheriff. The court was crowded from floor to ceiling; on the bench arrayed in their scarlet and ermine robes and in flowing wigs, were the four judges—the Chief Justice, Mr. Justice Blackburn, Mr. Justice Crampton, Mr. Justice Perrin—who were sent down under a Special Commission to try the prisoners. There was a great "bar" retained for the Crown on the one side and for the prisoners on the other. The proceedings began with the skirmishing between counsel which usually precedes the joint battle, giving ample room for the display of the ingenuity and *finesse* which are supposed to characterise the Irish bar.

There were dramatic scenes and moving incidents from day to day. I may be under the influence of impressions formed at a time when I was what is called emotional if I now express the opinion that on no occasion in any court of law was there a more brilliant illustration of learning, argument, passion, and wit than that by which counsel for the prisoners, in the long course of this trial, moved the audience, if they failed to convince the jury or to divert the attention of the judges from the essential issues before them. From the gallery at times burst forth wailing cries or suppressed groans as the witnesses forged link after link of the chain which bound the accused to their fate. The dignity of the Court was exemplary, and it was with difficulty we could believe our eyes, or rather our ears, when one night, after dinner, to which we were invited by the judges, we heard Mr. Justice Blackburn trolling an Irish melody with exquisite pathos in a rich mellow voice. I found that my colleague Nicholls was by degrees touched with something like sympathy for some of the prisoners. "Smith O'Brien," he said, "after all conducts himself like a gentleman, and that M'Manus is a fine honest fellow. I pity him! I dare say if one knew Meagher he would turn out to be a pleasant agreeable man, full of enthusiasm and poetry, but he is without judgment." The end came at last. On October 8th, the jury came into Court with a verdict of "Guilty" against William Smith O'Brien for high treason and for levying war against the Queen, with a recommendation to the merciful consideration of the Crown. He with his arms folded, his head thrown back, and a scornful smile upon his lips, listened to the judge with the utmost calmness. When called upon to say why sentence of death should not be passed upon him, he spoke in measured accents, declaring that he had done what was right as he believed and that he had nothing to repent but his failure. On the 9th he was brought up and placed in the dock to receive the sentence of the Court, which was "that you William Smith O'Brien be drawn on a hurdle to the place of execution, and hanged by the neck until you be dead; that you then shall be disemboweled and your body divided into four quarters, to be disposed of as her Majesty should direct." It was said at the time that his composure was due to an assurance the night before that he would not be executed, but I do not believe that he was influenced in the defiant attitude by the knowledge that he would only be condemned to transportation for life. M'Manus who was the next put on trial, a man of action, no orator or phrasemonger, conducted himself with perfect propriety. A resolute revolutionist, he had renounced a competence, and placed his life on the hazard of the die in that miserable rising. Even the judges were moved by the honesty and earnestness of the man. He was found guilty on the 12th. After him on the 13th, came O'Donoghue, then Meagher on the 21st, each to be found guilty and sentenced to a traitor's doom on the 23rd of October.

A delightful visit to Knocklofty, Lord Donoughmore's charming seat, in a beautiful park surrounded by picturesque scenery, closed my sojourn at Clonmel. I left the town on the day after the rising of the Court, carrying with me as a souvenir a book in which Smith O'Brien, Meagher, M'Manus and O'Donoghue signed their names "in remembrance," and very sad and distressed I was at the fate of these miserable men. *(q)*.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Since this chapter was written, a further search in the Privy Council Minute Books at the Public Record Office, has thrown some additional light on the case of Father Sheehy.

The Rev. John Hewetson, it will be remembered, was the chief agent in working up the case against the unfortunate priest. For his efforts and success he received among others, a vote of thanks from the Grand Jury of the County Dublin. Hewetson in acknowledgment, May 14th, 1767, wrote: "This approbation of my conduct I look upon as the highest reward and greatest incentive to the most vigorous exertion of my poor abilities in the service of my King and Country." But inferior rewards and incentives were not wanting. The Council Book, 27th February, 1770, has a—

Warrant to the Reverend John Hewetson for £227 10s. in full for his expense and trouble in the prosecuting and bringing to justice certain offenders called White Boys and in preserving the peace of the county where he resides and as expression of the sense which Government hath of merit and services.

Agreed to and Corcordatum, etc.

The instruments used by Hewetson in the "service of his king and country" were not forgotten.

19 June 1767.

Memorial of the Grand Jury of the County of Tipperary praying a Reward of £600 might be given equaly to John and Thomas Lonergan and John Toughy for their good services and sufferings in prosecuting and convicting several persons concerned in the late risings in s[d] County—Read—the further consideration thereof postponed.

(q) What Russell regarded as mere legal skirmishing, was in reality a contest between counsel as to whether O'Brien and his fellows were to be tried according to the constitution or not. In England the prisoner's counsel has in High Treason trials the right to obtain a list of the witnesses. This right was refused to O'Brien's counsel. Further the panel was taken from the Grand Jury List. Out of two hundred and twenty-eight jurors, there were only twenty Catholics. The sheriff took the additional precaution that among the first twenty-six names, no single Catholic should be found.

But one incident in the trial attracted European notice. In 1832 the Liberals anticipated civil war as the result of the Reform Bill. The artizans of Birmingham purposing to march on London, one of the king's ministers instigated General Sir William Napier to take command. General Napier now attended in Clonmel with the letter in his pocket. The court however would not admit the evidence. For the king's minister might do with impunity what in O'Brien was adjudged high treason.

10 Feb. 1768.

Memorial of the Grand Jury of the County of Tipperary praying that the sum of £600 might be given equally to John and Thos Lonergan and John Toughy for their good service and sufferings in prosecuting and convicting several persons concerned in the late risings—Read, and agreed that John and Thomas Lonergan should be ordered up to Town to be examined and that a guard should be sent with them to protect them from any insult being offered to them.

3 March, 1768.

John and Thomas Lonergan who were recommended by the Grand Jury of the County of Tipperary to the Government and Council to be rewarded for their good services in prosecuting on behalf of the Crown different persons engaged in the late risings in the County of Tipperary and in the murder of Bridges for discovering those concerned in the risings and refusing to engage with them.

The said John and Thos Lonergan call'd in—and after being examined—as also Wm Gore a Taylor who had the care of the said Lonergan for two years, it was agreed that an apprentice fee of £10 should be given with John Lonergan to a weaver to be taught the weaving trade. And that an Apprentice Fee of £10 should be given with Thos Lonergan to the sd Wm Gore to teach him the Tailor's trade and that after they had served their different apprenticeships, if they behaved well each of them are to receive from Government and Council the sum of fifty pounds to set them up in their different trades. It was also agreed that the sum of £12 should be paid to the sd Wm Gore in full of all his demands for his disbursements for them while under his care and the sum of £20 for his trouble in taking care of them and ten pounds to buy them cloaths and bear their charges to Clonmell.

5 April 1768 Warrant for £62 to discharge said payments *(r)*.

(r) Some notices of the earlier history of the case are contained in the Minutes.

7 Feb. 1765.

The several Examinations taken before Ld Ch Justice Gore against the White Boys and others relative to several Disturbances and Outrages committed by them in the Counties of Kilkenny Waterford and Tipperary—Read—and agreed that—Copys thereof should be sent to the Lord Lieutenant and that a Proclamation should be issued offering a Reward of £300 for the apprehending of Nicholas Shehee a Popish Priest.

13 Feb. 1765.

Order to Attorney or Solic General to prepare Proclams offering a reward for apprehending N. S. of Shanrahan. Proclams prepared—read—signed.

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